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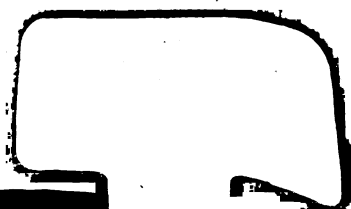
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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

RELATING TO

REMARKABLE PERIODS

OF THE

SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL.

COMPILED BY

THE REV. JOHN GILLIES, D.D.

PUBLISHED ORIGINALLY IN 1754, AND NOW REPRINTED WITH A PREFACE AND
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CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE world is still sleeping its "sleep of death." It has been a slumber of many generations ;—sometimes deeper, sometimes lighter,—yet still a slumber like that of the tomb, as if destined to continue till the last trumpet sound ; and then there shall be no more sleep.

Yet God has not left it to sleep on unwarned. He has spoken in a voice that might reach the dumbest ears and quicken the coldest heart. Ten thousand times has He thus spoken and still He speaks. But the world refuses to hear. Its myriads slumber on, as if this sleep of death were the very blessedness of its being.

Yet in one sense the world's sleep has never been universal. Never has there been an age when it could be said there is not one awake. The multitude has always slept, but there has always been a little flock awake. Even in the world's deepest midnight there have been always children of the light and of the day. In the midst of a slumbering world some have been in every age awake. God's voice had reached them, and His mighty power had raised them, and they walked the earth, awake among sleepers, the living among the dead.

The volume before us contains not the history of the sleeping many, but of the waking few. Its object is to trace out their story and record it for a memorial to all generations. The world has written at large the history of its sleeping multitudes, it becomes the Church of Christ to record the simpler, briefer annals of its awakened ones. Doubtless, their record is on high, written more imperishably than the world can ever accomplish for its sons, yet still it is well for earth to have a record of those of whom the world was not worthy.

Their story is as full of interest as it is of importance. The waking up of each soul would be matter enough for a history,—its various shakings and startings up, ere it was fully aroused ; the word or the stroke that effected the work ; the time, the way in which it became awake for eternity and for God, as well as its new course of light after it awoke,—all these are fraught with an interest to which nothing of time or earth can ever once be compared. And then, when the voice of God awakes not one, but thousands, it may be in a day ; when whole villages and districts seem as if

arising and putting on new life,—how intensely, how unutterably interesting! At such a crisis it seems as if the world itself were actually beginning to awake,—as if the shock that had broken the slumbers of so many were about to shake the whole world together. Yet alas! the tokens of life soon vanish. The half-awakened sleepers sink back into deeper slumber, and the startled world lies down in still more sad and desperate security.

The history of the Church is full of these awakenings, some on a larger and some on a smaller scale. Indeed, such narratives as those with which this work abounds form the true history of the Church, if we are to take our ideas of this from the inspired Church-history given us in the Acts of the Apostles. Many a wondrous scene has been witnessed from the day of Pentecost downwards to our own day, and what volume better deserves the attention and study of the believer than that which contains the record of these outpourings of the Spirit? Besides the interest that cleaves to them there is much to be learned from them by the Church. To see how God has been working, and to mark the means and instruments by which he has carried on his work, cannot fail to be profitable and quickening. It makes us sensible of our own shortcomings, and it points out the way by which the blessing may be secured. Let us look for a little at the instruments and their success as we find them recorded in this volume. Let us mark their character and contemplate their success. They were men of like passions as we are, yet how marvellously blest in their labours! Whence, then, comes their vast success? What manner of men were they? What weapons did they employ?

1. *They were in earnest about the great work of the ministry on which they had entered.* They felt their infinite responsibility as stewards of the mysteries of God, and shepherds appointed by the Chief Shepherd to gather in and watch over souls. They lived and laboured and preached like men on whose lips the immortality of thousands hung. Every thing they did and spoke bore the stamp of earnestness, and proclaimed to all with whom they came into contact that the matters about which they had been sent to treat were of infinite moment, admitting of no indifference, no postponement even for a day. Yet their fervour was not that of excitement; it was the steadfast but tranquil purpose of men who felt the urgency and weight of the cause intrusted to them, and who knew that necessity was laid upon them, yea, woe was unto them if they preached not the Gospel. They felt that, as ministers of the Gospel they dared not act otherwise; they dared not throw less than their whole soul into the conflict; they dared not take their ease or fold their arms; they dared not be indifferent to the issue when professing to lead on the hosts of the living God against the armies of the prince of darkness.

2. *They were bent upon success.* It was with a good hope of success that they first undertook the awful office of the ministry, and to despair of this would have been shameful distrust of him who had sent them forth, while to be indifferent to it would have been to prove themselves nothing short of traitors to him and to his cause. As

warriors, they set their hearts on victory, and fought with the believing anticipation of triumph, under the guidance of such a Captain as their head. As shepherds, they could not sit idle on the mountain-side in the sunshine, or the breeze, or the tempest, heedless of their straying, perishing, bleating flock. They watched, gathered, guarded, fed the sheep committed to their care. Hear the testimony of one of them :—" When I came there, which was about seven years after, I had the pleasure of seeing much of the fruits of his ministry ; divers of his hearers, with whom I had opportunity of conversing, appeared to be converted persons, by their soundness in principle, Christian experience, and pious practice ; and these persons declared that the ministrations of the aforesaid gentleman were the means thereof. This, together with a kind letter which he sent me respecting the necessity of dividing the word aright, and giving to every man his portion in due season, through the divine blessing, excited me to greater earnestness in ministerial labours. I began to be very much distressed about my want of success ; for I knew not, for half a year or more after I came to New Brunswick, that any one was converted by my labours, although several persons were at times affected transiently.

" It pleased God to afflict me about the time with sickness, by which I had affecting views of eternity. I was then exceedingly grieved that I had done so little for God, and was very desirous to live for one half year more, if it was his will, that I might stand upon the stage of the world, as it were, and plead more faithfully for his cause, and take more earnest pains for the conversion of souls. The secure state of the world appeared to me in a very affecting light ; and one thing among others pressed me sore ; viz., that I had spent much time in conversing about trifles, which might have been spent in examining people's states towards God, and persuading them to turn unto him. I therefore prayed to God that he would be pleased to give me one half year more, and I was determined to endeavour to promote his kingdom with all my might at all adventures. The petition God was pleased to grant manifold, and to enable me to keep my resolution in some measure."

3. *They were men of faith.* They ploughed and sowed in hope. They might sometimes go forth weeping, bearing precious seed, yet these were the tears of sorrow and compassion, not of despair ; they knew that in due season they should reap if they fainted not, that their labour in the Lord would not be in vain, and that ere long they would return bringing their sheaves with them. They had confidence in the God whose they were and whom they served, knowing that He would not send them on this warfare on their own charges. They had confidence in the Saviour whose commission they bore, and on whose errands they were gone forth. They had confidence in the promises of glorious success with which He had armed and comforted them. They had confidence in the Holy Spirit's almighty power and grace, as the glorifier of Christ, the testifier of his work, and the quickener of dead souls. They had confidence in the word, the gospel, the message of reconciliation which they proclaimed, knowing that it could not return void to him who sent it forth. Thus they went forth in faith

and confidence, anticipating victory, defying enemies, despising obstacles, and counting not their lives dear unto them that they might finish their course with joy, and the ministry which they had received of the Lord Jesus.

4. *They were men of labour.* They required to bear the burden and heat of the day. It might be truly said of them, that 'they scorned delights and loved laborious days.' Their lives are the annals of incessant, unwearied toil of body and soul : time, strength, substance, health, all they were and possessed, they freely offered to the Lord, keeping back nothing, grudging nothing,—joyfully, thankfully, surrendering all to him who loved them and washed them from their sins in his own blood,—regretting only this that they had so little, so very little to give up for him who for their sakes had freely given himself! They knew by experience something of what the apostle testifies concerning himself to the Corinthian church. They knew what it was to be 'in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.' They had no time for levity, or sloth, or pleasure, or idle companionship. They prevented the dawning of the morning to commence their labours, and the shades of evening found them, though wearied and fainting, still toiling on. They laboured for eternity, and as men who knew that time was short and the day of recompense at hand.

5. *They were men of patience.* They were not discouraged, though they had to labour long without seeing all the fruit they desired. They continued still to sow. Day after day they pursued what, to the eye of the world, appeared a thankless and fruitless round of toil. They were not soon weary in well-doing, remembering the example of the husbandman in regard to his perishable harvest : 'behold the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it until he receive the early and latter rain.' Many a goodly plan has been rendered abortive by *impatience*. Many a day of toil has been thrown away by impatience. Many a rash step has been taken and hasty changes adopted in consequence of impatience. Attempts have been made to force on a revival by men who were impatient at the slow progress of the work in their hand ; and seldom have these ended in anything but calamitous failure, or at best a momentary excitement which scorched and sterilised a soil from which a little more patient toil would have reaped an abundant harvest. There may be and there always ought to be the calmest patience in conjunction with the most intense longing for success. 'He that believeth doth not make haste.' A friend and brother in the Lord some years ago was called to till a portion of the Master's vineyard in our own land. He laboured and prayed and sought fruit with all his soul. Yet at that time he saw but little. He was called away to another circle of labour. After some years he heard that a work of God had taken place in his former field under another faithful brother and fellow-worker in Christ. On visiting the spot he was amazed and delighted to find that many of those who had been converted were the very individuals whom he had several years before visited, and warned, and prayed for. 'One man soweth and another reapeth.'

6. *They were men of boldness and determination.* Adversaries might contend and oppose, timid friends might hesitate, but they pressed forward, in nothing terrified by difficulty or opposition. Timidity shuts many a door of usefulness, and loses many a precious opportunity; it wins no friends, while it strengthens every enemy. Nothing is lost by boldness, nor gained by fear. It seems often as if there were a premium upon mere boldness and vigour, apart from other things. Even natural courage and resolution will accomplish much; how much more, courage created and upheld by faith and prayer. In regard, for instance, to the dense masses of ungodliness, and profligacy in our large towns, what will ever be effected, if we timidly shrink back, or slothfully fold our hands, because the array is so terrific, and the apparent probabilities of success so slender? Let us but be prepared to give battle, though it should be one against ten thousand, and who shall calculate the issues? But there is needed not merely natural courage in order to face natural danger or difficulty; there is, in our own day, a still greater need of *moral* boldness, in order to neutralize the fear of man; the dread of public opinion, that god of our idolatry in this last age, which boasts of superior enlightenment, and which would bring every thing to the test of reason, or decide it by the votes of the majority. We need strength from above to be faithful in these days of trouble, and rebuke, and blasphemy—to set our faces like flint alike against the censure and applause of the multitude, and to dare to be singular for righteousness' sake, and to fight, single-handed, the battles of the faith. The sneer, the scoff, the contemptuous smile of superiority, the cold support, the cordial opposition, the timid friendship, the bold hostility, in private and public, from lips of companions, or neighbours, or fellow-citizens,—often under pretext of reverence for religion,—these are fitted to daunt the mind of common nerve, and to meet these nothing less than divine grace is needed. Never, perhaps, in any age, has wickedness assumed a bolder front and attitude; and never, therefore, was Christian courage more required than now. It needs little, indeed, of this, to traverse the customary routine of parish duty. Men of the world, and mere professors, can tolerate, or perhaps commend such diligence; but to step beyond that—to break the regularity of well-beaten forms—to preach and labour in season and out of season—in churches, or barns, or school-houses, or fields, or streets, or highways—to deal faithfully and closely with men's consciences wherever you may happen to be brought into contact with them—to be always the minister, always the watchman, always the Christian, always the lover of souls—this is to turn the world upside down, to offend against every rule of good breeding, and to tear up the landmarks of civilized society. Ministers and private Christians do require more than ever to be “strong and of good courage,” to be “steadfast and immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord.” This has ever been one of the great secrets of ministerial success. Them that honour God, God has never failed to honour and to bless.

7. *They were men of prayer.* It is true that they laboured much, visited much, studied much, but they also *prayed* much. In this they abounded. They were much

alone with God, replenishing their own souls out of the living fountain that out of them might flow to their people rivers of living water.¹ In our day there is doubtless among many a grievous mistake upon this point. Some who are really seeking to feed the flock, and to save souls, are led to exhaust their energies upon external duties and labours, overlooking the absolute necessity of enriching, ripening, filling, elevating their own souls by prayer and fasting. On this account there is much time wasted and labour thrown away. A single word, coming fresh from lips that have been kindled into heavenly warmth, by near fellowship with God, will avail more than a thousand others. Did Christ's faithful ministers act more on this principle, they would soon learn what an increased fruitfulness and power are thereby imparted to all their labours. Were more of each returning Saturday spent in fellowship with God, in solemn intercession for the people, in humiliation for sin, and supplication for the outpouring of the Spirit,—our Sabbaths would be far more blest, our sermons would be far more blest, our sermons would be far more successful, our faces would shine as did the face of Moses, a more solemn awe and reverence would be over all our assemblies, and there would be fewer complaints of labouring in vain, or spending strength for nought. What might be lost in elaborate composition, or critical exactness of style or argument, would be far more than compensated for by the "double portion of the Spirit" we might then expect to receive.

8. *They were men whose doctrines were of the most decided kind, both as respects law and gospel.* There is a breadth and power about their preaching—a glow and energy about their words and thoughts, that makes us feel that they were "men of might." Their trumpet gave no feeble nor uncertain sound, either to saint or sinner—either to the church or the world. They lifted up their voices, and spared not. There was no flinching, no flattering, or prophesying of smooth things. Perhaps they excelled more in the proclamation of the law, and its eternal penalties, than in the declaration of the glad tidings of great joy, through Him who finished transgression, and made an end of sin upon the cross. There is sometimes a lack of fulness and liberty in their statements of the gospel; there is a constraint about some of their sermons, as if they feared making the glad tidings too free; there is, in their dealings with inquirers, a tendency to throw them in upon their own acts, or feelings, or convictions, instead of drawing them out at once to what has been finished on the cross, leading them to look for some preparatory work in themselves, before rejoicing in the gospel; but still there are at other times full exhibitions of the Saviour, and free proclamations of his glorious gospel. Their preaching seems to have been of the most masculine and fearless kind, falling on the audience with tremendous power. It was not vehement, it was not fierce, it was not noisy; it was far too solemn to be such; it was massive, weighty, cutting, piercing, sharper than a two-edged sword. The weapons wielded by them were well tempered, well furbished, sharp and keen. Nor were they wielded by a feeble or un-

¹ "We often spent whole days in prayer, singing, and preaching." Such is the testimony of one of them!

practised arm. These warriors did not fight with the scabbard instead of the blade. Nor did they smite with the flat instead of the edge of the sword. Nor did they spare any effort, either of strength or skill, which might carry home the thrust or the stroke to the very vitals. Hence so many fell wounded under them, such as in the case of the celebrated Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, regarding whom it is said, that "he scarce ever preached a sermon but some or other of his congregation were struck with great distress, and cried out in agony, What shall I do to be saved." Or take the following account of the effects produced by a sermon of Edwards at Enfield, in July 1741, which, as being new, we lay before our readers :—

"While the people in the neighbouring towns were in great distress for their souls," says the historian, "the inhabitants of that town were very secure, loose and vain. A lecture had been appointed at Enfield; and the neighbouring people, the night before, were so affected at the thoughtlessness of the inhabitants, and in such fears that God would, in his righteous judgment, pass them by, while the divine showers were falling all around them, as to be prostrate before him a considerable part of it, supplicating mercy for their souls. When the appointed time for the lecture came, a number of the neighbouring ministers attended, and some from a distance. When they went into the meeting-house, the appearance of the assembly was thoughtless and vain. The people hardly conducted themselves with common decency. Edwards preached. His plain, unpretending manner, both in language and delivery, and his established reputation for holiness and knowledge of the truth, forbade the suspicion that any trick of oratory would be used to mislead his hearers. He began in the clear, careful, demonstrative style of a teacher, solicitous for the result of his effort, and anxious that every step of his argument should be early and fully understood. His text was Deut. xxxii. 35. 'Their foot shall slide in due time.' As he advanced in unfolding the meaning of the text, the most careful logic brought him and his hearers to conclusions, which the most tremendous imagery could but inadequately express. His most terrific descriptions of the doom and danger of the impenitent, only enabled them to apprehend more clearly the truths which he had compelled them to believe. They seemed to be, not the product of the imagination, but what they really were, a part of the argument. The effect was as might have been expected. Trumbull informs us, that 'before the assembly was ended, the assembly appeared deeply impressed and bowed with an awful conviction of their sin and danger. There was such a breathing of distress and weeping, that the preacher was obliged to speak to the people and desire silence, that he might be heard. This was the beginning of the same great and prevailing concern in that place, with which the colony in general was visited.'"

9. *They were men of solemn deportment and deep spirituality of soul.* Their lives and their lips accorded with each other. Their daily walk furnished the best attestation and illustration of the truth they preached. They were always ministers of Christ, wherever they were to be found or seen. No frivolity, no flippancy, no gaiety, no worldly conviviality or companionships neutralized their public preaching, or marred the work they were seeking to accomplish. The world could not point to them as being but slightly dissimilar from itself, or as men who, though faithful in the pulpit, forgot throughout the week their character, their office, their errand. Luther once remarked, regarding a beloved and much admired friend, "he lives what we preach." So it was with those much-honoured men, Stoddard, Shepard, Mather, Edwards, Tennent, and their noble fellow-workers, whose names are in the book of life. We extract the following account of Tennent's life and doctrine from the pen of Prince, another of the glorious band. It will illustrate some remarks under the former head as well as this :—

"He did not indeed at first come up to my expectation, but afterwards exceeded it. In private

converse with him, I found him to be a man of considerable parts and learning; free, gentle, condescending; and, from his own various experience, reading the most noted writers on experimental divinity, as well as the Scriptures, and conversing with many who had been awakened by his ministry in New Jersey, where he then lived, he seemed to have as deep an acquaintance with the experimental part of religion as any I have conversed with; and his preaching was as searching and rousing as ever I heard.

"He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open the ruinous delusions, show them their numerous, secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge wherein they made themselves easy with the form of godliness without the power. And many who were pleased in a good conceit of themselves before, now found, to their great distress, they were only self-deceived hypocrites. And though, while the discovery was making, some at first raged, as they have owned to me and others, yet in the progress of the discovery many were forced to submit; and then the power of God so broke and humbled them, that they wanted a further and even a thorough discovery; they went to hear him, that the secret corruptions and delusions of their hearts might be more discovered; and the more searching the sermon, the more acceptable it was to their anxious minds.

"From the terrible and deep convictions he had passed through in his own soul, he seemed to have such a lively view of the divine majesty, the spirituality, purity, extensiveness, and strictness of his law; with his glorious holiness, and displeasure at sin, his justice, truth, and power in punishing the damned; that the very terrors of God seemed to rise in his mind afresh, when he displayed and brandished them in the eyes of unreconciled sinners. And though some could not bear the representation, and avoided his preaching, yet the arrows of conviction, by his ministry, seemed so deeply to pierce the hearts of others, and even some of the most stubborn sinners, as to make them fall down at the feet of Christ, and yield a lowly submission to him.

"As to Mr Tennent's preaching: It was frequently both terrible and searching. It was often for matter justly terrible, as he, according to the inspired oracles, exhibited the dreadful holiness, justice, law, threatenings, truth, power, majesty of God; and his anger with rebellious, impenitent, unbelieving, and Christless sinners; the awful danger they were every moment in of being struck down to hell, and being damned for ever; with the amazing miseries of that place of torment. But his exhibitions, both for matter and manner, fell inconceivably below the reality: And though this terrible preaching may strongly work on the animal passions and frighten the hearers, rouse the soul, and prepare the way for terrible convictions—yet those mere animal terrors, and these convictions are quite different things.

"Such were the convictions wrought in many hundreds in this town by Mr Tennent's searching ministry; and such was the case of those many scores of several other congregations as well as mine, who came to me and others for direction under them. And indeed by all their converse I found, it was not so much the terror as the searching nature of his ministry, that was the principal means of their conviction. It was not merely, nor so much, his laying open the terrors of the law and wrath of God, or damnation of hell (for this they could pretty well bear, as long as they hoped these belonged not to them, or they could easily avoid them), as his laying open their many vain and secret shifts and refuges, counterfeit resemblances of grace, delusive and damning hopes, their utter impotence, and impending danger of destruction; whereby they found all their hopes and refuges of lies to fail them, and themselves exposed to eternal ruin, unable to help themselves, and in a lost condition. This searching preaching was both the suitable and principal means of their conviction.

"And now was such a time as we never knew. The Rev. Mr Cooper was wont to say, that more came to him in one week in deep concern about their souls, than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. I can also say the same as to the numbers who repaired to me. By Mr Cooper's letter to his friend in Scotland, it appears he had had about six hundred different persons in three months' time; and Mr Webb informs me, he had had in the same space about a thousand."

We might swell out these remarks upon the characteristics of the ministry of that day, as illustrative of what a Christian ministry ought ever to be, and as in many-respects exposing and rebuking its defects in our day, but we must not unduly protract our Preface. And, therefore, instead of any further comments of our own, we

add a few quotations from Whitefield's Journals. The reader will see how they bear upon the preceding statement regarding the Christian ministry.

"On Thursday, he preached the public lecture at the Old South. He had chosen another text, but it was much impressed on his heart, that he should preach from our Lord's conference with Nicodemus. A great number of ministers were present: and when he came to the word, 'Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things,' he says,—'The Lord enabled me to open my mouth boldly against unconverted ministers; to caution tutors to take care of their pupils; and also to advise ministers particularly to examine into the experiences of candidates for ordination. For I am verily persuaded the generality of preachers talk of an unknown and unfelt Christ; and the reasons why congregations have been so dead is, because they have had dead men preaching to them. O that the Lord may quicken and revive them, for his own name's sake. For how can dead men beget living children? It is true, indeed, God may convert men by the devil, if he pleases, and so he may by unconverted ministers; but I believe he seldom makes use of either of them for this purpose. No, the Lord will choose vessels made meet by the operations of the blessed Spirit for his sacred use; and as for my own part, I would not lay hands on an unconverted man for ten thousand worlds. Unspeakable freedom God gave me while treating on this head. In the afternoon, I preached on the Common to about fifteen thousand people, and collected upwards of L.200 for the orphan house. Just as I had finished my sermon, a ticket was put up to me, wherein I was desired to pray for a person just entered upon the ministry, but under apprehensions that he was unconverted. God enabled me to pray for him with my whole heart; and I hope that ticket will teach many others not to run before they can give an account of their conversion. If they do, they offer God strange fire."

"He preached on Monday at Westfield and Springfield, and on Tuesday at Suffield, to large audiences, and with his usual power. A little below Springfield, when crossing a bridge, he was thrown from his horse, and 'stunned for a while;' but was soon able to remount and proceed. At or near Suffield, he met with a minister, 'who said it was not absolutely necessary for a gospel minister to be converted;' meaning, doubtless, that though conversion was necessary for his salvation, it was not indispensable to his ministerial character and usefulness. This interview gave Whitefield a subject, 'I insisted much in my discourse upon the doctrine of the new birth, and also the necessity of a minister's being converted before he could preach Christ aright. The word came with great power, and a great impression was made upon the people in all parts of the assembly. Many ministers were present. I did not spare them. Most of them thanked me for my plain dealing. But one was offended; and so would more of his stamp if I was to continue longer in New England. FOR UNCONVERTED MINISTERS, ARE THE BANE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.'"

"He preached with good success at Milford on Monday morning, and with less at Stratford in the afternoon. He was still more 'restrained at Fairfield and Norwalk on Tuesday, when the weather was cold, snow had fallen, and his hearers were few. Yet he observed that some were affected, and believed the Lord never let him preach in vain. His ride to Stamford, on Tuesday evening, was dark and rainy. That night he was visited with a great inward trial, so that he was pained to the heart. He was somewhat dejected before he went out of his lodgings the next morning, and somewhat distressed for a text after he got into the pulpit. 'But at length the Lord directed me to one, but I looked for no power or success, being very low by my last night's trial. Notwithstanding, before I had preached half-an-hour, the blessed Spirit began to move on the hearers' hearts in a very awful manner. Young, and especially many old people, were surprisingly affected, so that I thought they would have cried out. At dinner, the Spirit of the Lord came upon me again, and enabled me to speak with such vigour against sending unconverted persons into the ministry, that two ministers, with tears in their eyes, publicly confessed, that they had laid their hands on young men, without so much as asking them whether they were borne again of God or not. After dinner, finding my heart much enlarged, I prayed, and with such power, that most in the room were put under concern. And one old minister was so deeply convicted, that, calling Mr Noble and me out, with great difficulty (because of his weeping) he desired our prayers; for, said he, 'I have been a scholar, and have preached the doctrines of grace for a long time, but I believe I have never felt the power of them in my own soul.' O that all unconverted ministers were brought to make the same confession."

Such were the instruments. Such were the mighty things accomplished by them in the strength of the Spirit of the Lord. In the different awakenings, there were doubt-

less many things which proclaimed the frailty and imperfection of the agency through which the Holy Spirit wrought his mighty signs and wonders. There were things to remind man that the treasure was in earthen vessels. These revivals were not without their blemishes. There might be errors, there might be imprudencies, there might be excitement, there might be physical emotion ; but still, notwithstanding all that may be spoken against them, the hand of God was manifestly there, awakening, deepening, extending, carrying forward the mighty movement by which the walls and bulwarks of the prince of darkness were, in many of his strongest fastnesses, shaken to their deepest base. The Lord gave the word, and great was the company of those who published it, as well as of those who received and obeyed it.

Nothing was to be seen but a faithful minister of Christ, surrounded by a small band of praying ones, leading on the array against the prince of darkness ! There was no pomp, no display, no artifice, no carnal attraction. Yet the ranks of darkness gave way before them, and multitudes owned the power of the simple yet resistless words that fell from their earnest lips ! How could the world but wonder at such vast results, so disproportioned to the apparent cause ? How could they but feel, if they did not confess, that all this was the doing of the Lord ?

As an illustration of how remarkably the work was of God and not of man, we quote without comment the following passages :—

" It is observable how, at this remarkable day, a spirit of deep concern would seize upon persons. Some were in the house, and some walking in the highway ; some in the woods, and some in the field ; some in conversation, and some in retirement ; some children, and some adults, and some ancient persons, would sometimes on a sudden be brought under the strongest impressions, from a sense of the great realities of the other world and eternal things. But such things, as far as I can learn, were usually, if not ever, impressed upon men while they were in some sort exercising their minds upon the word of God or spiritual objects. And for the most part, it has been under the public preaching of the word, that these lasting impressions have been fastened upon them."

" Presently upon this, a great and earnest concern about the great things of religion and the eternal world, became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees and all ages ; the noise among the dry bones waxed louder and louder ; all other talk but about spiritual and eternal things, were soon thrown by. The minds of people were wonderfully taken off from the world ; it was treated among us as a thing of very little consequence. They seemed to follow their worldly business more as a part of their duty, than from any disposition they had to it. It was then a dreadful thing amongst us to lie out of Christ, in danger every day of dropping into hell ; and what persons' minds were intent upon was, to escape for their lives, and fly from the wrath to come. All would eagerly lay hold of opportunities for their souls, and were wont very often to meet together in private houses for religious purposes ; and such meetings, when appointed, were wont greatly to be thronged. And the work of conversion was carried in a most astonishing manner, and increased more and more. Souls did, as it were, come by flocks to Jesus Christ. From day to day, for many months together, might be seen evident instances of sinners brought out of darkness into marvellous light. Our public assemblies were then beautiful ; the congregation was alive in God's service, every one earnestly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth. The assembly in general were, from time to time, in tears while the word was preached ; some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pity and concern for the souls of their neighbours. Those amongst us that had formerly been converted, were greatly enlivened and renewed with fresh and extraordinary incomes of the Spirit of God ; though some much more than others, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Many that had before laboured under difficulties about their own state, had now their doubts removed by more satisfying experience, and more clear discoveries of God's love."

When man proceeds to the accomplishment of some mighty enterprise, he puts forth prodigious efforts, as if by the sound of his axes and hammers he would proclaim his own fancied might, and bear down opposing obstacles. He cannot work without sweat, and dust, and noise. When God would do a marvellous work, such as may amaze all heaven and earth, he commands silence all around, sends forth the still small voice, and then sets some feeble instrument to work, and straightway it is done! Man toils and pants, and after all effects but little: the Creator, in the silent majesty of power, noiseless yet resistless, achieves by a word the infinite wonders of omnipotence! In order to loose the bands of winter, and bring in the verdure of the pleasant spring, he does not send forth his angels to hew in pieces the thickened ice, or to strip off from the mountain's side the gathered snows, or to plant anew over the face of the bleak earth, flowers fresh from his creating hand. No. He breathes from his lips a mild warmth into the frozen air; and forthwith, in stillness, but in irresistible power, the work proceeds; the ice is shivered, the snows dissolve, the rivers resume their flow, the earth awakes as out of sleep, the hills and the valleys put on their freshening verdure, the fragrance of earth takes wing and fills the air,—till a new world of beauty rises in silence amid the dissolution of the old! Such is God's method of working, both in the natural and in the spiritual world—silent, simple, majestic, and resistless! Such was the reformation! Such were the revivals in Scotland under our fathers of the covenant! Such was the Kirk of Shotts on that memorable Pentecost, when the unstudied words of a timid, trembling youth, carried salvation to five hundred souls. Such was Ayr in its Pentecostal days, when from the lonely church at midnight, there went up to heaven the broken sighs of that man of prayer, John Welsh. And such was Northampton in later times, when Edwards watched and prayed for its citizens, and when, from the closet of that holy man, there went forth the living power that wrought such wonders there! “And is the Lord's hand shortened that it cannot save, or is his ear heavy that it cannot hear?”

Dr GILLIES, the author of the “Historical Collections,” was one whose ministry God seems to have extensively blest; and whose zeal for the reviving of God's work led him not only to search out the times of refreshing enjoyed by the churches in other days, but to use every effort to bring the records of these days both before his own people, and before his brethren in the ministry. Besides the two volumes of Historical Collections, he published an Appendix in 1761, and had prepared some materials for a supplement, which was published by Dr Erskine of Edinburgh, after his death. During 1750 and 1751, he published a weekly address to his people, which contains much valuable matter upon the same subject. He was born in 1712, and was the son the Rev. John Gillies, minister of Carriston, near Brechin. In 1742, he was ordained minister of the College Church, Glasgow, where he remained till his death, in 1796. The records of his life and ministry are very scanty indeed; and thereby, we doubt not, the Church of Christ has suffered loss. We know not how far private documents might yet supply the loss. If such exist, why should they be kept from the Church?

We have little more to say of his character than what is contained in the following extract from Dr Erskine's biography of him, in the Supplement to his Historical Collections :—

“ To grow in the experimental knowledge of Christ, and to conduct others to that knowledge, was the business of his life, and the chiefest joy of his heart. Love to God, to the Redeemer, to all men, though especially to the household of faith, animated him to unwearied efforts in promoting the cause of truth and holiness. His pulpit services were conducted in a style, plain, simple, and unadorned, yet with force and energy. Besides generally delivering three discourses every Sabbath, several years of his life were distinguished, by his instituting public lectures and serious exhortations, twice and often thrice every week. While health and strength permitted him, he was equally faithful in visiting and examining the people of his charge, in visiting the sick and afflicted, and in every other private parochial duty. For some time he published a weekly paper, addressed to the consciences and hearts of his people. His warm affectionate expostulations from the pulpit and from the press, drew the attention, and awakened the religious concern of many. A pious student of divinity informed me a few days ago, that his first serious thoughts arose from one of the Doctor's weekly papers occasionally falling in his way. Thus was the Doctor instant in season and out of season, and studied to keep back from his people nothing profitable, but to declare to them the whole counsel of God. Indeed, they had daily lessons in the consistency and uniformity of his conduct, and in his upright, circumspect, and exemplary walk. He approved himself a minister of God, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings, by pureness, by kindness, by love unfeigned ; and to his dear hearers his mouth was open, and his heart enlarged. He was gentle among them, even as a nurse cherisheth her children ; and being affectionately desirous of them, he was willing to have imparted to them, not the gospel of God only, but his own soul also, because they were dear to him. Having been fifty-four years their pastor, he had baptized and married the larger part of his congregation. To him they looked up as a father and a friend ; and many tender tokens of his affection will long live in their grateful remembrance. When, in the last years of his life, he was only able to appear in church at sacramental occasions, and to exhort one table, the most indifferent spectator could not but observe the sympathy and love which shone in the faces of his hearers, and the tears which they could not restrain, when he solemnly blessed them in the name of the Lord, and spoke of his dissolution, as being at hand, with looks of humility, serenity and joy.”

KELSO, *March 1, 1845.*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BY WAY OF

SUPPLEMENT TO THE AUTHOR'S ORIGINAL PREFACE.

THE venerable author of this Work has prefixed a few remarks to his volumes respecting the nature and use of such a kind of history as that which his compilation furnishes. In it he adverts at the outset to the inspired narratives of the New Testament, as to the success of the Gospel in Apostolic times. His sketch of this is very brief, as indeed, was necessary and fitting, consisting of little more than a reference to the different passages in the *Acts of the Apostles*, in which mention is made of the success of the Gospel in different parts of Judea and of the World. We may venture a little farther back, and, for the sake of unity and completeness, point out the allusions made in Old Testament history to the success of the same Gospel at different periods of the former dispensation.

From the beginning downward, the work of the Holy Spirit presents to us many of the same features and characteristics as in our own day. Periods of revival and decay succeed each other. Iniquity abounds, and is allowed to proceed onward apparently unchecked, as if God had forsaken the earth. A few remain faithful and testify for Jehovah. All in vain. Then suddenly God steps in, makes bare his arm, does his own work, puts aside the instrument, manifests special grace, and reaps special glory to his name. Then, perhaps, judgment succeeds,—either the swift vengeance of his sharp sword or a long night of death. Anon he draws nigh once more, puts forth his hand, and the tide rises in silent majesty, like the Ocean, along all its shores. Again barrenness prevails and desolation covers the land. Then he opens the windows of heaven, and the swollen torrents rush along the valleys, diffusing life on every side. Such are his dealings with the children of men, and such the plan on which the kingdom of grace is administered, having, like that of nature, its seasons and fluctua-

tions, its winter and its spring, its droughts and its floods; all to shew forth more clearly God himself as the doer of the whole, to sink the creature and exalt the Creator; that thus men may not mistake the hand by whose pressure the tide rises, from whose invisible but resistless influence every ripple takes its form and course. All is God, and God is all; man the mere subject or spectator of the change. It is God's earth, made for his glory, and he doeth with it according to his will; manifesting, at every new turn of its history some new marvels, of wisdom, love, grace, and power; alike in his dealings with a rebellious world and in the calling in of his own chosen ones, whose names are in the Lamb's book of life.

God has had his *single* witnesses from the beginning, each in succession bearing testimony to the love of a redeeming God and looking joyfully forward through the gloom of night to the rising of the morning star. But it is not so much with the single witness-bearers that we have at present to do, as with those *groups* of them which God from time to time has raised up for the glory of his name. Our narrative is not so much designed to be the history of solitary stars, however bright, as of clusters and constellations, though perhaps apparently of inferior lustre.

1. The first indication of any great ingathering of souls is in the fourth chapter of Genesis, where it is written, "Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord." These words refer, no doubt, to the *effects* of such an ingathering, rather than to the nature or manner of it; still, as President Edwards remarks, this seems to have been the effect of "a remarkable outpouring of the Spirit of God—the first remarkable outpouring that ever was." 2. There appears to have been some special work of the Spirit in the days of Noah, imme-

diately before the Deluge. We might have inferred this from the general tenor of God's dealings since, from which it is manifest, that always before the infliction of judgment he sends his Spirit, not merely to strive with men, but to gather the wheat into his garner before the chaff is set on fire. Probably this was the case in Noah's days. The mass of the world's population remained impenetrable, and went on recklessly in crime, with judgment hanging over them. But there were, in all likelihood, some with whom the Spirit not merely strove, but strove effectually, and who were safely lodged in the better ark before the deluge came, being taken away from the evil to come. 3. Abraham's day was, in many respects, a remarkable one. There was a band of witnesses for God all raised up together, such as had never been seen, before nor since, till the days of the Apostles. Abraham, Lot, Melchizedec, Job, with his four friends, who, with all their failings, seem to have been men of God; all these coming together not only lead us to rejoice that God had such witnesses in that age, but also to infer that there were many more such who, though unrecorded here, are yet "written in Heaven." Surely the Holy Spirit wrought mightily in that period, when men, such as those we have named, stand forth as the representatives of the Church, and monuments of divine grace and power. 4. During the wilderness sojournings of Israel, there are several indications of a work of God at different periods. We read, for instance, regarding the people, that, "when he slew them then they sought him, and they returned and inquired early after God." (Ps. lxxviii. 34.) And though, with regard to the majority of the nation, this was done feignedly, and under the mere influence of terror, still it is almost certain that at such seasons, there was much real turning to the Lord, and much of the Spirit's awakening and converting power manifested before the eyes of Israel. While the soul of Moses was grieved at their false-heartedness and formality, yet doubtless it was oftentimes cheered by witnessing many real conversions. 5. The days of Joshua seem to have been days of blessing. The unanimity which prevailed among the people, the cordiality with which they followed him as their leader, and the zeal which they on several emergencies manifested for the glory of God, indicate something more of genuine religion than had before been manifested. And when, in answer to his dying charge, they solemnly declared with one voice, "The Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey," (Josh. xxiv. 24.), we can scarcely fail to recognize in this the Holy Spirit's power, in giving them one heart and one soul to seek the Lord. 6. The next great awakening is that recorded in the beginning of the second chapter of Judges. The angel of the Lord "came up from Gilgal to Bochim," to reprove the people for their ingratitude and backslidings. On hearing

his expostulation of mingled severity and love, "they lifted up their voice and wept." The Holy Spirit seems to have descended at Bochim, as he did at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, in convincing power. The whole camp was awakened. One united cry of conviction and alarm rose from the tents of Israel, and the sacrifice which they immediately offered shews that their convictions drove them to the blood of sprinkling. Surely this was the mighty hand of God. It must have been a solemn scene. 7. On several occasions during the period of the Judges, there were remarkable movements among the people, very similar to what had taken place in the wilderness. The seasons of alternate revival and decay are perhaps more marked during these four hundred years than at any other period. Israel forsook God, and worshipped idols. God gave them over to their enemies, and wrought against them with his terrible judgments. Then he returned to them in mercy, swept off their invaders, and poured out the spirit of repentance upon them. 8. In the days of Samuel, God seems to have made bare his arm. He seems to have wrought mightily in the midst of them through means of that holy man, who is truly one of the most wonderful of all Israel's mighty men, combining in his own person the offices of prophet, priest, and king, and presenting to us, from childhood to age, a most marvellous example of consistent holiness, childlike simplicity, manly boldness, and heavenly walking with God. 9. Under David there seems to have been a most extensive revival of the work of God in Israel. The Spirit seems to have been plentifully poured out on the nation in those days, when he fashioned the lips of David to utter those manifold breathings of his soul, which, while they guided the worship of Israel in that age, led their eye forward to Him who was the true theme of all these songs of Zion. 10. Solomon's days seem to have been days of refreshing. The Holy Spirit was manifestly present at the dedication of the temple, making the people's hearts to overflow with gladness when coming together to worship God in the midst of the varied types, which spoke of the manifold fulness of a coming Saviour. Jesus was then lifted up, and men were drawn to him by the Father. 11. Several periods in the history of the kings of Judah, seem to have been blest with the outpouring of the Spirit. In the reigns of Jehoshaphat, Josiah, and Hezekiah, God visited his people, and sent rain to his weary heritage, that his name might not be forgotten in Israel, and that a promised Saviour might not want many, even in the days of Israel's idolatry, to rejoice in his approaching advent. 12. Probably, during their captivity, God gave evidence that he had not forsaken his people, even in their desolation and exile. Many were raised up in Babylon to testify for the true God. Tribulation seems to have humbled them; and the hearts of the believing ones were gladdened

by receiving a little revival in their bondage, as well as by having Jehovah as "a little sanctuary," in the land of their enemies. Even in Babylon, the Holy Spirit wrought His mighty wonders, and manifested His power in raising up and sanctifying such men as Ezekiel and Daniel, two of the most holy, heavenly, spiritual characters which the Old Testament presents to us. 13. At the return from Babylon the Spirit again moved upon the face of that long-desolate land, bringing order out of confusion, and light out of darkness, "renewing the face of the earth." Something more was wrought than merely rearing the walls of Jerusalem or rebuilding and readorning the courts and chambers of the temple. Living temples rose by the Spirit's hand, not only in Jerusalem, but throughout the cities and villages of Judah. 14. The last scriptural record of a revival in Israel is that alluded to by the prophet Malachi. "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another." (Mal. iii. 16.) This description has manifest reference to some striking spiritual movement among that degenerate and God-forsaking people. It is not the picture of an ordinary state of things. It is not the mere "two or three" meeting together to talk of their common hopes and common joys. It is evidently some drawing together of God's faithful ones, a company whose numbers the Spirit had been adding to in a very striking way, a band such as the praying ones in the upper chamber of Jerusalem, after the Lord's ascension, a band such as that which drew around Wesley and Whitefield, in our own land, a band such as that which God seems calling out and joining together in our own day. The Lord call out thousands and tens of thousands more than have been already done! The Lord link together, in blessed bonds of love, those whom he has already called! The Lord make ready a people for the coming of the SON of MAN!

The present situation of the Church of Christ bears a striking resemblance to its condition in some of these past ages to which we have been referring. Iniquity prevails, and the love of many waxes cold; yet still there is a remnant witnessing for God amid a crooked and perverse generation; still the Holy Spirit is manifestly working among us, and reviving us in our bondage. True there are no scenes such as that of Israel at Bochim,—a whole people melted down before the Lord, and trembling at his word; nor are there scenes such as that of Pentecost, when three thousand were converted under one sermon. Yet still there are tokens of God's presence and favour even amid marks of his just displeasure against our sins. There are signs of his returning to bless us in the days of old.

In the days of Zerubbabel, when the Jewish Church was just beginning to raise her head a little amid the ruins of Jerusalem, the prophet Haggai was sent to comfort her under her desolations, with

the assurance that Jehovah was still with her, and to cheer her with the prospect of coming, though still distant glory. Israel's consolation may be ours. We have the same assurances of unchanging love to take refuge in, and the same prospect of approaching glory and deliverance, not only for the Church of Christ, but for the whole earth. Nothing could make Jehovah break his covenant with Israel or lead him to forsake his people and his temple. It was not the extinguished fire and the shivered altar that could induce him to depart from the shrine where his glory had so long made its visible abode. It was not the ruined temple with its plundered courts and spoiled glory, that could lead him to forsake the Mount Zion that he loved. It was not the deserted city, with its fallen towers and dismantled bulwarks, nor the desolate land with its untilled untrodden fields, that could drive him from the beloved Jerusalem, or from the soil which he had given to Abraham, and to his seed as an inheritance for ever. Nor was it all Israel's long transgression, aggravated and multiplied, age after age, that could make him cast them utterly away, if only they would return unto him from all their backslidings. Even so may we take refuge in his grace, resting ourselves upon his promises, and looking to him to revive his work in the midst of us.

True our iniquities have separated us from God. Our backslidings testify against us. We have sinned away his mercy. We have grieved the Holy Spirit, so that his hand works not now among us in the same mighty power as in other days. Our pride, in which we so much resemble Israel, has grieved him. He cannot dwell with those whose feeling is, "stand by, for I am holier than thou." Our unteachableness and stubbornness of heart have vexed him and constrained him to leave us to the blindness of our own dark minds. Will he always strive with those who will not be taught, and who prefer man's wisdom to his? Our "anger, wrath, malice, clamour, and evil-speaking" have grieved him; for he is the Spirit of love, his emblem is the dove, and how can he dwell amid the bitter strife of human passions? Our inconsistency and worldly-mindedness have banished him from our coasts; for how can he whose office is to glorify Christ abide with those who name the name of Christ, yet do not depart from iniquity? Nor can anything more certainly quench him than that formality and hollowness in religion which is but too prevalent in these days. The drawing near to God with the lip while the heart is far distant, is one of the sins which God most abhors, and which tends more, perhaps, than any other sin, to grieve the Spirit away. And oh, what an amount of formal, hollow profession is there amongst us! The churches of Christ, like Jeshurun, have "waxed fat and kicked." Like Ephesus, they have left their first love. Like Sardis, they have but a "name that they live and are dead." Like Laodicea, they

fancy that they are rich and increased in goods, and have need of nothing, not knowing that they are "wretched and miserable, and poor and blind and naked."

Yet God has not forsaken them; and he is making these, their iniquities and backslidings, the occasion of displaying yet more of the riches of his grace. He is lifting up his voice to awaken us from our security. He is stretching out his hand to shake us out of our slothfulness, and causing us feel that it is not for any Christian, or for any Church of Christ, to be enjoying the luxury of "ease in Zion," and forgetting that this is the wilderness, not Canaan, Egypt, not Jerusalem, a place for the pitching of our tents day by day, not the city of everlasting habitations.

Oh that the Churches of Christ would awake at the sound of his voice! Oh that they would turn unto him who hath torn and who will heal them, who hath smitten and who will bind them up! Oh that they would recognise the Holy Spirit's hand and power, from the beginning downwards to the present

hour. Oh that they would cease to think of him as some vague diffusive *influence*, and acknowledge him as the Living Spirit of God, by whose personal indwelling and inworking in our souls, we are quickened, convinced, converted, comforted, sanctified, and made meet for the kingdom! Who can say how much of our present barrenness and backsliding may be traced to our not *honouring* the Spirit with that honour which is due unto his name? Dr Owen truly remarks, "there is nothing excellent among men, whether it is absolutely extraordinary, or whether it consists in an eminent improvement of their abilities, but is ascribed in Scripture to the Holy Spirit as the immediate operator and efficient cause of it. *Of old He was ALL; now some would have him to be nothing.*" How can there be prosperity in a church or progress in a soul where there is not the distinct acknowledging and honouring of the Holy Spirit in every thing?

"HE THAT HATH AN EAR LET HIM HEAR WHAT THE SPIRIT SAITH UNTO THE CHURCHES."

KELSO, OCT. 21, 1843.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

ON THE CHARACTERS AND USES OF THIS KIND OF HISTORY.

ALL who are acquainted with the New Testament, know what a considerable part of it is employed in historical narrations of the success of the Gospel. We meet with them in the Evangelists; the Acts of the Apostles are a continued series of them; and they are even to be found in the Epistles intermixed with doctrinal and practical subjects; a convincing proof that they have a tendency, by the divine blessing, to promote real religion.

These Scripture narrations (the true standard of this manner of writing) are of two sorts: the first sort contain accounts of considerable numbers wrought upon, at one and the same time. And these accounts are sometimes more compendious, sometimes more diffuse and circumstantiate. The second sort contain large accounts of particular eminent persons, such as Paul, Cornelius, the jailor at Philippi, &c.

The chief materials of the first sort of narrations are such as these; 1. The numbers that were converted, sometimes told in a more general way, as when it is said, "Believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women." And "the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly." Sometimes in a more particular and determinate way, as when we are told, that "there were added to the church about three thousand souls." And that "the number of the men who believed were about five thousand." 2. The religious instructions that were the means of this happy change, and the instruments employed in proposing these instructions. 3. The providences that brought them in the way of those that reaped such benefit by them. 4. The earnest prayers that preceded such times, and the uncommon influences of the Holy Spirit that attended them. 5. The blessed fruits of holiness in the lives of the converts, as when we are told, "They continued daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising

God, and having favour with all the people." And again, "the churches had rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost were multiplied." And, in another place, "Our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; and ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost: so that ye were ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia." By the way we may notice, that the short descriptions contained in the passage just now quoted, of the blessed change wrought upon the hearts of sinners, when redemption is applied to them, the divine image restored, and the precious grace repentance, faith, and love, &c. implanted, are to be considered as explained more fully in the other parts of Scripture that are more strictly doctrinal and practical, which show more particularly the nature of those blessed attainments, and teach us to make proper allowances for the diversity of degrees in spiritual attainments of the same kind.

As to the second sort of narrations, concerning particular eminent persons, we find these used in such cases as the following: 1. When the persons were made remarkably instrumental in promoting the Gospel; especially if they were formerly noted opposers of it, as Paul; or had denied it in any degree, as Peter. 2. When they were men of extraordinary gifts and graces, and of exemplary diligence and fervency, as Barnabas and Apollos; descriptions of such characters being very proper parts of a history of the success of the Gospel, both as such men were instances of it in their own persons, and as they were instruments in the hand of God to bring in others. 3. When they were men of exemplary fidelity and steadiness, in sealing the truth with their sufferings of various kinds, as Stephen, Paul, Silas,

Peter. 4. When there was something remarkably gracious, or remarkably providential, or both, in their conversion; as the jailor and Onesimus.

Several other particulars might be added, but these few hints may be sufficient to direct an intelligent reader who is acquainted with the Scriptures, to judge how far the following collection is agreeable to the Scripture pattern of this species of writing.

There is indeed an infinite disparity betwixt inspired and uninspired writings: yet it is to be considered that the knowledge of facts relating to the success of the Gospel, is represented to have had very good effects even before they were recorded in holy Scripture, when spread merely in the ordinary way of well attested report or correspondence.¹ And this show show wisely HE, who is at once the author of nature, and God of all grace, does, in the operations of his grace, act suitably to the frame of our nature, on which example has so peculiar an influence, though far from being of sufficient efficacy in this case, without the Almighty influences of his Holy Spirit.

And here it seems to deserve particular notice, that though the age of the apostles was that of miracles, and immediate inspiration: and though it was easy to HIM who instructed his servants in that way, in the knowledge of the truths of the Gospel, to have informed them at any time, in the same way, as to the facts relating to the success of it: yet the great apostle Paul, is made to set us a pattern of seeking information about such facts from men who had access to know them.* This consideration ought to make us beware of despising the knowledge we may attain of the success of the Gospel, in the ordinary way of moral or historical evidence.

When witnesses are sufficient as to their characters, their numbers, and their means of information; their testimony affords a very high degree of moral evidence. This is still increased when it has the concurrence of adversaries; as the accounts we have of the primitive Christians, for instance, are greatly confirmed by the testimony of Pliny, a heathen. And the evidence which facts admit of is still greater, when what is attested is not merely one single fact, or a number of facts happening at the same instant; but a permanent series of them exposed to the view of numbers. Of this kind was the evidence Paul had of the conversion of these Corinthians, which he speaks of not as peculiar to himself and other apostles, but as known to all, "Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men, for as much as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us."^a Such evidence of holiness is what the Scripture calls elsewhere "a light shining before men," and what makes its subjects to "shine as lights in the world."

As to the uses of the following collection, it is

¹ See Rom. i. 8, compared with 1st Thess. i. 7, 8.

^a 1st Thess. iii. 5, 6.

^a 2d Cor. iii. 2, 3.

hoped several will occur to the intelligent serious reader, which need not be enumerated here. Only (as was observed in the recommendation annexed to the proposals): 1. Without such a collection, several smaller pieces, out of which valuable materials are here taken, are in danger of being lost. 2. When similar facts, that were so dispersed, and sometimes mixed with other subjects in different books (some of which are rare in this country) are now united, so as to be laid before the reader in one view, and methodized according to the order of time in which the events happened in different places; they may be read and compared with much greater advantage in subserviency to the various branches of edification for which they ought to be improved. 3. Though the chief subject of the whole is the success of the Gospel; yet, as it is of great use to know the evils which have been found, in experience, to have greatly marred that success, the composures, here collected, do contain important informations on that head. 4. Though by far the greatest part of the materials are taken from the useful writings formerly published, yet there are some new materials of so much the greater importance, as they relate directly to the evidences of the perseverance of goodly numbers, concerning whom several things formerly published could only narrate hopeful beginnings. To which may be added, 5. That the lovers of religious intelligence, who observe involuntary defects in this collection, for want of more materials, have in this an argument to excite them to get these defects made up, that so this kind of history may be gradually more completed. And, if this end is gained, it may prove, by the divine blessing, of real service to the interests of religion.

I shall conclude, with insisting a little upon one particular improvement of all our reading and conversation of this kind, which, for various reasons, claims peculiar attention: and that is, that it should move us to continual ardent prayer, that the Lord would give more success than ever to his gospel in all parts of the earth.

If this is one of the branches of practical religion that has been least inculcated, in proportion to its importance, is not this an additional inducement to greater application to a too much neglected duty? Does not the first half of the prayer, which our Lord himself taught us, relate to this case? so that to put up any of the first three petitions of it, is in effect to pray for the success of the gospel.

But, besides that excellent pattern of prayer, is there not a great variety of other scripture motives to this duty, from scripture precepts, examples, and promises; from the love we owe to God, to his Zion, to his ordinances and truths, to his saints, to all men, to our own souls; from the tendency of such exercises, to strengthen and evidence the graces whence they flow; to purify the heart through grace from the opposite evils, and to promote the heavenly and an-

gelical joy resulting from dispensations that fulfil the desires implied in such prayers.

Is it not a just motive to superior earnestness, in the duty under consideration, that whereas in praying merely for ourselves, we pray but for the happiness of one soul; in prayer for the success of the gospel, we pray for the happiness of thousands, and for our own among the rest? If it is cruelty to indulge indifference about the temporal interests of others, especially the most important of them, though even these deserve not the name of happiness; is not a worse name, if worse there is, than cruelty, due to indifference about these eternal interests of men, to which their highest temporal interests bear no proportion?

Is it not to kindle ardent desire, and prayer for the success of the gospel, that the scripture descriptions of eminent dispensations of that kind, are made with such uncommon magnificence of style, as to resemble descriptions of heaven? "Zion is said to awake, to put on strength, to put on her beautiful garments, to arise and shake herself from the dust, to arise and shine, because her light is come, and the glory of the Lord risen on her, and that his glory is seen on her, whence nations will come to the brightness of her rising; that her righteousness breaks forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth; yea, that she is clothed with the robes of righteousness, and garments of salvation, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and a bride adorneth herself with her jewels; so as she is a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a diadem of beauty in the hand of her God. Her stones laid with fair colours, her foundations with sapphires, her windows made of agates, her gates carbuncles, and all her borders of pleasant stones. Not only the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, and the glory of Lebanon given her; but her wilderness made like Eden, and her desert as the garden of the Lord. The Lord rending the heavens, coming down, placing salvation in Zion for Israel his glory; appearing in his glory to build up Zion, and by doing so, taking to him his great power and reigning. Making his work to appear unto his servants, and his glory to their children, so as the beauty of the Lord their God may be upon them, girding his sword on his thigh in his glory and majesty, and in his majesty riding prosperously, making his people see his goings, as the goings of their God and their King in his sanctuary. As walking amidst the golden candlesticks, glorifying the house of his glory, and making the place of his feet glorious. On all the glory meeting a defence, and shewing himself a wall of fire round about Zion, and the glory in the midst of her, as her everlasting light, her God and her glory."

Should it not greatly add to the ardour of our prayers, for the success of the gospel, and our praise for every instance of it, when we consider that such

events are represented, not only as the objects of Zion's heavenly joy, but of a joy infinitely more glorious, and in which it is her highest dignity to share, that of HIM whose great and free love makes its own chief effects, consistently with self-sufficiency, the objects of great complacency, without being the cause of any advantage. "Be you glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create; for behold I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy; and I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people." No wonder such expressions should be followed with promises about putting an end to the voice of weeping; and when they are compared with others of the same import, are they not a commentary on our Lord's words, about his servants, as entering into his joy, and his joy as being in them, that their joy may be full?

In the Hundred and Second Psalm, when 'tis mentioned as a proof, that the time of God's favouring Zion was come, because his servants were favouring her dust and stones; is it not plainly implied that such glorious days cannot be far off, when there is much longing and pleading for them? and though the regarding the prayer of the destitute, mentioned in that Psalm, is indeed accomplished, in dispensations of grace, to particular members of Zion; is there not good ground from the connection of purposes, to understand it there, as respecting the general interests of Zion, which are the subject both of the preceding and following context, especially considering that remarkable character of the mentioned regard to prayer; that it was to be written on record, not only for the present but future generations? To restrict that context to the return from Babylon would be absurd, when it speaks so evidently of New Testament times, and seems to extend even to the latest and happiest of them. Mean time, may it not be considered as one of these Scriptures, which directs us to consider New Testament revivals, not only as accomplishments of Old Testament predictions, but also as answers to Old Testament prayers? according to what is said of the tribes of the ancient church, "Unto which promise made of God to our fathers, our twelve tribes instantly serving God day and night, hope to come."²

Though great importunity in such prayers is strongly inculcated in the expression of the sixty-second chapter of Isaiah, which require the Lord's people not to hold their peace, not to keep silence day or night; and, to give themselves no rest; is there not something still more astonishing in what is added, verse seventh of the same chapter, about their giving HIM no rest, till he establish and make Jerusalem a praise in the earth?

The above persuasives to prayer, are things about which it may be hoped, that people who differ about other things must agree. Such pious persons as are not yet sufficiently informed, and persuaded of seve-

¹ Is. lxx. 19, 19.

² Acts, xxvi. 6, 7.

ral past events, as instances of the success of the Gospel, must own, that they see not the less, but rather the more need of prayer for future success, even such as shall unite us all in thanksgiving, for what we must own we are now bound to unite in prayer for.

Are not all these late extraordinary dispensations of grace, with which the Lord has favoured so many different corners, so many gracious invitations and encouragements, and consequently so many new additional obligations to ask for more, as they put new arguments in our mouths; so that, in pleading, that the arm of the Lord may "Awake as in the days of old," we may add now also as in the days of late.

If before these late gracious dispensations, prayer for such blessings was so much neglected, that in some respect it may be said, the Lord was found of people when they sought him not, and did wonderful things which we looked not for; may it not be hoped, if there shall be an abundant united seeking and looking for him, a seeking his face, and that with all the heart, that we shall find, that he has not commanded the house of Jacob to do this in vain, and that as he never was, he never will be "a wilderness, nor land of darkness" to them who long for him?

It is indeed too certain that there are also, in our day, several discouragements relating to the public interests of religion; particularly the opposition to Christianity, whether more openly or otherwise, surpassing perhaps what has appeared in Christendom for some ages. Our own sinfulness and ingratitude may also discourage us. But will remissness in prayer be justified by the things which shew the greatest need of earnestness? should not such things rather excite our attention the more to the assurances given us, that when so employed we are pleading for a cause that must finally prevail; and whose most threatening dangers and lowest times have frequently been soon followed with the most signal appearances in its behalf: as is evident from the times preceding the deliverances from Egypt and Babylon, the first promulgation of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformation. So agreeable is it to the church's experience and the Scripture promises concerning her, that when her power is gone, and she seems in imminent danger of being consumed; the power and good-will of him who dwelt in the bush seasonably interposes; and the time of need proves the time for the Lord to work.

How much is the exercise of faith and hope, even under public discouragements, extolled in Scripture,

not only as a forerunner of success, but also as matter of joyful reflection when it comes, as in that passage of the prophet, "The rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth; and it shall be said in that day, lo, this is our God, we have waited for him, and he will save us; this is the Lord, we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation!"

Whether the times of the greatest and most extensive flourishing of the Gospel promised to the church in the last days be far off or near at hand, is it not desirable to be of the number of those to whose fervent prayers these inestimable blessings shall be gracious returns? seeing it is evident from Scripture, that God will be enquired after, even for what he has absolutely promised; and that they who see such promises only afar off ought to embrace them. But it is no small encouragement, that as the glory of the latter days is still necessarily approaching, so some interpreters of great name, have, without presuming to determine the precise time, brought arguments of considerable weight to prove in general that the happy period cannot be far off. Sir Isaac Newton in his observations on the predictions, relating to that period in Daniel and the Apocalypse, which were published more than twenty years ago, in Part II. of his Book, Chap. I. near the end, has some remarkable passages upon the grounds of that probability. He observes, that in Daniel xii. 4, that prophet was commanded to shut up the words and seal the book, even to the time of the end: "That therefore is a part of this prophecy that it shall not be understood" (so clearly and fully) "before the last age of the world: but if the last age, the age of opening, these things be now approaching, as by the great successes of late interpreters it seems to be; we have more encouragement than ever to look into these things. If the general preaching of the Gospel be approaching, it is to us and our posterity that those words mainly belong. *In the time of the end the wise shall understand, but none of the wicked shall understand.*" *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein.*" And afterwards he adds, "Amongst the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing; and thence I seem to gather that God is about opening these mysteries. The success of others put me upon considering it; and if I have done any thing which may be useful to following writers, I have my design."

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

BOOK I.

A FEW HINTS OF THE SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

ITS QUICK AND EXTENSIVE PROGRESS IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES. SOME OF THE MEANS EMPLOYED BY DIVINE VENEDOM FOR PROMOTING IT; SUCH AS, 1. THE APOLOGIES FOR CHRISTIANITY WRITTEN BY MEN OF LEARNING. 2. THE SEAL OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS. 3. THE HOLINESS OF THEIR LIVES. 4. THEIR PATIENCE AND CONSTANCY IN SUFFERING MARTYRDOM. THE GOSPEL NOT ONLY SUBSISTS BUT FLOURISHES UNDER REPEATED PERSECUTION IN THE YEARS 67, 92, 108, 118, 167, 206, 237, 250, 257, 303.

*From MILLAR's Propagation of Christianity,
Vol. I. page 465, &c.*

THE swift progress of the Gospel, in the time of the Apostles, through most part of the then known world, was indeed astonishing. What followed was also remarkable; especially, if we consider that Christianity, from the spirituality of its precepts, its tendency to suppress lusts and corruptions, and its contrariety to the idolatry and superstition which had obtained a footing in the world for some thousands of years, was likely to meet with the fiercest opposition. In fact, it did meet with such opposition; yet still it prospered, being attended with the power of God.

Origen tells Celsus¹, "Many, both Greeks and Barbarians, wise and unwise, contend for the truth of our religion, even to the laying down their lives, a thing not known to any other profession in the world;" and he challenges him², "To shew such an unspeakable number, reposing confidence in Æsculapius, as he could shew of those who had embraced the faith of the holy Jesus." When Celsus objects, "That Christianity was a clandestine religion that crept up and down in corners;" Origen answers³, "That the religion of the Christians was better known through the world than the dictates of their best philosophers."

Nor were they mean and ignorant persons only that came over to Christianity. But, as Arnobius observes⁴, "Is not this an argument for our faith, that in so little a space of time, the sacraments of Christ's great name are diffused over the world; that orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, and philosophers, men of great genius, love our religion,

despising these things wherein before they trusted? that servants will rather suffer torments from their masters, wives sooner part with their husbands, and children chuse to be disinherited by their parents, rather than abandon the Christian faith?"

Tertullian, addressing himself to the Roman governors, in behalf of the Christians, assures them¹, "That though Christians be as strangers of no long standing, yet they had filled all places of their dominions, their cities, islands, castles, corporations, councils, armies, tribes, the palace, senate, and courts of judicature; only they had left to the Heathens their temples. They are fit and ready to war, though they yield themselves to be killed for their religion. Had they a mind to revenge themselves, their numbers were great enough to appear in open arms, having a party not in this or that province, but in all quarters of the world. Nay, should they all but agree to retire out of the Roman empire, what a loss would there be of so many subjects. The world would be amazed at the solitude which would ensue upon it; and you would have more enemies than friends; whereas now your enemies are fewer, because of the multitude of Christians, almost all your subjects and best citizens consisting of Christians. It would be more than a sufficient revenge to us, that your city, if we were gone, would be an empty possession to unclean spirits: and therefore Christianity is not to be called a trouble to your cities, but a favour; nor are we to be accounted enemies to mankind, but only adversaries to human errors?" The same learned Author, writing to Scapula, deputy of Africa, then persecuting the Christians, desires him to consider², "If he went on with his persecution, what he would do with these many thousands, both of men and women, of every rank and age, that would readily offer themselves? what fires or swords must he have to dispatch them? Carthage itself must be decimated, his own friends and acquaintances, the principal men and matrons in the city, will suffer; if you spare not us, spare yourself, spare Carthage; have pity on the province."

Pliny the younger, though a Heathen, confesses to the Emperor³, "That the cause of the Christians was a matter worthy of deliberation, by reason of the multitudes who were concerned; for many of each sex, of every age and quality, were and must be called in question; this superstition, says he, having in-

¹ Book i. Pp. 21, 22. ² Book iii. p. 124. ³ Book i. p. 7.
 ⁴ Against the Gentiles, Book i. p. 68.

¹ Apology, Chap. xxxvii. p. 46. ² To Scapula, Chap. xv. p. 92.
 ³ Pliny's Epistles, Book x. Epist. 97.

fect and over-run not the city only, but towns and countries, the temples and sacrifices being generally forsaken."

Justin Martyr tells Tryphon, the Jew¹, "That however they might boast of the universality of their religion, that there were many nations and places of the world, where they nor it ever came; whereas there was no part of mankind, whether Greeks or Barbarians, or by what name soever they be called, even the most rude and unpolished nations, where prayers and thanksgivings were not made to the great Creator of the world, through the name of the crucified Jesus."

Irenaeus, who flourished in the year 179, informs us², "This preaching of the Gospel, and this faith the church scattered up and down, the whole world maintains, as inhabiting one house, and believes it with one heart and soul, teaches and preaches it as with one mouth; for though there be different languages in the world, that doctrine that has been delivered to the church is but one and the same. The churches which are founded in Germany do not believe otherwise than those in Spain, France, Egypt, and Lybia, as well as those in the middle of the world."

Tertullian, above-cited, gives a larger account,³ "Their sound," says he, "went through all the earth (speaking of the Apostles), in whom but in Christ, who is now come, have all these nations believed? Even Parthians, Medes, Elamites, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, and Pamphilia, those who dwell in Egypt, and the region of Africa, which is beyond Cyrene, strangers and denizens at Rome, Jews at Jerusalem, and the rest of the nations; as also many of the Getuli, many borders of the Moors; the utmost bounds of Spain, divers nations in Gaul, and places of Britain, inaccessible to the Roman armies, have yielded subjection to Christ; and also the Sarmatians, the Dacians, the Germans, and the Scythians, with many obscure countries and provinces, islands and places unknown to us, which, says he, I cannot reckon up; in all which the name of Christ reigns, because he is now come, before whom the gates of all cities are set open, and bars of iron are snapt asunder; that is, these hearts, once possessed by the devil, are opened by faith in him." And afterwards he demonstrates, that the kingdom of Christ is more extensive than any of the four great monarchies.

To which, add another passage of Arnobius; he, when speaking of the success of the Gospel, says⁴, "We may enumerate these things done in India among the Persians and the Medes; and also in Arabia, Egypt, Asia, Syria, Galatia, Cappadocia, among the Parthians, Phrygians, in Achaia, Macedonia and Epirus; and in all isles and provinces that the rising or setting sun shines upon, even at Rome itself, the empress of all, where men, educated in king Numa's arts and ancient superstition, have forsaken the same, and heartily embraced the truth of the Christian religion."

There were many things, in the first two or three centuries, that very much recommended Christianity to the world, and in divine providence tended to the happy progress of it. I shall notice the following.

First, Several men of learning became defenders of Christianity. It could not but be satisfying to men of meaner capacities, to see those of greater understanding, who could not be easily imposed upon, trampling under foot their former opinions, and not only entertaining the Christian faith, but strenuously defending it. The Gospel, at its first appearing in the world, was published by men of ordinary education, that it might not seem to be a human artifice. But, when after an hundred years considerable progress, malice did inflame its adversaries, it was proper to take in external helps to its assistance. The Christian apologists, and first writers against the Gentiles, did, by rational discourses, justify the Christians from the things they were unjustly charged with; proved the excellency, reasonableness and divinity of our holy religion, and exposed the folly and wickedness of Heathenism: by which means prejudices were removed, and many brought over to the faith. Thus, Quadratus of Athens, and Aristides, formerly a philosopher in that city, dedicated each an apology to the emperor Hadrian. Justin, the martyr, besides his tract against the Gentiles, wrote two apologies; the first to Antoninus Pius, the second to Marcus Aurelius and the senate. About the same time Athenagoras presented his apology to the emperors Marcus Aurelius, and Aurelius Commodus, and wrote his excellent discourse concerning the resurrection. To the same Marcus Aurelius, Melito, of Sardis, did exhibit his apologetic oration. To him also Apollinaris, of Hierapolis, in Asia, dedicated his defence of the Christian faith, and wrote five books against the Gentiles, and two concerning the truth. Not long after, Theophilus, of Antioch, composed his three excellent books for the conviction of Autolycus; and Miltiades presented an apology, probably, to the emperor Commodus; and Tatian, the Syrian, scholar to Justin Martyr, wrote a book against the Gentiles. Tertullian, a man of great learning, the first among the Latins that appeared in this cause, under the reign of Severus, published his apologetic, directed to the magistrates of the Roman empire, besides his books to the Gentiles, to Scapula, and many more. After him succeeded Origen, whose eight books against Celsus, did great service to the Christian cause. Minucius Felix, an eminent advocate at Rome, wrote a short, but most elegant dialogue between Octavius and Caecilius, which, as Lactantius observes,¹ shows how fit and able an advocate he would have been to assert the truth, had he wholly applied himself to it. About the time of the emperors Gallus and Velusian, Cyprian addressed himself in a discourse to Demetrius, pro-consul of Africa, in behalf of the Christians, and published his tract on the Vanity of Idols, which is a compend of Minucius' Dialogue. Toward the close of that age, under Diocletian, Arnobius, who taught rhetoric at Sica in Africa, being convinced of the truth of Christianity, could hardly at first make others believe he was in earnest; therefore, to evidence his sincerity, he wrote seven books against the Gentiles, where he smartly and rationally pleads the Christian cause. Lactantius, his scholar, professed rhetoric at Nicodemia; he composed several discourses in defence of the Christian, and in subversion of the Gentile religion.

A second mean of the progress of Christianity, was the indefatigable zeal used in the propagation of it. Every method was essayed to reclaim men from

¹ Dialogue with Tryphon.

² Against Heresies, Book iii. Chap. iii. p. 39.

³ Against the Jews, Chap. vii. p. 68.

⁴ Against the Gentiles, Book ii. p. 64.

¹ Of Righteousness, Book v. Chap. I. p. 205.

error, and bring them to the acknowledgment of the truth. The teachers of the primitive church preached boldly, and prayed heartily, for the reformation of mankind, solicited their neighbours, who were yet strangers to the truth, instructed and informed new converts, and built them up on their most holy faith. Those who were of greater parts and eminency erected schools, where they publicly taught such as resorted to them, in the principles of the faith, affording them antidotes both against heathens and heretics. Among us, says Tatian,¹ "Not only the rich and wealthy, but even the poor are freely instructed: for the doctrine concerning God is greater than can be recompensed with gifts; therefore, we admit all who are willing to learn, whether old or young." And a little after, he says, "All our virgins are sober and modest, and use to discourse of divine things, even sitting at their distaffs." No pains, no travel nor hardships, were counted insupportable to enlarge the bounds of the gospel-church. "The divine and admirable disciples of the apostles," says Eusebius,² built up the superstructures of the churches, the foundations whereof the apostles had laid, in all places where they came; they every where promoted the preaching of the Gospel, sowing the seeds of heavenly doctrine through the whole world. Many of the disciples then alive distributed their estates to the poor; and leaving their own country, did the work of evangelists to those who had never yet heard the Christian faith, preaching Christ, and delivering the evangelical writings to them. No sooner had they planted the faith in any foreign countries, and ordained guides and pastors, to whom they committed the care of these new plantations, but they went to other nations, assisted by the grace and powerful working of the Holy Spirit. As soon as ever they began to preach the Gospel, the people flocked universally to them, and cheerfully worshipped the true God, the creator of the world, piously and heartily believing in his name." In the number of these evangelical missionaries, were Silas, Sylvanus, Crescens, Andronicus, Trophimus, Marcus, Aristarchus, and afterwards Pantaenus, Pothinus and Irenaeus, with many others mentioned in the histories and martyrologies of the church, who counted not their lives dear to them; so that they might finish their course with joy.

Thirdly, Christianity recommended itself to the world, by the admirable holy lives of its professors, which could not but reconcile the unprejudiced part of the Gentiles to a good opinion of them, and vindicate their religion from the cavils of its adversaries. The piety of these primitive Christians towards God, their sobriety toward themselves, and their justice, righteousness, and charity towards others, are well explained and illustrated by the learned Dr Cave, from their own writings, in his book of Primitive Christianity. A few testimonies, to confirm it, shall suffice at this time. The Christian, in Minucius Felix, says,³ "We despise the pride and superciliousness of philosophers, whom we know to be debauched, corrupt men, adulterers and tyrants, always eloquent against the vices of which themselves are most guilty. We measure not wisdom by men's habits, but by their minds and manners; nor do we speak great things so much as we live them, glorying that we have attained these things which they

(i. e. the Gentiles) sought for, but could never find." Justin Martyr tells the emperor,⁴ "We Christians have renounced demons, and worship the only unbegotten God through his own Son: we, who formerly took pleasure in adulteries, now embrace the strictest chastity; we, who used magic charms, have devoted ourselves to the immortal God; we, who valued money and gain above all things, do now cast what we have in common, distributing to every one according to his need: we, who by hatred and slaughter, raged against each other, and refused to sit at the same fire with these who were not of our tribe, since Christ's coming into the world, familiarly converse together, pray for our enemies, and the conversion of those who unjustly hate us, endeavouring to persuade them to live according to the excellent precepts of Christ." Thereafter he informs the emperor of the precepts of holiness, given by Christ in his excellent sermon on the mount.

Wonderful was the efficacy of this doctrine upon the hearts and lives of men, which the Christian apologists plead, at every turn, as an unanswerable evidence, that their religion was of God, since it made all sorts of men, who received it, chaste and temperate, quiet and peaceable, meek and modest, yea, afraid of the appearance of evil. When the Heathens derided them for the mean and unpompous solemnities of their religion, they declared, that God respected no man for external advantages; he delighted in the pure and holy soul; he stood in no need of blood or smoke, perfumes or incense; the best sacrifice was to offer a mind truly devoted to him. Meekness and kindness, an humble heart, and an innocent life, was the offering with which God was well pleased; a pious soul was the fittest temple for God to dwell in; to do our duty, to abstain from sin, to be intent upon prayer and praise, the truest festival. This religion of the Christians rendered their profession amiable to the world, and oft forced their enemies to fall down, and say, God was in them of a truth.

Fourthly, The first Christians gained many proselytes, by their patience and constancy in their sufferings. They entertained the fiercest threatenings with an unshaken mind: they died rejoicing, and triumphed in midst of the greatest tortures. This continuing for some ages, convinced their enemies that they were supported by a divine supernatural power. Lactantius thus triumphs in the cause,⁵ "By reason of our wonderful courage," says he, "our number is increased, many flocking to us from those that worship idols; for, when they see men torn in pieces by variety of torments, and yet maintaining patience invincible, able to tire out their tormentors, they begin to think, as they have ground to do, that the consent of so many, and the perseverance of such dying persons, cannot be in vain; and that patience itself, were it not from God, could not hold out under such racks and tortures. Thieves, and men of robust bodies, are not able to bear such tearing in pieces; they groan and cry out, being overcome with pain, because not ended with patience inspired from Heaven; but our very children and women, to say nothing of our men, do with silence conquer their tormentors. Let the Romans go and boast of their Mutius and Regulus. Behold with us the weaker sex, and the most tender age, suffer their bodies to be torn and burnt. This is that true virtue which the philosophers vainly boast of,

¹ Discourse against the Greeks, Pp. 167, 168.

² Church History, Book iii. Chap. xxxvii.

³ In his Dialogue, p. 88.

⁴ Second Apology, p. 61.

⁵ Of Righteousness, Book v. Chap. xiii. xiv. p. 434.

but never really possessed." This, and more to the same purpose, he there urges to the honour of our religion.

By the force of such arguments, Justin Martyr confesses he was brought over from being a Platonic philosopher to become a Christian; for when he observed the Christians, whom he had often heard calumniated, not afraid of terrible deaths, "I thought with myself," says he,¹ "that it was not possible such persons could wallow in vice and luxury, it being the interest of vicious people to shun death, to dissemble with magistrates, and to do everything to save their lives." Tertullian tells Scapula, in the conclusion of his address to him,² "It is to no purpose to think this sect will fail, which you see is the more built up the faster it is cast down; for who can behold such eminent patience, and not have some scruple in his mind, and begin to inquire into the cause of it, and, when once he knows the truth, will not immediately follow it." Arrian, a Heathen, in his Commentary on Epictetus, owns,³ that the Galileans did undergo death and torments with courage, but ascribes it to fury and custom. Lucian, an avowed enemy of Christians, says,⁴ "These miserable wretches or devils do persuade those of their own party, that they shall surely be immortal, and live for ever; upon which account they despise death." Hence Julian, called the apostate, is said to have counted it policy not to put the Christians openly to death, because he perceived they were like new mown grass the oftener it was cut down, the thicker it sprang up again.

The first who raised a general persecution against the Christians, was the emperor Nero, of whom Tertullian tells the Gentiles; and, for the confirmation thereof, appeals to their public records;⁵ "We glory," says he, in such an author of our persecution: any body who knows him, may understand, that nothing but what is eminently good could be condemned by Nero." He was a prince of such brutish and extravagant manners, as their own writers scruple not to call him a beast in human shape, the very monster of mankind. He published laws for suppressing Christianity, and putting Christians to death, as appears by an inscription found in Spain;⁶ for he seems to have carried his persecution even to that country. Among other instances of his madness, he set Rome on fire in the year of our Lord 65. The flames reduced the far greatest part of it to ashes, Nero himself beholding the same with pleasure from Mæcenæ's tower, and, in the habit of a player, singing the destruction of Troy. This act exposed him to the hatred of an injured people, which he endeavoured to remove by promises and rewards, and by public supplication to the gods. Notwithstanding all this, Tacitus says,⁷ "The infamy could not be wiped off, the people still believing the burning of the city to have been done by his order: to abolish this rumour, he attached the odium of it to those who are commonly called Christians, from Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was crucified under Pontius Pilate. Though this superstition had

been a little borne down, yet it had spread again, not only through Judea, but through the city of Rome, where, says he, all evil things meet, and are had in reputation; they, who confessed themselves to be Christians, were seized upon, and, by farther discovery, a great multitude, whom not the burning of the city, but common hatred, made criminal. They were treated, when dying, with all instances of scorn and cruelty, were wrapped up in the skins of wild beasts, and worried by dogs; others were crucified, and others burnt alive, that, when day-light failed, they might serve for torches in the night. These spectacles Nero exhibited in his own gardens, as if they had been a Circensian game, himself being among the people in the habit of a charioteer. Yet though severity was used against those, says Tacitus, who deserved death, the people beheld them with pity, as the thing was not done for the public good, but to satisfy the cruelty of one man." This persecution continued a full year.

The short reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius and the merciful disposition of Vespasian, and Titus his son, gave some rest to the Christians, till Domitian succeeding to the empire, began a new persecution. "He had a portion," says Tertullian,¹ "of Nero's cruelty, but in this he exceeded him; Nero was content to command executions to be done at a distance, while Domitian took pleasure to see them done before his own eyes." The Christians did bear the heaviest load of his rage and malice, whom he every where persecuted by death or banishment. He commanded those to be killed who were of the stock of David in Judea.² He put to death his cousin-german Clemens, at that time consul, for giving a good testimony to Christ, and banished his wife Domitilla, his own kinswoman, into the island Pontia, upon the same account. This persecution began in the ninety-second year of the Christian era, twenty-six years after that by Nero, and continued to Domitian's death, which happened about three years after. His successor, Cocceius Nerva, abrogated his acts, and recalled those he had proscribed or banished.

The third persecution commenced under Trajan, whom Nerva appointed to be his successor: he looked upon the religion of the empire as undermined by this new way of worship; that the number of Christians grew formidable, and might possibly endanger the tranquillity of the Roman state; and that there was no better way to secure to himself the favour of the gods, especially in the wars, than to punish the Christians. Accordingly he issued out orders to proceed against them as illegal societies, erected, and acting contrary to the laws. He looked upon Christian assemblies as *heteriac*, or unlawful corporations; and under this pretence endeavoured to suppress them; and, in the mean time, commanded Christians either to sacrifice to the gods, or to be punished, as contemners of them. The chief of those who obtained the crown of martyrdom in this persecution, were, Clemens of Rome, Simon of Jerusalem, and Ignatius of Antioch. The last of these Trajan himself condemned, and ordered to be sent to Rome, and there thrown to wild beasts. His desire for martyrdom was great, as his words, recorded in Eusebius' history,³ do declare: "From Syria even to Rome, says he, I fight with beasts by

¹ First Apology, p. 50.

² To Scapula, Chap. v. p. 92.

³ Book iv. Chap. vii. p. 407. ⁴ Lucian's Works, Vol. ii. p. 763.

⁵ Apology, Chap. vi. p. 23.

⁶ *NERONI CL. CAES. AUG. PONT. MAX. OB. PROVINC. LATRONIB. ET. HIS. QUL. NOVAM. GENERALI. HUM. SUPPENTITIONE. INCULCAR. FUGATAM.* that is, "TO NERO CAESAR AUGUSTUS, high-priest, in memory of his having purged the country of robbers, and of such as had introduced and obtruded a new superstition upon mankind."—Cave's Primitive Christianity, p. 322.

⁷ Annals, Book xv. Chap. xlv. p. 364.

¹ Apology, Chap. vi. p. 23.

² Eusebius' History, Book iii. Chap. xv.

³ Book iii. Chap. xxxvi.

land and sea, night and day; bound with ten leopards, that is, a guard of soldiers, who are worse for the favours I do them. I am instructed by their injuries; yet by this I am not justified. I wish I may enjoy the beasts that are prepared for me, who I pray may make quick dispatch of me: I know what is best for me: now I begin to be a disciple, desiring nothing of things seen or unseen, that so I may gain Christ. Let fire, cross, troops of violent beasts, convulsion of members, bruising of the whole body, and all torments come upon me, so that I may enjoy Jesus Christ." Jerome adds, "That when this Ignatius was condemned to be actually thrown to wild beasts, and heard the lions roaring, he said I am Christ's wheat, which the teeth of wild beasts shall grind, that I may be found pure bread." He suffered in the eleventh year of Trajan.

This persecution raged, as in other parts of the empire, so especially in the provinces of Pontus and Bithynia, where Pliny the younger then governed as Proprætor, who seeing the vast number of Christians who were indicted by their accusers, and were very willing and ready to suffer martyrdom; and that to proceed to severity with all who came, would be in a manner to lay desolate these provinces, thought proper to write to the emperor concerning this matter, that he might know his pleasure. Seeing his letter contains a testimony from a Heathen, of the propagation of the Christian religion in these times, and also acquaints us so exactly with the state of Christians, their innocency and integrity, and the manner then of proceeding against them, I here insert a translation of it.

¹C. PLINIUS to the emperor TRAJAN. "It is my custom, in all affairs wherein I doubt, to have recourse to you; for who can better either sway my resolution, or instruct my ignorance; I have never been heretofore present at the examination and trial of Christians; and therefore know not what the crime is, or how far it is wont to be punished, or how to proceed in these inquiries. Nor was I a little at a loss whether regard be to be had to the difference of age, whether the young and the weak are to be distinguished from the more strong and aged; whether place may be allowed to repentance, and it may be an advantage to him, who was once a Christian, to cease to be so: whether the name alone, without other offences that go along with the name, ought to be punished. In the mean time, towards those, who, as Christians, have been brought before me, I have taken this course: I asked them, if they were Christians; if they confessed, I asked them once again, threatening punishment; if they persisted, I commanded them to be executed; for I did not at all doubt, but that, whatever their confession was, their stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. Others, who were guilty of the like madness, because they were Roman citizens, I adjudged to be transmitted to Rome. While things thus proceeded, the error spreading, as is usual, more cases offered; a nameless libel was presented, containing the designations of many, who denied themselves to be or have been Christians. These, when, after my example, they invoked the gods, and offered wine and incense to your statue, which, for that purpose, I commanded to be brought, with the images of the gods, and had moreover blasphemed Christ, which, 'tis said, none who are true Christians

can be compelled to do, I dismissed. Others mentioned in the libel confessed themselves Christians, but presently denied it; they had been such, but had renounced it, some by the space of three years, others many years, and one twenty-five years ago. All these paid their veneration to your statue, and to the images of the gods, and blasphemed Christ. They affirmed, the whole sum of their sect or error lay in this, that they used on a set solemn day, to meet together before sun-rising, and to sing among themselves a hymn to Christ, as the God whom they worshipped; and to oblige themselves, by an oath, not to commit any wickedness, but to abstain from theft, robbery and adultery, to keep faith, to restore any pledge intrusted with them; which being done, to depart for that time, and to meet again at a common meal, to partake of a promiscuous and harmless food, which they laid aside after my edict, according to your order, prohibiting the *heteriæ*, or unlawful assemblies, to be kept. To satisfy myself of the truth of this, I commanded two maids, called deaconesses, to be examined upon the rack; but I perceived nothing but a wicked and immoderate superstition; and therefore, delaying any further process, I have sent for your advice: for the case seemed to me worthy to be consulted, especially considering the great numbers that are in danger; for very many of all ages and ranks, both men and women, are, and will be called in question, the contagion of this superstition having overspread, not only cities, but towns and country villages, which yet, it seems, may be stopped and cured. 'Tis very evident, that the temples, which were almost quite forsaken, begin to be frequented; that the holy rites and solemnities, of a long time neglected, are set on foot again; and that sacrifices, from all parts, begin to be sold, which hitherto found very few to buy them: whence it is easy to conjecture, what multitudes might be reclaimed, if place be given to repentance."

This letter seems to be written about the year of our Lord one hundred and seven, the ninth of Trajan's reign, the emperor lying then at Antioch, in order to prosecute his wars in the East, where the persecution was very hot. By this account we see, that though the enemies of our religion load it with hard names, as a wicked and immoderate superstition, yet, at the same time, they own it innocent and unblameable. Though the severity of the persecution might tempt some to turn renegades, yet, so great was the number of the professors of Christianity in those parts, that Pliny knew not how to deal with them. To direct him, therefore, in this affair, the emperor sent him the following rescript:—

¹TRAJAN to PLINY greeting: "As to the manner of your procedure, my Secundus, in examining the causes of these that have been brought before you, for being Christians, you have taken the course you ought to take; for no general law can be framed, so as to provide for all cases. Let them not be sought for; but, if they be accused, and convicted, let them be punished. Yet, if any denies himself to be a Christian, and gives evidence of it, by supplicating our gods, though, heretofore, he has been suspected, let him be pardoned upon his repentance. But, as for libels, published without the names of the authors, let them not be regarded as to the crimes they charge; for that were an ill precedent, and is not usual in our reign."

¹ Pliny's Epistles, Book x. Epist. 97.

¹ Pliny, Book x. Epist. 93.

Hadrian, the adopted son of Trajan, succeeded in the empire, and continued the persecution raised by his predecessor: though we do not find that he made any new laws against the Christians, yet the old ones were still in force: and, as he countenanced heathenism, he gave occasion to those who hated the Christians, without any particular warrant, to fall upon them. Tertullian says,¹ "That when Arrius Antoninus (whom many conceive to be the same person who succeeded Hadrian in the empire) was proconsul of Asia, he severely persecuted the Christians. But the whole of them in that city, where he at the time was, having, as one man, beset his tribunal, and openly confessing themselves to be Christians, he was so amazed at the multitude that he caused only some few of them to be executed, telling the rest, that, if they had a mind to end their lives, they had precipices and halters enough at home, and need not come hither for execution." Eusebius informs us, that Serenius Granianus, one of the following proconsuls, wrote to Hadrian to mitigate the persecution; which the emperor commanded to be done, by a rescript,² directed to Minucius Fundanus, his successor in that province. The like he did in other places of the empire, as appears by Melito's Apology, a part whereof is preserved by Eusebius, Book iv. chap. 26.

The next persecution was under Antoninus Philosophus, and his brother Verus. The writers of Antoninus' life speak great things of him, as a good man, and a great philosopher; but, withal, zealous of heathen rites to the highest degree of superstition. He had, from his youth, been educated in the Salian college, all the offices whereof he had gone through,³ affecting an imitation of Numa Pompilius, from whom he pretended to derive his original. What thoughts he had of the Christians appears from this; that he ascribes their resolute undergoing of death to stubbornness and obstinacy;⁴ he was, therefore, easily led, by the priests and philosophers about him, into a prejudice against Christianity, and persuaded to begin a fifth persecution against the Christians, whom he endeavoured to suppress by new laws and edicts, exposing them to all the malice of their enemies. This persecution commenced in the eastern parts, about the seventh year of his reign, and continued several years; it spread likewise into the west, especially France, where it raged with great severity. That the conflict was very sharp, may be guessed by the crowd of apologies presented to the Emperor by Justin Martyr, Melito, Athenagoras, and Apollinaris. In Asia, Polycarp of Smyrna was among the first martyrs; twelve others, from Philadelphia, suffered with him. When the proconsul began to persuade him, saying, "Regard thy great age; swear by the genius of Cæsar; say, with us, Take away the impious, swear, blaspheme Christ, and I will release thee:" Polycarp answered, "These fourscore and six years have I served him, and He never did me any harm; how shall I blaspheme my Saviour!" He suffered about the hundredth year of his age, in the year of our Lord 167. In this persecution many others received the crown of martyrdom. At Rome, Ptolemy and Lucius, Justin, the martyr, and his companions, were first scourged, and then beheaded. In France, the letter writ by the churches of Lyons and Vienne to these of Asia and Phrygia, preserved

by Eusebius,¹ informs us, "That it was impossible for them to describe the cruelty of their enemies, and the severity of these torments the martyrs suffered, being beaten, hurried from place to place, plundered, stoned, imprisoned, with all expressions of ungovernable fury. Vettius Epagathus, a man full of zeal and piety, seeing his fellow-Christians unjustly dragged before the judgment-seat, asked leave of the president that he might plead his brethren's cause, and openly shew that they were not guilty of the least wickedness or impiety. But the court not daring to grant him so reasonable a request, the judge took the advantage to ask, if he was a Christian? which he publicly owning, suffered martyrdom. Blandina, a lady of singular virtue, but of whom the church doubted how she would hold out to make a resolute confession, by reason of the weakness of her sex, and tenderness of her education, yet endured all with such invincible magnanimity, that her tormentors, though they used all kinds of tortures, were forced to give over, and confess themselves overcome; wondering that a body so broken and mangled should yet be able to draw its breath: and declared, that one of these torments was sufficient to take away her life; much more so many and so great! But her happy soul gained strength by suffering, and mitigated all the sense of her pain, by repeating these words, *I am a Christian*. Biblis, though at first she fainted, yet recovered her courage, and expired in the midst of the most acute tortures. Pothinus, of Lyons, an infirm man, above ninety years old, was beaten and stoned to death. Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne, together with Maturus, were exposed in the amphitheatre, tormented, and imprisoned several days together, presented to wild beasts, placed in an iron chair red-hot; and, at last, run through with a spear. Attalus, a Roman citizen, was disgracefully led up and down, as in triumph, and then beheaded; as was also Alexander, the physician, a Phrygian, who readily professed himself a Christian; and Ponticus, a youth of fifteen years of age, who, through all methods of cruelty and torment, which might have shaken a more mature age, entered the kingdom of heaven." These, and some others, the circumstances of whose sufferings are more at large preserved by Eusebius, in the place last cited, cheerfully endured these extremities themselves, and encouraged and strengthened others.

Under the reigns of the emperors Commodus, Ælius Pertinax, and Julian, that is, from about the year 180 to 195, the Christians enjoyed peace; and, during this time, religion made great progress, for, as Eusebius informs us,² the doctrine of salvation did then prevail with all sorts of men to worship the only true God. Even at Rome, these who were of the first rank for riches and honours, with their whole families, joined themselves to the Christian church.

In the year 195, Severus, an African, got into the throne: he was a prince witty and learned, prudent and politic, hardy and valiant: though, at the same time, crafty, unfaithful, bloody, and passionate, as his own historian observes;³ his nature truly answering his name, *vere pertinax, vere severus*; that is, truly obstinate and cruel. He put to death many of the Roman senators. Under him began the sixth persecution; for though, at first, he shewed himself favourable to the Christians, yet afterwards he changed his mind, and gave ear to these who tra-

¹ To Scapula, Chap. v. p. 92.

² Church Hist. Book iv. Chap. ix.

³ Julius Capitolinus, p. 152.

⁴ Meditations, Book II. Sect. 3.

¹ Church Hist. Book v. Chap. i.

² Church Hist. Book v. Chap. xxi.

³ Spartian's Severus, p. 184.

duced them, as an infamous generation, a people that designed nothing but rebellion and treason against the state. Whereupon he not only suffered his ministers and governors of provinces to treat them with all imaginable cruelty, but also he himself gave out edicts, forbidding any, under the most terrible penalties, to profess either the Jewish or Christian religion, as is mentioned even by Spartian, a heathen,¹ which edicts were executed with that rigour and inhumanity, that the Christians in those days verily believed that the time of Antichrist did then take place. The martyrs of note, whom this persecution sent to heaven, were, Victor of Rome, Leonidas, the father of Origen, beheaded at Alexandria,² Serenus Heraclides, Heron, another Serenus, Plutarchus, all Origen's scholars, and Rhais, a Catechumen, Potamiana, an illustrious virgin, and her mother Marcella, after various torments, were committed to the flames, and Basilides, one of the officers who led them to the execution. Irenæus, of Lyons, having suffered several torments, was at length put to death. 'Tis not easy to assign the certain date of his martyrdom, the record thereof being lost; but, probably, it was about the year of our Lord 202,³ before Severus' expedition into Britain, when he took Lyons in his way. And, indeed, the vast numbers who are said to have suffered there, agree well enough with the fierce and cruel temper of that prince, who had conceived a particular displeasure against these citizens, and a worse against the Christians.

After his death, the church enjoyed peace for about twenty-seven years. The next who created disturbance to the Christians, was Maximinus, a man of an obscure original, and of a mean and sordid education. He was of strength and stature beyond the ordinary size, and his manners as robust and boisterous as his constitution. Never did a more cruel beast, says his historian,⁴ tread upon the earth, relying altogether upon his strength; and, upon that account, reckoning himself almost immortal: he spared none, especially those that knew any thing of his mean descent, that none might reproach him with the obscurity of his birth. The seventh persecution was raised by him. This persecution is placed in the year 237. Firmilian of Cappadocia, in his letter to Cyprian, says, "It was not a general but a local persecution that raged in some particular places," and especially in that province where he lived, Seremianus, the Roman president, driving the Christians out of all these countries." He adds, "That many dreadful earthquakes happening in these parts, whereby some towns were swallowed up, this gave new life and vigour to the persecution, it being usual with the Gentiles, if a famine, pestilence, earthquake, or inundation happened, to charge all upon the Christians, and to fall foul on them." Pontian, of Rome, (being before banished to Sardinia), and Anteros, his successor, did at that time both suffer martyrdom.⁵ Ambrosius, who was converted by Origen from the errors of Valentinus and Marcion, a rich man, and also of great parts and

learning, was then a noble confessor.¹ Origen wrote his book *de Martyrio*, for the comfort of those who suffered in this evil time. But this being lost, the names of the most of those who then suffered are unknown to us, but they are honourably written in the Lamb's Book of Life.

After Maximinus, reigned Balbinus and Pupienus: to them succeeded the Gordians; and to them Philippus Arabs, at which time, for about twelve years space, the Church enjoyed some tranquillity. But Decius having mounted the imperial throne, proved, though a good commander of an army, and a prudent governor, yet an implacable enemy to Christians, against whom he raised the eighth persecution in the year 250. This persecution, though among the shortest (for it continued not two years) yet was the hottest of any that had hitherto oppressed the Church: which may be ascribed to the emperor's zeal for declining Heathenism, which he saw undermined by Christianity, and that there was no support for the one, but by the ruin of the other. During his time the storm was very black and violent. There was no place but what felt the dreadful effects of it: the Christians were everywhere drawn from their houses, spoiled of their estates, and tormented in their bodies. Whips and prisons, fire and wild beasts, scalding pitch and melted wax, sharp stakes and burning pincers, were but some of the methods of their treatment. When the old ones were run over, new were daily contrived; the laws of nature and humanity were broken down, friend betrayed friend, and the nearest relation, his own father and brother. Every one was ambitious to promote the imperial edicts, and thought it meritorious to bring a Christian to the stake. Dionysius, of Alexandria, says,² "That in that city they fell upon a Presbyter, called Metra, whom they would have forced to blaspheme Christ. When he refused to do it, they beat him with staves and clubs, with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes, and then stoned him to death. They apprehended a holy woman, called Quinta, and endeavoured to compel her to worship in an idol temple, which she refusing, the persecutors bound her feet, and dragged her through the street on hard stones, whipt her, dashed her against millstones, and stoned her to death. They apprehended Serapion in his house, whom they treated with the most bitter torments, broke all the joints of his body, and throwing him from a high loft killed him. The poor Christians could no where shelter themselves, nor rest day or night, the multitudes crying out, that unless they would blaspheme Christ, they should all be burned. But sedition and intestine war troubling our persecutors, we got a little breathing. Soon after came out cruel edicts, which made some stagger: others more strong in the faith, valiantly endured persecution, and obtained martyrdom; as Julian, a man diseased with the gout, and not able to stand, and Cronion, who were laid upon camels, scourged, and at last thrown into the fire, where, with great constancy, they suffered death in view of the multitude. When Julian went to martyrdom, a soldier standing by checked those who abused the sufferer with reproachful words; whereupon a cry being raised, the soldier was presently apprehended, and, being found a sted-

¹ Spartian's Severus, p. 184.—"Judeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. Idem de Christianis sanxit." That is, he prohibited Judaism under a severe penalty. The same law he made against Christianity.

² Eusebius' Church Hist. Book vi. Chap. i.

³ Cave's Life of Irenæus, p. 164.

⁴ Julius Capitolinus, p. 228.

⁵ Spanheim's Christian Hist. Col. 761.

⁶ Cyprian's Epistles, No. 75.

¹ Eusebius' Church Hist. Book vi. Chap. xviii. xix.

² In the same place, Chap. xli.

fast soldier of Christ, was beheaded." It might detain us too long to give a detail of the sufferings of the rest; as Epimachus, Alexander, Ammon, Zeno, Ptolemy, Ammonaria, Mercuria, Isidore, and Dioscorus, a boy of fifteen years of age, and many others, who willingly declared themselves to be Christians before the Heathen tribunals, and that they were ready to seal their testimony with their blood; which frightened the judges, and made the cause of Christ to triumph, as is mentioned by the same Dionysius: "Neither know I any, save one, says he, of all they seized to this very day, who denied our Lord."

Gallus succeeded Decius, as in his government, so in his enmity to the Christians, carrying on what the other had begun. But the cloud soon blew over; he having made an ignominious peace with the Scythians, his own army turned him off, and put him and his son to death.¹

He was succeeded by Valerian, who entered upon the empire with universal applause. In the beginning of his reign he was a patron to the Christians, treating them with all offices of kindness and humanity, and entertaining them in his own family, so as his court seemed a little church for piety, a sanctuary and refuge for good men.² But, alas! this pleasant scene soon vanished, the emperor being seduced by a magician of Egypt, called Macrinus, who persuaded him, that the only way to prosper in his affairs, was to suppress Christianity, so hateful to the gods. Whereupon he commenced the ninth persecution, which began about the year 257, and continued three years and a half. Dionysius, of Alexandria, says,³ "The Christians, who suffered at this time are many, and unknown to me; but this I know, in general, that both men and women, young and old, soldiers and country people, persons of all ranks and ages, were some of them scourged and whipt, others beheaded, others cast into the flames. To this very day the praeses does not cease to kill some, to expose others to torments, and weary others with prisons and chains, ordering that no person see them; and if any inquire for them, that such be apprehended. But God comforts his afflicted, by the cheerful care and diligence of the brethren." Cyprian very pathetically bewails the hardships and sufferings which the martyrs did then undergo, in his letter to Numesian, and the rest that were condemned to the mines; nor did he himself escape, being beheaded at Carthage,⁴ as Xistus and Quartus had been before him. In Spain suffered Fructuosus, of Terragon, with his two deacons; at Rome Xistus and Laurence;⁵ at Caesarea, Priscus, Melchus and Alexander.⁶ At length Divine Providence punished this emperor for his horrible cruelty to those whose interest with Heaven, while he was favourable to them, secured his prosperity; for not only the Northern nations did break in upon the empire, but Valerian himself was taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, who treated him below the rate of the meanest slave, using him as his footstool to mount on horseback;⁷ and, after some years captivity, caused him to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt; and so put a period to his

miserable life. His son, Gallienus, growing wiser, by the miscarriages of his father, stopped the persecution, and restored peace to the Church, as appears by his edict recorded by Eusebius.¹

Under the reigns of the emperors Claudius, Tacitus, Florianus, Probus, Carus, and Numerian, the Christians enjoyed a long time of peace and prosperity. If we reckon, from the captivity of Valerian in the year 260 to the beginning of the tenth persecution, which I conceive may be placed in the year 303, this tranquillity continued near forty-two years. Indeed, if we consider the ten Heathenish persecutions from first to last, we may observe, that there were such intervals betwixt them, as gave the Church, not only a sweet breathing time, but also a happy occasion to propagate Christianity over the world. Yea, the courage, constancy, and patience of the martyrs, with the holy lives and zealous endeavours of the primitive Christians, to promote the kingdom of Christ, did very much tend to advance the glory of our Redeemer, and the good of the Church, in spite of all the persecutions which the enemy of mankind raised against it.

In the year 284 Diocletian was declared emperor, and assumed Maximinus Hercules for his colleague in 286. These two governed the empire themselves for some years; but, finding themselves straitened on all hands, by the revolt of their subjects, they made two Caesars, Constantius Chlorus, father to Constantine the Great, and Galerius Maximianus. About this time Eusebius informs us,² "That the emperors were so favourable to the Christians, as to make them deputies and governors over whole nations; that they lived in honour at the emperor's court; that they made public profession of their religion; that great numbers of the Heathens embraced Christianity; that there were churches in all cities; that the assemblies of the Christians were so numerous, they were forced to pull down the old, and build new and more spacious houses for public worship; that Dorotheus, and Gorgonius, and others who preached the word, were had in honour by the officers and governors of the provinces; and the emperors themselves shewed affection to the Christians: the wives, children, and servants of the emperors were Christians; and the greatest part of the subjects of the empire had abandoned the worship of false gods to embrace Christianity. This prosperity did daily increase, and could not be hindered by the arts of the devil or wicked men, as long as the right hand of the Lord did protect his people. But, alas! says he, our affairs by too great softness and liberty, did degenerate, one hating and reproaching another; the ministers of Christ contending with one another; and the people running into factions; and, at last, hypocrisy, dissimulation, and wickedness began to prevail." In this state of affairs, the Lord was pleased to permit another persecution, Diocletian and Galerius, meeting at Nicomedia in Bithynia,³ passed the winter in considering upon methods to exterminate the Christians. Diocletian opposed it a long time, but at last it was resolved upon. Then, in the nineteenth year of his reign, in the year of our Lord 303, he commanded the churches to be pulled down to the ground,⁴ the bibles to be burned, the richer

¹ Pompinus Loetna.

² Eusebius, Book vii. Chap. ix.

³ In Eusebius, Book vii. Chap. ix. x.

⁴ See Cyprian's Life before his Works.

⁵ Cyprian's Epistles, Epist. 82.

⁶ Eusebius, Book vii. Chap. xii.

⁷ Eutropius and Aurelius Victor.

¹ Church Hist. Book vii. Chap. xiii.

² Church Hist. Book viii. Chap. i.

³ Lactantius, Chap. vi.

⁴ Eusebius, Book viii. Chap. ii. iii.

sort of Christians to be branded with infamy, and the vulgar to be made slaves. By subsequent orders he deprived Christians of all protection by the laws, that they could have no reparation for any injury done them.¹ He commanded Christ's ministers to be everywhere imprisoned, and forced to sacrifice. This was but a prelude to what followed, other orders being issued, commanding those who refused to offer sacrifice, to be exposed to all manner of torments. It were tedious to reckon up the particular persons who suffered in this evil time. The eighth and ninth books of Eusebius' History are full of them. It may suffice us to observe from him, that the Christians were scourged to death, had their flesh torn off with pincers, were cast to lions and tigers, were burned, beheaded, crucified, thrown into the sea, torn to pieces by distorted boughs of trees,² roasted at a gentle fire, or, by holes made on purpose, had melted lead poured into their bowels. Orders were given, that all the ministers of the Christian churches should be put in prisons and chains. All jails were so full of them, that there was no room for malefactors;³ and Maximian stirred up Diocletian, to carry on the persecution with still greater fury on occasion of a fire that was raised in the emperor's palace at Nicomedia,⁴ the blame whereof was laid upon the Christians. In the meantime Diocletian went to Rome to celebrate the solemnity of the twentieth year of his reign, which was observed with profane Heathenish games. He had not staid long there, when he retired to pass the winter at Ravenna. By the way he was seized with sickness, and his disease increasing, he went to Nicomedia, where he grew still worse, so as the report did sometimes go that he was dead. He had fits of madness, but with calm and sedate intervals.⁵ In this situation of affairs, Maximian, a cunning man, persuaded Diocletian to resign the imperial purple, which he at last consented to, about the year 304, and retired to Salona, where he lived private to the day of his death. At his resignation Constantius and Galerius Maximian, were declared emperors, and Severus, with Maximian the younger, created Cæsars. Galerius Maximian, as he had begun, so he was the great instrument of carrying on the persecution. It is indeed impossible for us to conceive, much more to express, the cruelties of that time. Eusebius, who was an eye-witness to them, tells us, that they were innumerable, and exceeded all relation: what a multitude of men, says he, had their right eyes bored out, and cauterized with a red-hot iron, had their left legs burnt, and were condemned to the mines; all which they endured with the most admirable patience. They despised the threatenings and barbarities of their enemies, and received the fatal sentence with a smile. When persuaded to be tender of their lives, and to compassionate the case of their wives and children, they bore up against the temptation with manly courage, or rather with a real truly pious and devoted to God, so as neither fears nor charms could take hold on them through the mighty power of God.⁷ One other passage I shall offer from Eusebius, he having discoursed of the impiety and horrid crimes of Maximian, adds,⁸ "The Christians, contemning death, undervalued

his tyranny. Men did endure fire, sword, crucifixion, cruel beasts, drowning in the sea, the amputation and burning of the members of their body, the boring of their eyes, famine, chains; and, in fine, all torments, rather than forsake the worship of God, and embrace that of idols. Women also, as well as men, by the doctrine of the Word of God, were made so courageous as to suffer the same torments." Of which he there gives many instances. Monsieur Godeau reckons, that in this persecution there was no fewer than seventeen thousand martyrs killed in one month's space. And he observes, that, during the continuance of it, there were, in the province of Egypt alone, no less than one hundred and forty-four thousand persons who died by the violence of their persecutors, and seven hundred thousand who died through the fatigues of banishment, or of the public works to which they were condemned.¹¹ This persecution seems to have been the first of the ten that affected the isle of Britain. Gildas, the most ancient British historian we have, says, "That, by this persecution of Diocletian," the churches were thrown down, and all the books of the Holy Scriptures that could be found were burned in the streets, and the chosen priests of the flock of our Lord, with the innocent sheep, murdered; so as in some parts of the province no footsteps of the Christian religion did appear." Ten years did this persecution continue. The emperors thought they had finished their work, and told the world, as in some ancient inscriptions³ found at Clunia in Spain, that they had utterly destroyed the name and superstition of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the Gods. But they were far deceived in their vain boastings: Christianity was not destroyed, but rather farther propagated; and where they had done their utmost to ruin it, even there it had a glorious resurrection, and Paganism hastened to its ruin.

It is remarkable, that Divine vengeance did pursue many of those who had an active hand in this and the former persecutions of the Christian church. This is so frequently noticed by ecclesiastical historians, that I cannot but with them also observe, that Nero being thrust from his throne, and perceiving himself in danger of death, became his own executioner;⁴ Domitian was killed by his own servants; Hadrian died of a distemper accompanied with uneasiness of mind, as appears by some of his last words;⁵ Severus, after he persecuted the Church,

¹ Dr Calamy's Sermon on Matt xvi. 18.

² Gildas on Britain's Ruin, near the beginning.

³ DIOCLETIANUS IOVIUS ET MAXIMIANUS HERCULEUS CÆS. AUGG. AMPLIFACTO PER ORIENTEM ET OCCIDENTEM IMP. ROM. ET NOMINE CHRISTIANORUM DELETO QUI REMPEVETEBANT. Gruterus' Inscriptions, No. 3, p. 290. DIOCLETIANUS CÆS. AUG. GALERIO IN ORIENTE ADOP. SUPERSTITIONE CHRISTI UBIQUE DELETA ET CULTU DEORUM PROPAGATA No. 4. The meaning of both which is to show, that Diocletian, and his colleague Maximianus, had every where extinguished the wicked superstition of Christianity, so pernicious to the commonwealth, and had restored Paganism, and the worship of the gods.—Cave's Primitive Christianity, p. 321.

⁴ Sueton, Chap. xlix.

⁵ SPARTIAN'S Life of the Emperor HADRIAN.

Animula, vagula, blandula
Hosper, comesque, corporis
Quæ nunc abibis in loca
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

Poor, little, pretty, fluttering thing,
Must we no longer live together!
And dost thou prune thy trembling
wing,
To take thy flight thou know'st not
whither!
Thy pleasing vein, thy hum'rous folly
Is all neglected—all forgot!
And pensive, wavering, melancholy,
Thou hop'st and fear'st thou know'st
not what.

¹ Lactantius, Chap. xlii.

² Eusebius, Book viii. Chap. ix.

³ Chap. vi. ⁴ Chap. vi.

⁵ Lactantius, Chap. xvii.

⁶ Church History, Book viii. Chap. xli.

⁷ Against Celsus, Book vii. p. 337.

⁸ Church History, Book viii. Chap. xv.

never prospered in his affairs, and was taken off by the treachery of his wicked son; Maximinus reigned but three years, and died a violent death.¹ As to Decius, he was drowned in a marsh, and his body was never found.² Of Valerian's death we have discoursed already. And as to these concerned in this tenth and last persecution, Diocletian, soon after it commenced, was obliged to resign the empire, and became disordered in his mind. Maximianus Hercules was spoiled of his empire, and strangled. Maximianus Galerius was smitten with a dreadful ulcer and nasty disease.³ And, it is to be remarked, that when the disease prevailed upon him, he emitted an edict, recorded by Lactantius,⁴ and by Eusebius,⁵ ordering the persecution to be stopped; yea, allowing the Christians peaceably to enjoy their religion and their assemblies, and desiring them to pray to God for his health, and the prosperity of the republic, that they might enjoy his protection, and live quietly under it. However, soon after this he expired. Severus cut his own veins and died.⁶

This propagation and success of Christianity, notwithstanding all the persecutions raised against it by the greatest potentates of the world, is a great glory to our religion.

I shall conclude with the words of some of the ancients on this subject. Thus writes Sulpicius Severus:—"Under the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, for ten years the persecution continually preyed upon the Lord's people, during which space the whole world was full of the sacred blood of martyrs. Never was the world more exhausted by wars; and never did we conquer by a greater triumph, than when with ten years suffering we could not be overcome." Thus also Tertullian speaks to the Gentiles,—"Good governors, you may torment, afflict, and vex us; your wickedness tries our innocence, and, therefore, God permits us to suffer it: but your cruelty is to no purpose; it is but a stronger invitation to bring others to our sect. The oftener we are mowed down, the faster we spring up again. The blood of Christians is the seed of the church. Many of your philosophers have exhorted their hearers to patience under death and sufferings: as Cicero in his Tusculans, Seneca, Diogenes, Pyrrhon, and Callinicus; but they could never make so many proselytes, by all their fine discourses, as the Christians by their actions. That very obstinacy you charge upon us serves to instruct others. For who, beholding such things, will not be moved to enquire what is the truth from which they proceeded? and, when he has found it, will not embrace it? and, having embraced it, will not desire to suffer for it? Therefore we give thanks for your sentence, knowing that the judgments of men do not agree with that of God; for when we are condemned by you, we are absolved by God."

¹ Spanheim's Christian History, col. 300.

² Aurelius Victor.

³ Lactantius, Chap. xxxi. &c.

⁴ Ibid, Chap. xxxii.

⁵ Church History, Book viii. Chap. last.

⁶ Lactantius, Chap. xxvi.

⁷ Sacred History, Book ii. p. 117.

⁸ Apology, Chap. last, p. 35.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE FOURTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

IN THE FOURTH CENTURY, CONSTANTINE FAVOURS THE CHRISTIANS. JULIAN ENDEAVOURS, BY VARIOUS METHODS, TO UNDERMINE CHRISTIANITY, AND RESTORE HEATHENISM, BUT IN VAIN.

WE have seen the Christian church oppressed by a long tract of violent persecution. But the kingdom of our Redeemer "shall never be destroyed; it shall break in pieces, and consume other kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." No less than a Divine power could banish Heathenish idolatry, which had been the religion of the world for so many years, was firmly rooted by custom, and supported by all the authority of the Romans, who had then dominion over the world: yet now we shall see idolatry ruined and abandoned, and the Roman empire itself become, in profession, Christian.

It is said that Constantine was first induced to seek the true God, by hopes of success to his arms; that he observed the fatal miscarriages of his predecessors, who worshipped a multiplicity of gods; whereas his own father, who acknowledged one only God, the Supreme governor of the world, and protected and encouraged the Christians, was successful in his undertakings; he resolved therefore to lay aside the vulgar deities, and adhere only to the God of his father.¹ But, whatever be in this, it is certain that when he came to the full possession of the empire, about the year 324, he immediately restored tranquillity to the Christians, and directed orders to the governors of the provinces, whereby they recalled the banished, released those who had been confined, restored those who had been unjustly deprived of their offices and estates, set at liberty the imprisoned, and those who had been condemned to mines or other slavery, and bountifully rewarded many of them. He took also strict care for the observation of the Lord's day, ordering it to be set apart for prayer and holy exercises, that all persons, as far as possible, might be induced to observe it; and that the commanders of his army might set them a good example,² by attending the emperor in his devotions on that day. He ordered that none should be governors or presidents, but who were Christians; or, if Gentiles, that they should offer no sacrifices.³ He extended this even to the praetorian prefect, the highest office in the empire. He wrote a large epistle to the provincial governors of the East, wherein he earnestly exhorted all his subjects to embrace Christianity.⁴ In a word he, by several laws, prohibited the offering of sacrifices, the erecting of images to the gods, and the exercising of the Heathenish rites. He caused pastors to be settled every where in the churches, and advanced Christianity, which had been so much trampled upon, to be the religion of the empire.⁵ In his time also the Gospel was farther propagated

¹ Eusebius' Life of Constantine, Book I. Chap. xxvii. xxviii.

² Eusebius, Book iv. Chap. xviii. xix. xx.

³ Sozomen, Church History, Book I. Chap. viii.

⁴ Eusebius, Book ii. Chap. 43. &c.

⁵ On the other hand, it must be owned, that his heaping so much wealth and honour upon church-men, and his blending the church and state together, did, through human corruption, great hurt to Christianity.

among some remote nations. The Iberians, since called Georgians, sent an embassy to him, requesting, that Christian preachers might be sent among them, which was accordingly done. Bacurius, the king of that country, is said to have been a great friend to true religion.¹ The like success the Christian religion had in other countries, of which Sozomen gives this account,² "That the barbarous nation having made several irruptions into Thracia, many Christian priests were taken captives, who being of a holy blameless life, reproved the vices of the Barbarians; and, by calling on the name of Christ, procured health to their sick. This made them see an excellency in the Christian religion, and enquire after it; and the captives employed all their time to promote their conversion. By these means were the inhabitants upon the Rhine, the Celtae, some of the remote parts of Gaul, and the people upon the river Danube, brought to entertain the Gospel.

Constantine died in the year 338, and divided the empire amongst his three sons, who all continued to promote Christianity; but after them came Julian, commonly called the Apostate, a bitter enemy to the Gospel. This man, for some time, had professed himself a zealous Christian,³ and had even suffered himself to be ordained, and did read the Scriptures to the people before the congregation; but, as soon as he was delivered from the fears of a rival in the empire, which was about the year 361, he began openly to restore Paganism. As his schemes for this purpose were very well contrived, and yet, by the power of God protecting the Gospel, were defeated, it will not be unsuitable to the design of this history, to lay some of them before the reader.

First, then, Julian set himself to reform Paganism, and the professors of it from more gross corruptions, and to introduce many excellent constitutions he had observed among the Christians. The abominations of the Gentiles in their lives, and in their vile worship, had been exposed to the view of the world, and he found no way to regain credit to his religion, but by cutting off what was offensive, and planting what was more useful in its room. Therefore, in one of his discourses,⁴ he presses the magistrates, "To take care that men live justly according to the laws, and express piety to God, and humanity to mankind; be chaste and regular in their persons; that they entertain venerable apprehensions of the gods, approach their temples with sanctity, adore their images and statues, as if they beheld them present before their eyes. For we are not, says he, to look on altars and images as gods (the gods being incorporeal, and needing no sacrifices), but as symbols and representations of the divine presence, and as means and instruments by which we pay our adoration to them. That the priests be honoured equally, or above the civil magistrates, as being the domestics of heaven. And that the priests should not read such authors as Archilochus and Hipponax, but should imitate Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, or Zeno; but beware of the Epicurean and Pyrrhonian opinions; that they give themselves to philosophic thoughts, and to the duties of their office; be seldom seen in the Forum, or about the houses of great men, and should be chosen out of the best of men. The neglect of these things, says he, will give opportunity to the Galileans, by their sin-

gular humanity and charity, to establish their pernicious party, and pervert the honest-minded Gentiles to their impiety." Thus he sought to reform Paganism, and to bring it as near as might be to the admirable methods, by which he perceived Christianity had prevailed in the world. In imitation whereof he designed and endeavoured to introduce schools for the education of youth in every city,⁵ lectures both of moral and speculative divinity, stated times of prayer, alms-houses and hospitals for the poor and cripple, and reception of strangers; and what he most admired, commendatory ecclesiastic epistles, or letters testimonial, from the governors of the church, whereby persons travelling from one country to another, were upon producing these letters sure to meet with a kind entertainment. All which he commends in his letter to Arsacius.⁶

Secondly, He took all occasions of exposing Christians, and their religion, to ridicule. He was a man of sarcastic wit, and principally turned it that way. When he read the Scriptures, if he met with a seeming contradiction, he made it real, if with an hyperbolical expression, he improved it to blasphemy. He scorned at the simplicity of the apostles and prophets, whom he represented as ignorant and illiterate fellows. In his Persian expedition, he wrote seven books against Christianity, which were afterward solidly answered by Cyril of Alexandria. When he spoke at any time of our Saviour, he would give him no other title than the son of Mary, or the Galilean; and, by a particular law, ordered the followers of our Lord, not to be called Christians, but Galileans.⁷ In his pictures and statues he represented Jupiter near him, coming down from heaven, and delivering to him the crown and the purple,⁸ and Mars and Mercury giving him skill in war. His design in this was, that when his officers paid their respect to the Imperial statue, they might at the same time worship idols, or that he might have the better occasion to punish their pretended contempt.

Thirdly, He sought by all means to bring Christians low, and to weaken and destroy their power and interest: he banished them out of all places of honour and authority; he obliged them either to do sacrifice, or to quit their employment, and be incapable of civil offices.⁹ Thus Valentinian, who was afterwards emperor, threw up his office as colonel of one part of the guards of the palace, and submitted to banishment, rather than yield to idolatrous compliances. This emperor ordered that no Christian should be a magistrate, nor capable to write testaments, nor transfer an inheritance.¹⁰ He exacted unreasonable sums of money of them upon all occasions, that, being impoverished, they might either lie under a strong temptation to apostacy, or be secured from attempting any thing against his measures. Thus, when the Arians at Edessa had fallen foul of the Valentinians, he seized the treasures of that church, which he bestowed upon his soldiers, and the lands he appropriated, and mocking them, said,¹¹ "He would ease them of their burden, that they might go lighter to the kingdom of heaven: but, says he, if they provoke our huma-

¹ Nazianzen's Discourse against Julian, Sozomen, Book v. Chap. xvi. ² Julian's Epistles, Epist. xlii.

³ Nazianzen's Discourse against Julian.

⁴ Sozomen, Church History, Book v. Chap. xli.

⁵ Sozomen, Book v. Chap. li.

⁶ Julian's Epistles, Epist. xliii.

⁷ Ibid, Epist. liii.

⁸ Rufinus, Book i. Chap. x. ⁹ Sozomen, Book ii. Chap. vi.
¹⁰ Sozomen, Book v. Chap. li. Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. li.
¹¹ Julian's Works, Pp. 228 and 429.

nity, by fighting and sedition, let them be punished, for their insolence, with sword, banishment, and fire."

Fourthly, Though he himself abstained from open persecution, yet he connived at those who persecuted the Christians. "He glories oft what kindness he had shewn to these Galileans,¹ beyond what they had met with from his predecessors. Instead of banishment, they had been sent home; instead of a prison, they had enjoyed liberty; instead of being plundered, their confiscated goods had been restored to them by edicts." He observed that the Christians gloried in martyrdom; he would not, therefore, gratify them with that honour. But though no public warrants were issued, he left his officers to use their discretion in those places that were far from court. They understood their master's mind, and were not backward to use their power. Several examples of this are upon record in Theodoret's Church History.² They killed Cyril, a deacon, who had broken a heathenish image in the emperor Constantine's reign; and, after putting him to death, they ate of his liver. They acted a terrible tragedy on the person of Marcus Arethusius, a grave man, who had overturned a heathen temple, and destroyed images in that reign. They tormented his body, cast him into a stinking privy, hung him up in a basket greased with honey, that the wasps and flies might torment him in the hot sun; yet he would not yield to any of their proposals, but gloried in his sufferings.³ Capitolinus, governor of Thrace, caused burn Æmilian. Artemius, an officer of Egyptian soldiers, because in Constantine's reign he had broken images, was beheaded. Publia, a noble woman, for singing, "The idols of the nations are silver and gold, the work of men's hands," was cruelly beaten. Yea, not content to abuse the living, their rage extended to the dead. Among others, they digged up the bones of John the Baptist, buried at Samaria, called also Sebasta, and having mixed them with the bones of beasts, burnt them to ashes, and then scattered the ashes in the wind.⁴

Fifthly, He endeavoured especially to weary out and discourage the clergy with bad usage. To compass this more effectually, he seized their incomes,⁵ took away their allowances of corn, repealed the laws in their favours, and made them liable to bear burdens in civil courts. When all this would not do, he removed them by fraud or force. Thus Athanasius being brought home to Alexandria, after the death of the Emperor Constantius, was obliged by Julian to leave it again. He had a particular spleen at this honest man, as appears by his letter to Ecdicius, governor of Egypt, which is yet extant, where he says, "Though you write nothing of others, yet be sure you ought to write of Athanasius, that enemy of the gods, since you know our decrees against him. I swear by the great Serapis, that if, before the kalends of December, that enemy of the gods, Athanasius, be not expelled, not only out of that city, but also out of all Egypt, you shall be adjudged to lose your troop, which is worth an hundred pounds of gold. It is very uneasy to me that, by this man's industry, the gods are contemned. I can hear noth-

ing more to my pleasure, than that this wicked Athanasius is expelled out of all Egypt, who has had the confidence, in my very reign, to allure some illustrious Greek women to baptism." The like orders he gave to the people of Alexandria.¹ Athanasius retired to shun the storm; but, with undaunted courage, said to his dejected flock, "It is but a little cloud that will soon pass away."²

Sixthly, He gave all manner of assistance and encouragement to the Jews, in contempt of the Christians. He hated both; but when he found the Jews were like to be instruments to promote his purpose, he called for them, spoke tenderly to them, pitied their miserable and afflicted state, released the tribute put upon them, desired the help of their prayers in his Persian wars, and wrote to them a kind letter, yet extant;³ in the end whereof he tells them, "This is what you ought principally to attend, that when I shall have successfully managed my Persian expedition, and the holy city Jerusalem, which you have so long and so earnestly desired to see inhabited, shall be rebuilt by my endeavours, I may dwell in it, and, together with you, offer up our joint-prayers to the Supreme Being of the world." When the Jews told him the reason why they could not offer sacrifices, was, "That the law had fixed these to a particular place at Jerusalem, where their temple was ruined, and themselves banished;" he commanded them immediately to go repair the temple, retrieve the customs of their ancestors, and worship God according to the rites of their religion. The Jews were so glad of these orders, that they began to triumph over the Christians, threatening to make them feel as terrible effects of their severity, as ever they themselves did feel from the Romans. When the news came abroad of rebuilding the temple, contributions were made by all hands: the very women sold their ornaments and jewels to advance the work; what was wanting the emperor commanded to be furnished from his own treasury. Alypius of Antioch was overseer of the work; tradesmen were brought from all parts; all materials were made ready, and the work begun. But Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, remembering Daniel's prophecy, and that of our Lord, told them, "That even now the time was come, that not one stone should be left upon another." The event justified his prediction:⁴ for, in whatever manner their disappointment happened, it is certain that providence defeated the design.

Seventhly, Julian endeavoured to extinguish all humane learning among the Christians, well knowing how naturally ignorance opens a door to contempt, barbarism, and impiety. To effectuate this design, he emitted the following law: "Professors of any art or science should excell in eloquence and good manners; and because I cannot be present in every city, I command that no teacher shall set up in any place, till by long exercise he is fitted for it, and, after mature deliberation, be found deserving of it by the court of the city; and that their decree be sent to me for approbation." Theodoret tells,⁵ that he discharged the children of Galileans from being taught poesy, rhetoric, and Philosophy; for, said he, "We are killed by our own arrows; they take wea-

¹ Julian's Epistles, Epist. vii. and lii.

² Book iii. Chap. vi. vii. xvi. xvii. xviii. xix.

³ Nazianzen's Discourse against Julian.

⁴ Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. vi.

⁵ Sozomen, Book v. Chap. v.

⁶ Julian's Epistles, Epist. vi.

¹ Julian's Epistles, Epist. xxvi.

² Sozomen, Book v. Chap. xv.

³ Julian's Epistles, Epist. xxv.

⁴ See Warburton's Julian.

⁵ Church History, Book iii. Chap. xiii.

poons out of our own books whereby they fight against us." This decree is called by Ammianus Marcellinus, a Heathen, "A cruel edict, worthy to be covered with eternal silence."¹ By these methods he designed to introduce rudeness and ignorance among the Christians, and thereby to dispose them to any impressions he might make upon them, that they might not be able to encounter the Heathens.

Eighty. Above all men he highly honoured and rewarded philosophers, and those who were most likely to refute Christianity. It grieved him to see so many excellent books writ in defence and explanation of our religion. He wished the writings of these Galileans were banished out of the world.² He encouraged the sophists, philosophers, and orators, by pensions and privileges to write against them. He brought the most eminent of that tribe to court, as Jamblichus, Libanius, Maximus, Ecebolius, Orbasius, Ædesius, Chrysanthius, and others, whose lives are described by Eunapius, an author who frequently shews his spleen against the Christians, especially in the lives of Ædesius, and Maximus, and in some other places of his book. Any body who reads Julian's letters to these philosophers, yet extant among his works, may see with what fondness of affection he writes to them, as his dear comrades, whom he would put all in his bosom. The truth is, if wit, learning, or eloquence could have done it, he had driven our religion out of the world. But Divine wisdom broke all his measures.

Ninethy. He used the most popular arguments he could think of to persuade the world to return to Paganism. We may have a taste of these from his letter to the people of Alexandria, where he tells them.³ "Though you had had another founder of your city than Alexander, I should have expected that those who have transgressed the laws, and introduced new doctrines and opinions should be punished. Will you then make any requests for Athanasius? When Alexander built your city, and Serapis is your tutelar God, with Isis queen of Egypt, a maid who assists him.—I swear by the gods, I am ashamed of you, people of Alexandria, that any among you should own himself a Galilean. The fathers of the Hebrews did serve the Egyptians, but you who have conquered Egypt, for your founder Alexander conquered it, how do you debase yourselves to serve those who condemn the ancient opinions of your fathers? Unmindful of the ancient happiness of your country, when the world had communion with the gods of Egypt, and you lived in great abundance of all things. But those who have brought in this new religion, what good can they do to your city? Your founder, Alexander, the Macedon, was religious toward the gods: so was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who protected this city. Did it grow by the preaching of Jesus, or by the hateful doctrine of the Galileans? When we the Romans took this city from the Ptolemies, Augustus came to it, and speaking to your citizens, said, I pardon you all your faults, for the respect I bear to the great god Serapis, to this people, and great city. To all which I may add, says Julian, the proofs you have of my kindness. Have you no sense of that bright sun which shines upon you, that makes summer and winter, grass and plants to grow? and of the moon that affords great advantages to your city? Dare you worship none of these gods, but only must believe in Jesus, whom neither you nor

your fathers knew." These were the strongest arguments he could adduce for Paganism; but they were too weak to persuade a Christian people to renounce the service of the glorious God, who made sun, moon, and stars, to whom we are reconciled through Jesus our blessed redeemer, and to serve idols or devils to their own eternal destruction.

Finally. He tried all subtle arts to ensnare unwary Christians to comply with pagan superstition, to raise horror in their conscience, or to undermine their reputation. To this end he used, as was noticed above, to place the images of the heathen gods next to or behind his own, that when the people came, according to custom, to do obeisance to the one, they might do it to the other.¹ Those who did it, he persuaded to venture a little further. Those who discovered the cheat and refused, he charged with treason, and proceeded against them as delinquents. When the soldiers came at solemn times to receive their donatives, the ancient use was to throw a piece of frankincense into the fire, in honour of the gods. Which though the Christians detested, yet some surprised by an inveterate custom, did it: who being reminded afterwards of what they had done, horror seized their consciences; they went to the emperor, and threw back their donatives, publicly professing themselves Christians. But he would not grant such the honour of martyrdom, only he expelled them from the palace and the army. At other times he used to defile the fountains and springs with heathen sacrifices, and sprinkle all the flesh and food in the market,² with hallowed water offered to his gods, that so the Christians might neither eat nor drink, but they must seem, at least, to be partners in idolatry. The Christians resented this with just indignation. Juvenius and Maximus, two officers of the imperial guards, expressed to the emperor's face a just dislike of his actions, and of his apostacy. "These are the things," said they, "which we lament and complain of privately, and now in your presence, as the great blemishes of your reign. We were educated in true piety under Constantine, and his sons, and cannot but now be uneasy when we see all places full of abomination, and our very meat polluted with filthy sacrifices." Julian, notwithstanding his gravity and philosophic composure, was so nettled with this answer, that he commanded them to be first miserably tortured, and then put to death; though he would not have it thought they suffered as martyrs for religion, but for their petulant carriage to himself.

Seven or eight months Julian stayed at Constantinople, using these methods to suppress Christianity, and restore paganism. Having settled his secular affairs, he crossed the Hellespont, and came to Pessinus, a city of Galatia,³ where stood an ancient temple dedicated to Rhea, or Ceres, the mother of the heathen deities; the worship whereof he restored. Thence he passed through Cilicia, and came to Antioch, July 362; thence to Edessa, but would not enter the city, because it was all inhabited by Christians; thence to Carrae, a city in Mesopotamia, April 18th, where he entered the pagan temple, and performed many execrable rites; which being finished, he sealed up the doors, and set a guard on them, giving orders that none should open them till his return. When they were broke open, upon the news of his death, there was found a woman hanging by

¹ Book xxi. ² Julian's Epistles, Epist. ix. and ix.
³ Epist. li.

¹ Sozomen, Book v. Chap. xvii.

² Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. xv.

³ Libanius p. 264.

the hair of the head, her hands extended, and her belly ript up, that a presage of success might be had by inspecting her liver.¹ The like seems to have been done at Antioch, where many chests were found in the palace, filled with dead men's skulls, and several dead bodies hid in the wells; which seem to have been the engines and monuments of his diabolic divination.

In the middle of Summer, he came within sight of the Persian army, and had a hopeful prospect of victory; when, venturing too far, without his armour, he was on a sudden struck with a horseman's lance, which, grazing on his arm, passed in at his side, and went to the lower lap of the liver. The lance being two-edged, he cut his fingers while he strove to pull it out, and, fainting with the loss of blood and spirits, he sunk down on his horse's neck. It is reported by Theodoret,² that Julian, finding himself mortally wounded, took a handful of his blood, and, throwing it up in the air, cried, "Thou hast overcome, O Galilean!" Sozomen says,³ "He threw up his blood into the air, as looking to Christ, and accusing him as author of his death." His wounds being found dangerous, he was laid on a target, and carried into his tent, where he died about midnight, June 26th, 363, in the 32d year of his age, when he had not reigned full two years. Libanius ought not to have reproached the Christians as killing him by treachery,⁴ which calumny Sozomen⁵ refutes. Even Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan, who was present at the fight, says,⁶ "It is uncertain who did it;" and Eutropius, another pagan, and at that time in the battle, says, *Hostili manu interfectus est.*⁷ "He was killed by the hand of an enemy." He was a prince superstitious rather than religious, of a nimble satirical wit, loved to talk much, affected to be flattered, was skilled in profane learning, diligent in his studies, so as when he had employed the day in business, he would spend the night in reading and writing. In the good providence of God, his death restored health and safety to the Christian world. Had he returned victorious from the Persian expedition, the Christians might have felt the utmost effects of his severity; for it was what he threatened; and, if he had prolonged his reign many years, he might have reduced Christianity to a very low ebb, in all human appearance. It is no wonder, then, that Christians entertained the news of his death with triumph and joy, and that their churches were filled with hymns and thanksgivings. At Antioch the people insulted Maximus, the philosopher and magician, who had blown up Julian in his folly and cruelty, crying out, "What is now become, O thou foolish Maximus, of all thy oracles and divinations? God and his Christ have overcome."⁸

Before I conclude this section, I shall observe, that Christianity made farther progress in Persia in this fourth century. Some authors are of opinion, that there were Christians in that kingdom in the days of John the apostle.⁹ And Bardesane, who flourished in Mesopotamia in the end of the second century, writes, "That there were Christians in his time in the country of the Parthians, of Medes and

Persians, as far as Bactria." But, in the fourth age, the kingdom of Christ was farther enlarged in Persia. In the beginning of it, James of Nisibis went from Mesopotamia into Persia, to visit the Christians who were already there, and to endeavour to make new ones. The Christian religion was extensively spread there at the time of the council of Nice in 325. Adiabene was almost all Christian. Constantine was very glad to hear so good news; and Sapor, king of Persia, having sent ambassadors to him about the year 332, to make an alliance with him, he wrote a letter to that king, wherein he prays him to grant protection to the Christians that were in his kingdom. Nevertheless, there arose a great persecution in Persia against the Christians afterwards.

In this century also, the Scythian Nomades, who dwelt beyond the Ister, being disposed to entertain the gospel, but having few or none to preach it to them, Chrysostom got men of zeal to undertake this work. Theodoret says,¹⁰ "I have read letters written to Leontius, bishop of Ancyra, concerning the conversion of the Scythians, and desiring fit teachers might be sent to them."

The same Chrysostom, finding the Goths over-run with Arianism, got some proper persons of that country, and ordained them readers, deacons, and presbyters, and assigned them a church within the city. By their industry he reclaimed many to the church;¹¹ and, that this might succeed the better, he himself went often and preached among them, making use of an interpreter to convey his discourse to the people, and persuaded other preachers to do the like.

SECTION II.

IN THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND FOLLOWING CENTURIES, TO THE THIRTEENTH.

THAT the reader may not be surprized to find so little said upon such a number of centuries, it is proper to observe, that this period does not afford much matter upon the success of true Christianity. A specimen of such accounts as are to be had, may be seen in Millar, vol. ii. page 89, &c. to which the inquisitive reader is referred. There are two passages in another part of that vol. ii. that deserve particular notice; one concerning the church of Malabar in the East Indies, page 219, &c.; another concerning the church of Abyssinia in Africa, a large country, containing the great and higher Ethiopia, page 874, &c. Of both which churches it is remarkable that they are very ancient, and that they condemn many of the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome. The following passages relating to our own country, as they shew our early obligations to Divine grace, I shall insert at large, vol. ii. page 93.

"There was a Christian church with us in Scotland about the end of the second century; for Tertullian, who wrote about that time, says,¹ these places of Britain that were inaccessible to the Roman armies have yielded subjection to Christ." And, page 127, "The Christianity that was in this island before the Saxon conquest (that is before the year

¹ Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. xxvi. xxvii.

² Ammianus Marcellinus, Book xxv.

³ Book iii. Chap. xxv.

⁴ Book vi. Chap. ii.

⁵ Libanius, p. 324.

⁶ Book vi. Chap. ii.

⁷ Book xxv.

⁸ Eutropius, Book x.

⁹ Theodoret Book iii. Chap. xxvii. xxviii.

¹⁰ Du Pin's Abridgment of Church History, Vol. ii. p. 86.

¹ Church History, Book v. Chap. xxix. xxx. xxxi.

² Theodoret, Book v. Chap. 90.

³ Against the Jews, Chap. vii. p. 28.

450) was more pure than what came in afterwards. There were great contests between those of the old stamp and those of the new. The former lived in Wales and Scotland; the latter in the heart of England. In the year 601, there was a synod called by Austine, to which, Bede tells us,¹ the bishops or doctors of the next province of the Britons were summoned; in which Dinooth, abbot of Bangor, told him, They owned no other subjection to the Pope of Rome, but what they were bound to by the Christian duties of love and charity." And, page 130, "We have reason to believe that many of these old Britons and Scots were excellent persons; and that God, by their means, kept up true Christianity in this island to a greater degree than it would otherwise have been preserved. Even Bede himself represents Aidan, Finan, and Colman, who were chief leaders of the Scots, and famous preachers in Northumberland, to have been eminent for their love of God and their regular life, and great observers of the works of piety and chastity, which they learned out of the holy scriptures. In a word, they stood up for the purity of Christianity, as founded on the word of God, against the canons of the Romish councils."

SECTION III.

IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY OF THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES.—THEIR ANTIQUITY.—GREAT NUMBERS.—CONSTANCY IN SUFFERING FOR THE TRUTH.—FROM FRANCE THEY SPREAD INTO GERMANY, ITALY, AND SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES.—THEIR ENEMIES COULD NEVER WHOLLY EXTERPATE THEM.

From BENNET's *Memorial of the Reformation*, page 80.

BEINERUS, their bitter enemy, gives this account of them in his book against the Waldenses, Chapter 14. "That of all sects that ever were, none were so pernicious to the church of Rome as the Leonists or Waldenses; and that for these reasons: 1. For their antiquity and long continuance, even from the time of Pope Sylvester, who was made Pope in the year 316; or, as others have affirmed, from the time of the apostles. 2. For the universality of that sect, because there was scarce any country where they were not. 3. When all other heretics, by reason of their blasphemy against God, were abhorred, the Waldenses had a great appearance of piety, because they lived justly before men, believed all things well of God, and had all the articles of the creed, only they blasphemed the church and clergy of Rome."

From CLARK's *Martyrology*, page 78.

WHEN the darkness of Popery had overspread the Christian world, so that princes employed their authority to establish the Romish idolatry, appointing for slaughter such as denied transubstantiation, adoration of the host, and the like; this occasioned many to detest this superstition, as unknown to the apostles and primitive church. Particularly, there was one *Berengarius*, soon after the year 1000, who boldly and faithfully preached the truth; from whom the gospellers were, for some time, called *Berengarians*. About the year 1110, common notice being taken of their separating from the church of Rome, and their disowning so many of its tenets, they be-

came very odious to the Romanists. Twenty years after, when they were grown into a very great multitude, they had one *Peter Bruis*, an eminent preacher among them, who taught long and publicly at Tholouse, under the protection and favour of a nobleman called *Hildephonasus*. From him they were, in those parts, called *Petro-Brusians*: for, in the year 1120, *Peter Bruis* published their tenets in a book called *Antichrist*, wherein he declared both the grounds of their doctrine, and the causes of their separation from the Romish church.

In the year 1140, they were grown so numerous, that the Pope began to set himself to extirpate them; for which end he stirred up the most learned of his followers to write against them; and warned princes to take heed of them, and to banish them out of their territories.

In the year 1147, they had one *Henry*, of Tholouse, for their most eminent preacher; whereupon they began to be called *Henricians*: and because they were well read in the scriptures, especially in the Epistles of Paul, whom, by way of eminency, they called *THE APOSTLE*, alleging texts out of him, and would admit of no testimonies for the proof of religion, but only out of scripture, they were called *Apostolics*. And, shortly after, God raised up *PETER VALDO*, a citizen of Lyons, in France, who shewed himself most courageous in opposing the popish inventions; withal taxing divers other innovations which were crept into the church of Rome; and he was the more eagerly hearkened unto, because he was in high esteem for his learning and piety, and his liberality to the poor; for, besides the nourishing of their bodies, he did also feed their souls, by exhorting them to seek Jesus Christ, and salvation by him. The archbishop of Lyons, being informed, that Valdo used thus to instruct the people, boldly taxing the vices, luxury, and pride of the Pope and his clergy, forbade him the same, upon pain of excommunication, and proceeded against him as an heretic. Valdo replied, That he could not be silent in a cause of so great importance, as the salvation of men's souls; wherein he must obey God rather than man. Then did the archbishop seek to have him apprehended, but could not effect it, Valdo having many great friends, and being generally beloved, whereby he continued (though closely) in Lyons three years.

Pope Alexander the Third, being informed, that divers persons in Lyons questioned his sovereign authority over the whole Church, cursed Valdo and his adherents; commanding the archbishop to proceed against them by ecclesiastical censures, to their utter extirpation; upon which they were wholly chased out of Lyons. Valdo and his followers were called *Waldenses*, who afterwards spread themselves into divers countries. Valdo himself went into Dauphiny, conversing in the mountains of the same province, with certain rude persons, yet capable of receiving his belief. His disciples also spread into Picardy, whence they were called *Picards*; against whom afterwards King Philip (enforced by the ecclesiastical persons) took arms, and overthrew three hundred gentlemen's houses; that followed their party, and destroyed some walled towns, pursuing them into Flanders, whither they fled, and causing many of them there to be burned to death.

This persecution caused many of them to fly into Germany, and Alsatia, where they spread their doctrine; and shortly after, the bishops of Mayence

¹ Church History, Book ii. Chap. ii.

and Straasburgh raised a great persecution against them, causing five and thirty citizens of Mayence to be burned in one fire, and eighteen in another, who with great constancy suffered death.

At Straasburgh eighty were burnt, at the instance of the bishop; yet multitudes of people received such edification by the exhortations, constancy and patience of the martyrs, that, in the year 1315, in the county of Passau, and about Bohemia, there were above eighty thousand persons that made profession of the same faith.

In the year 1160, "in the reign of King Henry the Second, there came above thirty of the Waldenses into England, one Gerard being their minister, acknowledged to be a learned man by the monk of Newbury, who writes the story: These people labouring to win disciples to Christ, were quickly found out by the Popish clergy; and great complaints were made against them to the King, who assembled a council of bishops at Oxford, before whom these godly persons were convented, and Gerard, their minister, spoke for them all, saying, We are Christians, holding and reverencing the doctrine of the Apostles. Being examined in order (saith the monk) of the articles of the holy faith, they held right things; but they would not admit of salt, spittle, and exorcisms in baptism, &c. And being urged with arguments, they answered, that they believed as they were taught by God's word. Being admonished to repent, and to return to the unity of the church, they despised that counsel; they scorned threats also, saying, 'Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' Then did the bishops excommunicate them, and so delivered them over to be corporally punished by the King, who caused the character of heretical infamy to be burned in their foreheads; and Gerard, their minister, suffered the disgrace of double burning; then were their clothes cut off to their girdles; and they were publicly whipped through Oxford; they singing all the while, 'Blessed are ye when men hate you, and despitefully use you.' The King further commanded, that none should presume to receive them into their houses, nor to cherish them with any comfort, whereby they perished with hunger and cold.¹ And three years after, in the council of Turon, or Towers, in France, viz., 1163, Pope Alexander the Third, made a decree that these gospelers, and all their favourers, should be excommunicated; and that none should sell them anything, or buy anything of them. But notwithstanding all these devices, they had goodly churches in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary. Cæsius saith, that this heresy (as he calls it) so increased, that in a short time it infected, *usque ad mille civitates*, a thousand cities. Parsons saith, that they had an army of seventy thousand men to fight for them; yea, they were so spread in Germany, that they could travel from Collen to Milan in Italy, and every night lodge with hosts of their own profession.

Between the years 1176 and 1226, there was so great havoc made of these poor Christians, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, being assembled, at the request of the inquisitors, to confer with them about divers difficulties in the execution of their offices, had compassion of the great number that were accused and cast into prison, saying, We hear that you have apprehended such a multitude of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to de-

fray the charge of their food, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them; we therefore advise you to forbear this rigour till the pope be advertised, and direct what he will have done in this case.

Notwithstanding all their sufferings, there was in the year 1260, according to the report of George Morrel, in his Memorials, page 54, above 800,000 persons that made profession of the faith of the Waldenses. Besides the churches that they had in Valentinois, where their faith was propagated from father to son, their religion spread also beyond the Alps, into the valley of Pragela, within the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Turin, from whence were peopled the Waldensian vallies of Piedmont, La Perouse, St. Martin, Angrogne, &c. This valley of Pragela was one of the safest retiring places that the Waldenses had, being environed, on all sides, with mountains almost inaccessible, into the caves whereof they retired themselves in the times of persecution and though they were weakened on all sides, surrounded with enemies, and in danger of being apprehended, if they looked but out of their doors; yet was there never any worldly respect that had power to alter their holy resolution, from the father to the son, to serve God, taking his word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience; yea, no sooner were the infants weaned from their mothers' breasts, but their parents took a singular delight to instruct them in the Christian faith. Their pastors also did not only preach to them on the Sabbath days, but went in the week days, to instruct them in the villages and hamlets, not sparing themselves for the coldness of the air, and the cragginess of the country, where they were fain to climb up high mountains to visit their flocks. There was also holy discipline exercised among them; the people prayed with fervency at night when they went to their rest, and in the morning before they went about their labour: and they had schools wherein their children were taught and nurtured. The Waldenses were dispersed also into several other countries, as Bohemia, Austria, Germany, Flanders, Poland, Italy, Spain, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Grecia, Philadelphia, Livonia, Sarmatia, Bulgaria; in all which places, at one time or other, they suffered persecutions.

The ALBIGENSES were the same with the WALDENSES, differing only in name, from their habitation in the country of Albi. Divers of WALDO's disciples going into that country, and amongst them one ARNOLD (from whom they were called Arnoldists), laboured with so good success, that in a short time there was scarce any found that would go to mass. About the year 1210, the English who now possessed Guienne, which bordereth upon the earldom of Tholouse, began to help the Albigenes, being stirred up thereto by Lollard, a godly and learned man; who, by his powerful preaching, converted many to the truth, and defended the faith of the Albigenes: and for his learning, it is evident by his comment upon the Revelation, where he setteth forth many things that are spoken of the Roman Antichrist. This worthy man was afterwards apprehended in Germany; and, being delivered to the secular power, was burnt at Collen. Yet, notwithstanding all cruelties used against them, their enemies could never prevail to a total extirpation of them, but they still lay hid like sparks under the ashes, desiring and longing to see that, which now, through God's grace, their posterity do enjoy, viz. the liberty to

¹ Clark's Martyrology, page 376.

call upon God in purity of conscience, without being enforced to any superstition and idolatry; and so, instructing their children in the service of God, the Lord was pleased to preserve a church amongst them in the midst of the Romish corruptions, till the Gospel was dispersed in a more general and public way, by the ministry of LUTHER and his fellow-labourers: at which time these Albigenses received, with greediness, the doctrine of the Gospel, and so became more eminent in their profession of piety than formerly.

SECTION IV.

IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—OF WICKLIFF IN ENGLAND, AND OF SOME OTHERS WHO BEFORE HIS TIME HAD TESTIFIED FOR THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL THERE.

From MILLAR'S *Propagation, &c.* vol. ii. page 178.

BETWEEN the years 1370 and 1380, God raised up WICKLIFF in England, to oppose the corruption of the church of Rome. He had many followers, who were called Lollards, by way of contempt, yet continued down to the time of the reformation both in England and Scotland. They were so inflamed with zeal, that no severities used against them could extirpate them. Several of our princes and great men favoured them, in opposition to the Pope, and his tyrannical encroachments, of which they were weary. The Scriptures were translated into our mother tongue, and read by many; and such seeds of sacred truth were dispersed in various parts of the land as sprung up many years after, and helped to produce a plentiful harvest, when Almighty God, to shew forth his glory, brought about the reformation from Popery.

In reference to some of these periods, the reader may consult Knox's History, which, as the title of it shews, extends only from the year 1422, to August 28th 1567, begins with remarkable extracts from the records of Glasgow. The historian observes, that it was by the merciful providence of God, that such things, as are after mentioned, were kept even by the enemies of truth in their registers, to shew that God preserved in this realm some sparks of his light even in time of the greatest darkness. The first thing cited from these records is, that, in 1422, James Rethy, a scholar of Wickliff's, was burnt for denying that the Pope was Christ's vicar. In 1431, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, apprehended in the University of St. Andrews, suffered death there. His enemies put a ball of brass in his mouth, that what he said for the truth, at his death, might not instruct the people. In 1494, thirty persons of those called the Lollards of Kyle, were accused before Blackadder, archbishop of Glasgow, of about thirty-four articles, contrary to Popish errors. Among those were George Campbell of Cesnock, Adam Reid of Barskymming, John Campbell of New-Mills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, Helen Chamber, Lady Pokellie, Isabel Chamber, Lady Stairs. Some of the thirty resided in Kyle, others in Kingstyle, others in Cunningham. Although the bishop's accusation was very grievous, yet God so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleness, for several of them were his familiar friends, and partly by enabling them to give bold and godly answers to their accusers; so that, in the end, the enemies were

frustrate of their purpose. Adam Reid, in particular, gave such answers, as turned the cause of the persecutors into ridicule, in the presence of the court where the king presided.

From CLARK'S *Lives*, page 109.

MR WICKLIFF, a courageous witness of the truth, was a divinity-reader in Oxford, and had also a pastoral charge there, in which he took great pains. He received his first knowledge of the truth from one friar Lollard, who brought the doctrine of the Waldenses into England, and from whom his disciples were called Lollards. Mr Wickliff was an eloquent man, and a great scholar. Many of the nobility favoured him, by whom he was sheltered from the rage of the Popish clergy. All his books were commanded to be burned, but he had before enlightened so great a number, who kept his books carefully, maugre all the diligence of his adversaries, that they could never wholly deprive the Church of them; for the more they laboured, by horrible threats, and death itself, to hinder the knowledge and reading of them, the more were many kindled in their affections to read them with ardency. He wrote above an hundred volumes against Antichrist and the Church of Rome, besides commentaries on Scripture. He translated the Bible into English, with prefaces and arguments to each book. In his book, entitled "The Pathway to Perfect Knowledge," he sheweth what pains he had taken in translating the bible into English; how he had got many old Latin Bibles; "For the late books," saith he, "are very corrupt:" and he employed many learned men to assist him in his fourth translation of it. He taught that the truth of the gospel sufficeth to salvation, without observing the legal ceremonies. He urged Christian men and women, young and old, to study the Scriptures frequently, especially the New Testament, "Which," said he, "is full of authority, and gives understanding to the simple, especially in all points needful to salvation," &c.

From CLARK'S *Martyrology*, page 375.

AFTER a short account of about twenty eminent persons who appeared against Popery in England by their writings, or otherwise, before Wickliff, from the year 884, and downwards, and of near thirty more that came after Wickliff, till the year 1507, he concludes to the following purpose: "Thus we have seen in many particular instances, that God preserved a true church, a true ministry, and true ordinances amongst the people of this land, in despite of the devil and all his instruments; and though many times the saints of God were fain to hide themselves, and underwent grievous persecutions for the cause of Christ, yet God still preserved a seed alive, who, when the storm was over, appeared again; and when corruptions and Antichristianity had overspread the greatest part of the Christian world, God from time to time raised up some in this nation to bear witness against the same, who loved not their lives to the death, that they might be found faithful to Christ, and his truth."

¹ Of his complaints of the idolatry, pride, and wickedness of the times, and how he was persecuted by the Popish clergy, and defended by the favour of several of the English nobility, and by other Providences; see *Clark's Lives*, p. 114.

And therefore Dr Field, in his *Book of the Church*, book iii. chap. vi. and viii., had good reason to say thus, "Although we do acknowledge WICKLIFF, HUSSE, JEROME OF PRAGUE, &c., to have been the worthy servants of God, and holy martyrs, suffering for the cause of Christ against Antichrist, yet we do not think that the Church was to be found only in them, or that there was no other appearance or succession of the Church and ministry, as the Papists falsely charge us; for we believe that they who taught and embraced those damnable errors which the Romanists now defend, were a faction only in the Church, as were they that denied the resurrection, urged circumcision, and despised the apostles of Christ in the Churches of Corinth and Galatia."

SECTION V.

IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—OF JOHN HUSSE AND JEROME OF PRAGUE.—WHAT BEVEL THE CHURCHES OF BOHEMIA AFTERWARDS.—THE DISCOVERY OF NEW COUNTRIES IN THIS CENTURY, A MEAN OF PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HEATHEN.—THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING SUBSERVIENT TO THE REFORMATION FROM POPERY.

From CLARK'S Martyrology, page 126, &c.

WHEN the Pope began to obtrude his superstitions upon the Bohemians, as he had done on other churches, they sent commissioners to Rome, desiring to be eased of their grievances, as early as the year 977, which, for some time, had a good effect. But when these oppressions were renewed, and, about the year 1197, others were added to them, God raised up many to oppose them, particularly John Melicius, a man of a noble family and fervent spirit, much honoured for his learning and holy life. Being much moved in spirit to go to Rome, and there to testify that the great Antichrist was come, he prayed to God, with fasting and tears, desiring, unless these thoughts came from the Spirit of God, to be delivered from them. But when he could find no inward quiet, he went to Rome, where the Pope excommunicated him and his hearers, and imprisoned him.

Matthias of Prague was another opposer of the corruptions of the Church of Rome. In the year 1375, he, with some other learned men, went to King Charles, who then reigned, requesting him to call a council for the reformation of the Church. Charles sending to the Pope about it, he was so incensed at the message, that he commanded the King to punish these rash and heretical men. Matthias was banished the kingdom, and the use of the sacrament, according to its original institution, was prohibited through all Bohemia; so that the godly could not administer it but in private houses, or woods and caves: and yet neither so, but with the hazard of their lives. And thus matters continued to the days of John Husse.

From CLARK'S Lives, page 116.

1. JOHN HUSSE, while he was a student at the University of Prague, met with Wickliff's books, from whence he first got light and courage to profess the truth. In the year 1400, he was chosen pastor of a church, and, in 1409, rector of the university. He continued in the exercise of his ministry with

great zeal, diligence, and faithfulness, for the space of twelve years, instructing the people out of the Holy Scriptures, and living an exemplary life. He vigorously opposed the Pope's proceedings, for which he was cited to Rome, to answer to such articles as should be laid against him. He sent his proctors to Rome, who appeared for him, answered the charge, and cleared his innocence; yet did the Pope and his cardinals condemn him for an heretic, and excommunicate him: which caused the Popish clergy, and some of the barons of Bohemia, to oppose Husse being thus excommunicated; and King Winceclaus banished him, but he was entertained in the country, and protected at Hussinets, where he preached in the parish church, and some places adjacent, against the Popish doctrine of merit of works, and against the pride, idleness, cruelty, and avarice of the Romish court and clergy, multitudes of persons resorting to his ministry. Sometimes also he repaired to his church of Bethlehem, and preached there. But upon the Pope's death, the cardinals being divided, chose three popes, whereupon there was a council called at Constance, in the year 1414, to which council the Emperor Sigismund commanded Husse to come, giving him his safe conduct for his coming, and return. October 15th, John Husse began his journey towards Constance, being accompanied with two noblemen and their followers; and relying upon the goodness of his cause, the clearness of his conscience, and the Emperor's safe conduct, with a cheerful mind and undaunted spirit, he went to Constance, and, in his journey, set up writings in every city, the tenor whereof was this: "Mr John Husse, Batchelor of Divinity, goeth now to the council of Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto held, and even at this present doth hold, and by God's grace, will hold, and defend even to the death. Therefore, even as he hath manifested through all the kingdom of Bohemia, by his letters and intimations, willing, before his departure thence, to have satisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man who should object or lay any thing against him in the general convocation held in the archbishop of Prague's court: so also he doth manifest and signify, that if there be any man in this city, that can impute any error or heresy to him, that he would prepare himself to come unto the council; forasmuch as the said Mr John Husse is ready to satisfy every man, at the said council, who shall lay any thing to his charge, as touching his faith." In all cities, as he passed by, especially when he entered into Germany, a great number of people resorted to him, and he was everywhere kindly entertained, especially by the citizens and burghesses, insomuch, that he confessed in a certain epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Bohemia; and when he came to Nuremberg, certain merchants, that went before, having given notice of his coming, almost all the priests that were in the city came to him, desiring him that they might talk with him in private, to whom he answered, that he desired rather to declare his mind openly; and so, from dinner till night, he spake before the priests, senators, and many citizens, insomuch, that they all had him in singular estimation and reverence. When Mr Husse came to Constance, he was cited to appear before some cardinals, to give an account of his doctrine; but he told them that he came to do it before all the council; yet if they would force him to do it before them, he doubted not, but Christ would strengthen

him to chose death for his glory's sake, rather than to deny the truth, which he had learned out of the Holy Scriptures. After examination, they committed him to a filthy prison, where, by reason of the stink, he fell sick, and his life was in danger. In the meantime, his adversaries preferred articles against him, wherein they had forged many things of their own heads, wresting and perverting his godly and orthodox sayings to a bad sense, that they might have whereof to accuse him; and thereupon desired of the council, that he might be condemned. Mr Husse hearing of these their malicious proceedings, moved that he might have an advocate; but that was denied him. Whilst he lay there in prison, when he had in some measure recovered his health, he wrote sundry books. From that prison he was removed by the Bishop of Constance to a castle on the other side of the Rhine, where, in the day time, he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could scarce go, and every night he was fastened by the hands up to a rack against the wall. Hereupon many noblemen of Bohemia petitioned for his release, at least upon bail; but that was denied. They who were appointed for his judges, in his absence heard his enemies, examined witnesses against him, judged his doctrine, not by the true touchstone of God's Word, but by the Popish canons; but when the council would have condemned him without hearing, the Emperor interposed, requiring that he should be first heard; but, when he was brought before them, they made such a confused noise, railing upon him, that he could not speak one word. When he saw the cruelty of his judges, the malice of his accusers, the falsehood of his witnesses, and the rage of all the council against him, breathing forth nothing but fire and faggots, he kneeled down, and commended his righteous cause to the Lord Jesus Christ, begging forgiveness for his enemies; yet he earnestly requested the council, even with tears, that they would convince him of any error by the word of God, and he would willingly retract it. But nothing prevailed; for they proceeded to condemn and degrade him; whereupon, kneeling down, he said, "Lord Jesus Christ, forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsely accused; forgive them, I say, for thy great mercy's sake." In degrading him, they pared off the crown of his head, and the skin, with a pair of shears: and, to justify their proceedings against him, because the emperor had given him his safe conduct, the council made a decree, that faith was not to be kept with heretics. The Romish agents persecuted him with such eagerness, that his works were condemned to be burned with him. When he was brought forth to be burned, they put on his head a triple crown of paper, painted over with ugly devils; but, when he saw it, he said, "My Lord Jesus Christ, for my sake, did wear a crown of thorns; why should not I, then, for his sake, wear this light crown, be it ever so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly." When it was set upon his head, the bishops said, now we commit thy soul to the devil. "But I, said John Husse, (lifting up his eyes towards heaven) do commit my spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ! unto thee I commend my spirit, which thou hast redeemed." As he was going to execution, they burned his books before his face, at which he smiled, and said to the people, "Think not, good people, that I die for any heresy, or error, but only for the ill-will of my adversaries." When he

came to the place of execution, he kneeled down, and, with his eyes towards heaven, he prayed, and repeated certain psalms, and with a cheerful countenance, cried often, "Into thy hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit." When he rose from his knees, he said, "Lord Jesus Christ, assist and help me, that, with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, to which I am condemned for the preaching of thy most holy gospel." And as they tied his neck with a chain to the stake, smiling, he said, "That he would willingly receive the same chain for Jesus Christ's sake, who he knew was bound with a far worse chain." When the fire was kindled, he began to sing, with a loud voice, "Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, have mercy on me!" And, at the third time that he repeated it, the wind drove the flames so into his face, that it choked him. He suffered martyrdom in 1415. He told them, at his death, "That out of the ashes of the Goose (for so Husse in the Bohemian language signifies) an hundred years after, God would raise up a Swan in Germany, whose singing would affright all those vultures; which was fulfilled in Luther, just about an hundred years after."

2. **JEROME OF PRAGUE**, a man famous for virtue, learning, and eloquence, when he understood that the public faith was violated, his country slandered, and Husse burnt, travelled to Constance, April 4th, 1415. But no sooner came he thither, but he understood, that watch was laid for him to apprehend him; whereupon the next day he went to Iberling, a city of the empire, and a mile from Constance. From thence he sent to Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his barons, but especially to the council, most earnestly requesting, that they would give him a safe conduct freely to come and go, and then he would come in open audience to answer every man, if any would appear to charge him with any crime. But no safe conduct could be granted him; wherefore the Lords of Bohemia gave him their letters patent with which he returned again towards Bohemia: but, by the treachery and subtily of his enemies, he was apprehended by the way in Hirsaw, and by the officers was carried before the duke, who presently carried him bound to Constance. Some of the bishops said to him, Jerome, why didst thou fly and run away, and not appear when thou wast cited? To which he answered, Because I could get no safe conduct neither from you nor the king; and perceiving that I had many bitter enemies in the council, I would not be the author of my own peril; but had I known of your citation, assuredly, though I had been in Bohemia, I would have appeared. Then was he delivered bound to the officers to be put in prison. As soon as he came thither, one called to him at his window, saying, "Mr Jerome, be constant, and fear not to suffer death for the truth's sake, of which, when you was at liberty, you did preach much good:"—to whom he answered, "Truly, brother, I do not fear death." But the prison-keeper coming to the man, drove him away with strokes from the window. Presently the bishop of Rigen sent for Jerome, strongly bound with chains, both by the hands and neck, and sent him to a tower, where they tied him fast to a great block, and his feet in the stocks, his hands being also made fast upon them, the block being so high, that he could by no means sit thereon, but his head must hang downwards; where also they allowed him nothing but bread and water: but within

eleven days, hanging so by the heels, he fell very sick; yet thus they kept him in prison a year wanting seven days, and then sent for him, requiring him to recant, and to subscribe, that John Husse was justly put to death, which he did, partly for fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape their hands: after which they sent him back to prison, and kept him guarded with soldiers, yet not so strictly chained as before. Then they sent to examine him again; but he refused to answer in private, except he might be brought before the council; and they (supposing that he would openly confirm his former recantation) sent for him thither, May 25th, 1416, suborning false witnesses to accuse him; but he so learnedly cleared himself, and refuted his adversaries, that they were astonished at his discourse, and with shame enough were put to silence. He also concluded his speech with this, "That all such articles as Wickliff and Husse had written against the enormities, pomp and disorder of the prelates, he would firmly hold and defend even unto death; and that all the sins he had committed, did not so much trouble and gnaw his conscience, as did that most pestiferous act of his, in recanting what he had justly spoken, and in consenting to the wicked condemnation of Husse; and that he repented of it with his whole heart." This so enraged them, that they proceeded to condemn him; whereupon he said, "I, after my death, will leave a remorse in your consciences, and a nail in your hearts; *Et cito vos omnes ut respondeatis mihi coram altissimo et justissimo Judice post centum annos*; and I cite you all to answer to me before the most high and just judge within an hundred year."

As he went to the place of execution, he sung some hymns; and coming to the place where John Husse was burned, he kneeled down, and prayed fervently. He was bound to the image of John Husse, and so fire was set to him, which he endured with admirable valour; for, standing at the stake bound, and the executioner kindling the fire behind him, he bade him kindle it before his face: "For (said he) if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place." The whole city of Constance admired his Christian magnanimity. At the giving up the ghost, he said,—

Hanc animam in flammis offero Christe tibi!
This soul of mine, in flames of fire,
O Christ, I offer thee.

Poggius, who was secretary to the council of Constance, writing to a friend, saith thus of Jerome, "I profess I never saw any man, who, in discourse (especially it being for life or death) came nearer to the eloquence of the apostles and ancients, whom we so much admire. It was a wonder to see with what words, with what eloquence, arguments, countenance, and with what confidence he answered his adversaries, and maintained his own cause; inasmuch, as it is to be lamented, that so fine a wit had strayed into the way of heresy, if that be true which was objected against him." And afterwards he saith, "When many things were heaped up against him, to fix the charge of heresy, which also were proved by witnesses, it was permitted to him to answer particularly to the same; but he refused a long time, because he ought first to plead his own cause, and then to answer to the railings of his adversaries. And when this was denied him, he said, How great an injury and iniquity is this, that when I lived three hundred and forty days in a most hard prison, in filthiness, in dung, in fetters, and in want of all

things, ye have heard my adversaries at all times, and you will not hear me one hour? It is possible you may err: you are men, and not gods."

"Whenever any article of his accusation was read publicly, and proved by witnesses, they asked him, Whether he had any thing to object? But it is almost incredible how he answered, and with what arguments he defended himself. He never spake one word unworthy a good man; so that, if he thought in his heart, as he spake with his tongue, no cause of death could have been found against him; neither indeed was he guilty of the least offence."

*From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Part iii.
Chap. 2, Sect. 22.*

It was a glorious appearance of Jesus Christ for his truth, that testimony by JOHN HUSSE and JEROME OF PRAQUE, at the council of Constance, with what followed in the church of Bohemia; a passage so remarkable, and such convincing circumstances attending it, that, if judicial induration were not a stroke which refuseth all cure, there could have been no resisting this conviction by the world, that surely it was the finger of God, and his immediate work; when these things are considered,

1. How, in a time of such darkness, and the Romish church at its greatest height, those were raised up with some more than ordinary elevation of spirit, and of the Lord suited to appear on his interest. Æneas Sylvius himself, who afterwards was Pope, saith, "That, with the sound of their voice, the Spirit of God assisting, the word thundering in them, did awake the people out of their dead sleep, as they run by flocks to this great light, inviting their neighbours thereto." If any question this, see *Æn. Syl. Hist. Bohem. cap. 35.*

2. That this testimony, even whilst the church was in the wilderness, could not get leave to be smothered in a corner, but was given in the most public view, where nothing could be more open and conspicuous, at the general council of Constance. The world must be forced to see what authority Jesus Christ can put upon the meanest of his followers, in their appearance for the truth; yea, what another spirit this is from that of the world, which could thus stand, and withstand, so impetuous a torrent of universal apostacy, even there where the united strength of the Romish church and empire were at once met, yea, by patience and resolution, in avowing the truth, overcome their persecutors, and resist those allurements of preferment, and an honourable place of the church, which were then offered, if they would renounce this doctrine, to which the same Æneas Sylvius, cap. 36, shews what answer they made, that they taught the truth, being the disciples of Christ, and directed themselves according to his Gospel, whilst the church of Rome was departed from the traditions of the apostles, seeking after riches and pleasures, and dominion over the people; yea Poggius, secretary to the said council, gives this account of Jerome of Prague, that, being called before the council, after he had lain for a year in a most filthy prison and fetters, and in want of all earthly comfort, where he could neither read nor see, it was incredible how he then answered, and with what arguments; he never spoke any thing unworthy of a good man, and at last hath these words, "O man, worthy of the eternal memory of men!"

3. That whilst they were sentenced to die notwithstanding of the emperor's assurance, and safe conduct given, an extraordinary presence of the Lord in that hour of their suffering was thus also made public; for which I shall insert the very words of these fore-mentioned writers, whom none could suspect to be partial. Eneas Sylvius says, "That both of them suffered death (though not at one time) with a constant mind, and went joyfully to the fire, as to a feast, without the least heaviness or discontent, and at the fire sung an hymn: neither have we read (says he) of any of the philosophers who did suffer with more resolution." And Poggius, speaking of Jerome, saith, "When the fire was set unto him, he began to sing an hymn, and when the executioner would have kindled the fire behind his back, that he might not see it, Come (saith he) and do it in my sight; had I feared this, I would not have come here. And in this manner (says he) was that man, rare and excellent beyond all belief, consumed to ashes; and adds, neither Mutius with so constant resolution endured the burning of one member, as he of his whole body. Neither Socrates so willingly drunk the poison, as he embraced the fire."

4. That known prophecy of his at the stake, turning to the prelates there present, After an hundred years you shall answer to God and me, was then so notorious and undeniable, that, upon the money coined after in Bohemia, this inscription was put on the one side in Latin, *Centum annis revolutis Deo respondebitis et mihi*, whilst nothing then of the event could be known, which so remarkably answered to the first breaking out of the Reformation, Luther's appearing being in 1517, and Zuinglius a little before; and this was in 1416.

5. Upon this testimony, sealed with the blood of these excellent men, such wonderful providences did attend the actings in that party in Bohemia, then stirred up to appear against such horrid cruelty, yea, to adventure not only against the empire, but that whole formidable power of the Romish church in Europe, as would seem almost incredible, if the adversaries themselves were not enforced to testify it.

From CLARK's *Martyrology*, page 127.

WHEN these holy men of God were so unjustly burned at Constance, the adversaries were not satisfied with their blood, but took further counsel for the destruction of the whole nation; for, when fifty-eight of the chief nobles of Bohemia, in the name of all the commons, in the year 1416, had sent letters from Prague to the council, complaining that their pastor, an innocent and holy man, and faithful teacher of the truth, was unjustly condemned, the council, instead of answering them, wrote letters to some violent Papists, who were in authority, to assist their legate in oppressing these heretics. After this, the Pope publicly excommunicated the Bohemians at Florence, exciting the emperor, kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms against them, promising universal remission of sins to the most wicked person, if he did but kill one Bohemian. Hereupon great wars were raised against them; but it pleased God still to give them the victory under their brave captain, Zisca. Yet still, as the Popish party prevailed at any time, they exercised all manner of cruelty upon the poor servants of Christ; insomuch, that at Cutenburgh, where were deep metal mines, in the year 1420, they threw into one of them a thousand

and seven hundred persons; into another, a thousand and thirty-eight; and, into a third, a thousand three hundred and thirty-four persons.

In the year 1459, there were divers godly people in Bohemia, ministers, nobles, and commons, who being much pressed in conscience about the superstitions in the Church of Rome, obtained of their King, George Pogiebracius, a place in the hill country, near Silesia, to inhabit, where, throwing off all superstitious practices, they applied themselves to the form of the primitive simplicity, calling themselves brethren and sisters. The beginning of this church displeased the devil; and, therefore, he raised a sudden and violent tempest to overthrow it, the priests in every pulpit stirring up the hatred of the people, and the King, by his edict, forbidding all pastors to administer holy services without ceremonies; and withal, threatening death to those that should administer to the brethren, called now by the hateful name of Piccards. And presently after came forth a new edict, that none of them should be suffered to live in Bohemia. Upon which they were dispersed among the woods and mountains, where yet they were scarce safe.

In the year 1468, there came out a new decree against them, requiring all the nobles of Bohemia, within their several jurisdictions, to apprehend as many as they could, and to proceed against them. Many therefore were apprehended and put into prison, where they were kept for a long time; but, through the wonderful working of God, the more the enemies laboured to put out this spark, the more it broke forth into a great flame; for many of their peers submitted to the discipline of the brethren, building churches for them in their towns and villages; so that, in the year 1500, they had, in Bohemia and the country around, near two hundred churches.

After the death of Pogiebracius, Uladiflaus, a Polonian, succeeded in the kingdom, to whom the brethren wrote an apology, by reason of many foul accusations that were carried to him against them. This so exasperated their enemies, that they endeavoured by a most impudent invention to stir up the hatred of all men against them. The way they used was this:—they suborned a wicked villain to say that he came from amongst them, and that he had been an elder, but had therefore forsaken them, because, in their meetings they used to blaspheme God and the saints, to traduce the sacraments, to mingle themselves incestuously, to commit murder, and practise witchcraft, &c. This man they led through the towns and cities, as a spectacle; they brought him to their church, where he must adjure his errors, and beseech the people to pray for him, a most miserable sinner, and to take heed, by his example, of the wicked Piccards. They also published his confession in writing, being confirmed with the seals and subscriptions of some deans and priests, causing them to be read in the churches to the people. But the devil was befooled herein; for the brethren, by public writings, did confute these lies; and the villain, trembling so often to forswear himself, confessed at last that he was suborned to do what he did, and that he knew not any of the Piccards: yet thus far it made for good, that some, to make experience of so great villanies, began privately, and disguised, to frequent the assemblies of the brethren; and, finding it to be far otherwise than was reported, did associate themselves with them, as with true Christians.

In the year 1510, the bishops, by their importunity, prevailed with the King, that sharp remedies should

be used against those growing evils, as they were pleased to call them; whereupon an edict was made, that all the Piccards, without distinction of sex, age, or quality, should be slain. This mandate was brought to the assembly of states at Prague, by two bishops but divers of the chiefest nobles opposed it; so that eighteen months were spent in debate before anything was done; but, at last, by the cunning artifice of the chancellor, and his bloody associates, it was confirmed by the greatest part of the nobility, in presence of the King; and a mutual confederacy was entered into, that it should be prosecuted with an armed power: but God following some of the chief contrivers of it with sundry judgments, it almost came to nothing.

Soon after, God stirred up in Germany undaunted LUTHER, that thunderbolt against the Pope, whose writings brought many to resolve to embrace the purer doctrine of the gospel, and to seek for the ordination of their ministers from Wittenberg rather than from Rome. In the mean time, the brethren being much encouraged by letters from Luther, Bucer, and Capito, went on constantly; and, through God's mercy, a great number was added to the church, till that fatal year 1547, at which time Charles, the Fifth, putting in execution the decrees of the Council of Trent, raised wars against the Protestant princes in Germany. His brother, Ferdinand, solicited the Bohemians for aid; but they refused it in regard of their ancient league with the house of Saxony. But the German Protestants being overcome in war, Ferdinand entered Bohemia with an army, seizeth on Prague, imprisoneth the principal nobles, barons, and citizens; some he scourged, some he beheaded, and upon others he laid grievous fines, and of others he sequestered all their estates: also, he disarmed the city of Prague, took away their privileges, banishing some, whilst others went into voluntary exile. Then did the devil raise up some to lay all the blame upon the brethren, to which malicious suggestions the king giving heed, first, by open proclamation, commanded all their churches to be shut up, and then he took away their peers, and banished them all out of all his realms. When this heavy stroke befel them, the brethren agreed amongst themselves, that they would still be more faithful to God and their consciences than ever they had been; and so, by common consent, dividing themselves into three companies, they went into Poland; and all of them had experience of an admirable Divine Protection in their journey, escaping some that might and would have robbed them, but that they were restrained by God: as also, in most places where they came, they found pity and liberality, and they got courteous entertainment in Poland, though most of the people there were Papists; yet not long after, the bishop of that part where they were, got a mandate from the king, to drive them away: then were they forced to go into the farthest parts of Prussia, where, by Duke Albert of Brandenburg, they had a place of habitation allotted to them; and one Paul Speratus, a Protestant bishop, having conferred with them about their faith, was very courteous and charitable to them.

The next edict that Ferdinand set forth against the brethren, was for the apprehending of all their ministers; whereupon some of them retired into Moravia; others, that they might be near their flocks, hid themselves in private places and in the night-time they visited the faithful: which continued for

some years; but, at last, three of them fell into their enemies hands; yet one them, through the admirable providence of God, escaped out of a deep dungeon in the castle of Prague, and fled to his brethren; and he sometimes passing through Poland, and preaching the Gospel, by Divine mercy, many of the nobility and others were converted under his ministry; so that, in a few years, he erected twenty churches in Poland. In the year 1549, Ferdinand published another decree for the extirpating both of the brethren and Lutherans; in consequence of which, the ministers that had received ordination in Germany were banished out of the kingdom, to the number of about two hundred.

After the death of Ferdinand, Maximilian succeeded in the year 1562, who being of a peaceable disposition, could by no means be induced that any should suffer for their faith.

After him Rodolphus succeeded in the year 1607, who treading in his father's steps, the church of Christ enjoyed peace under him; yea, pure religion so flourished through the whole kingdom, that there was scarce one among an hundred that did not profess the Reformed religion: but, alas! with liberty of religion, by little and little, men began to be licentious in their lives, and carnal security so increased, that some began to prestage that an horrible tempest should again overwhelm them.

After the death of Rodolphus succeeded Matthias, who coming into Bohemia in the year 1617, called an assembly of the states; to them that did appear, he represented, that since he had no issue, he would adopt Ferdinand for his son, commendeth his virtues, that he may be crowned: the orders assembled affirmed that a matter of that consequence could not be done in the absence of the united provinces; Cæsar urged, that what Bohemia should do would be confirmed by all the rest, and that it could not be deferred till another time. In brief, the orders protested that the terms of receiving him king were new; that he ought first to be chosen, and then received; and some, perceiving that there was no place for a free voice, departed; others, partly allured by promises, and partly deterred by threats, staid, and were present at the coronation of Ferdinand, after which he went into Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, requesting to be received for their king.

Ferdinand being thus obtruded upon the Bohemians for their king, contrary to the ancient constitutions and customs of the kingdom, and not lawfully elected as he ought to have been, retired presently into Germany; and thereupon the enemies of the truth began to crow, and openly to threaten the Protestants; and it appeared sufficiently, that Ferdinand swore to the orders with his mouth, but in his heart to the Pope; and presently after his departure, the Popish bishops, clergy, and nobles, began to vex his subjects for their religion, contrary to that assurance which the king had given to them; they attempted also the like in Prague, the Jesuits daily threatening that their liberty in religion should not last long. Then did they strictly prohibit the Protestants from printing any thing, unless licensed by the chancellor of the kingdom, themselves publishing their own slanderous pamphlets and dangerous writings against the Protestants. In the mean time the states resolved not to admit Ferdinand to be their king, who was so open an enemy both to their religion and liberties, and who was obtruded upon them without a due election; they sent also ambassadors to Frank-

fort, where the electors were met together to chuse a new emperor, desiring that Ferdinand might not be admitted amongst them as king of Bohemia, notwithstanding which he was admitted, and was chosen emperor : the Bohemians, in the mean time, chusing Frederick elector Palatine for their king. This more enraged their enemies, so that they sent another army under Maximilian of Bavaria, which took two Protestant towns by storm, and put all to the sword, and every where made great slaughter of the Protestants. Then the Imperial armies came to Prague, which being struck with a panic fear, the Protestant army being overthrown in a set battle under the walls, surrendered to them, the conqueror promising to keep articles agreed upon, but performing nothing less ; for they did more mischief to the church of Christ by their subtle and slow proceedings, than lately by their outrageous fury.

The ministers were every where cast out of their churches ; some imprisoned, and after a while dismissed, and all commanded to depart the kingdom upon pain of death.

In the year 1624, a decree came forth from the king, whereby all the ministers of the Gospel were commanded to depart the kingdom by a peremptory day prefixed, because, as was alleged, they were seditious men and seducers of the people ; yet, in most places, this edict was not known till the time was almost or altogether elapsed ; so that the ministers, not having time to communicate their counsels together, went into several provinces, and some were fain to hide themselves in caves and dens, and those either returned privately and visited their auditors, or comforted such as came to them in the mountains and woods, preaching and administering the sacraments to them. But as soon as the enemies understood this, they presently published a new decree ; wherein a punishment was threatened against those that should conceal the ministers, and a reward promised to such as should betray them ; whereupon some of the ministers were taken and cast into prison ; then by the Jesuits were they by all ways solicited to apostasy ; and fear of death, hunger, cold, &c., prevailed with some to renounce their ministry, but most bore up courageously against all storms, and, at last, some, by paying great fines, others by giving it under their hands, that they would never return into Bohemia, were dismissed.

The next design of the enemy was against the nobles ; their crime was, for taking up arms for Frederick, their lawful king, against an usurper : for though hope of pardon was granted, if, laying down arms, they would submit to Cæsar's mercy, yet divers of them were apprehended. And, first, they seized upon some that were of the rank of defenders of the kingdom's liberties ; and then all those whom they knew to have done any thing for the common good of religion and liberty, or feared that they might be able to do for the time to come ; and all such as feared to break their faith given to Frederick. These were about the number of fifty men, famous for learning, skill in military affairs, and prudence in government, who were the light, delight, and safeguard of their country.

All of these, in one night, and at one hour, were apprehended in their houses, when they suspected no danger, and by the captains were commanded to get up into waggons ; and so some of them were carried to the castle of Prague, others to the major's house. Next day they proceeded to the trial of the noble-

men whom they had taken. Two apostate civilians were appointed to examine them, with some of the nobility, who tired them out with a thousand impertinent questions, labouring to extort that from them whereof they were never guilty : which one of them not able to endure, rending his garments, and opening his breast, said, " Tear into a thousand pieces this body, and search into my heart, and you shall find nothing there but what is expressed in my Apology. The love of religion and liberty made us unsheath our swords ; but seeing God would have Cæsar prevail, and hath delivered us into your hand, his will be done." Others of them also stoutly maintained, that their cause was not the worse for want of success.

After some time, when none of the noblemen would yield, or acknowledge themselves in an error, or sue unto them for mercy, they proceeded to execution ; their judgments were committed to such as were sworn enemies to the gospel. After sentence was passed, it was sent to Cæsar to consider of it ; and he was so troubled, that he slept none that night ; and the next morning, calling his confessor, he said to him, " I adjure thee, upon thy conscience, to tell me, whether I may with a safe conscience, pardon these that are condemned ? or whether I should suffer execution to pass on them ? The confessor answered, " O Cæsar ! both are in thy power." Then did he with his pen, pardon some, and left others to execution, with a great addition of shame and ignominy. Presently after they were brought out singly to hear their sentence ; wherein some were condemned to death, others to perpetual imprisonment, others to banishment, and some were reserved to Cæsar's further pleasure. Then were each sort of prisoners carried to their several prisons ; the noblemen to the inward prisons of the castle, the citizens to the major's house ; and as they went, some villains were suborned to insult over them, saying, Why do they not now sing, the Lord reigneth ? Then did the wives, children, and kinsfolk of the condemned persons humbly petition for their lives ; but answer was made, that all the favour which could now be granted to them was, that they should have leave to bury the bodies of their friends. In the evening the condemned men, who were twenty-seven in number, had notice given them of the day when they were to suffer ; and therefore they were advised, for the good of their souls, to send for Jesuits, or a minister of the Augustine confession, but they must expect no minister of the brethren ; for that would not be granted them. The Jesuits and the Capuchins, not staying till they were called for, flocked to them, using many persuasions, promising life, &c., if they would turn. But God so strengthened them, that all these endeavours were vain. Then were some ministers of the Augustine confession sent for, who spent that time which remained in religious exercises, conferences, prayer, and singing of psalms ; and, lastly, in administering the sacraments to them. They who were of the brethren willingly admitted these ministers, protesting, that they acknowledged them for brethren, though they differed from them in some things.

They who were prisoners in the major's house, being called to supper the night before they were to suffer, comforted themselves, saying, " That this was their last supper on earth ; but, to-morrow, said they, we shall feast with Christ in his kingdom." When it was told them, that the noblemen were coming to

the scaffold in the market-place, where they were to suffer, they hastened to the windows, and entertained their fellow-martyrs with singing the forty-fourth Psalm, in which are these words, "For thy sake we are killed all the day," &c. The night after they spent in psalms, prayer, godly discourse, and mutual exhortations, that, since it pleased God to call them before others, to this honour of martyrdom, they hoped, by their constancy, to confound the world, to glorify Christ, and to leave a good example to others. Early in the morning they washed their faces, and put on clean clothes, as if they had been going to a wedding, and cut off the collars of their doublets, that, when they came to the scaffold, there should need no new making ready. Then presently was a gun discharged, which was a warning for their bringing forth to execution: whereupon these champions of Christ encouraged one another, praying, that each of them might be strengthened, &c. Then came troops of horse and foot to fetch them, the streets, market-place, and houses, being filled with multitudes of spectators. The martyrs being called forth one by one, went to their death with an undaunted courage, hasting as if they had been going to a banquet.

When one was called for, he thus took leave of the rest, "Farewell, most loving friends! God give you the comforts of his spirit, patience and courage, that what formerly with your mouths you have professed, you may confirm by your glorious death. Behold, I go before, that I may see the glory of my Lord Jesus Christ: you will follow me, that we may together see the face of our heavenly father. At this hour all sorrow departs from me, and joyful eternity shall succeed it." Then did the rest answer, "God above, to whom you are going, prosper your journey, and grant that you may pass happily from this vale of misery into that heavenly country. The Lord Jesus send his angels to meet you. Go, dear brother, into thine and our father's house, and we will follow after; presently we shall meet in the heavenly glory: and this we are confident of, through Him in whom we have believed."

The first was the Lord Schlik, a man of admirable parts, about fifty years old, when he was condemned to be quartered, and his members to be scattered here and there, he said, "The loss of a sepulchre is easy." Being exhorted by a minister to courage, he said, "I have God's favour so, that no fear of death doth trouble me. I have formerly dared to oppose antichrist; and I dare now die for Christ." The Jesuits troubling him when he came to the scaffold, he shook them off; and seeing the sun shining bright, he said, "Christ, thou Sun of Righteousness, grant, that through the darkness of death, I may pass into eternal light;" and so, having ended his prayers, he calmly received the stroke.

The Lord Weuceslaus was next, about seventy years old, famous for learning, religion, and his travels through divers countries; his house was formerly plundered, even to his wearing apparel, he only saying, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away." Holding forth his Bible, he said, "Behold my paradise! it never yielded me so much nectar and ambrosia as now. On the scaffold, stroking his long beard, he said, "My grey hairs, behold what honour remains for you, that you should be crowned with martyrdom!" And so, praying for the church, his country, his enemies, and commending his soul to Christ, his head was cut off.

The next was the Lord Harant, a man that had gained much experience by his travels in Asia, Africa, and Europe; his crime was, that he had taken an oath to be true to Frederick, and durst not violate it. Being called to execution, he said, "I have escaped many perils by sea and land, and now suffer innocently in my own country, and by them, for whose sake, I and my forefathers have spent our estates and lives: Father, forgive them. Then he said, "In thee, O Lord, I have hoped! let me not be confounded." On the scaffold, he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit! In thee, O Lord, have I trusted from my youth! I am confident, that I shall be accepted by that ignominious death of my Saviour;" and falling upon his knees, he said, "To thee, O Lord, I commend my spirit! for thou, O God, just and true, hast redeemed me;" and so he received the fatal stroke with the sword.

The next was Casper Caplitz, a knight of eighty-six years old. When the minister came to him after his condemnation, he said, among other things, "My death indeed is disgraceful in the eyes of men, but glorious in the sight of God; for God will account that death precious in his sight, which I suffer for his glory and truth." And when it was told him, that he might have his life if he would ask pardon, he answered, "That he would ask pardon of Him, against whom he had committed many sins all his life; but he never offended the prince; and therefore would not give occasion to suspect that he had committed some crime for which he had deserved death. God forbid, therefore," said he, "that I should be separated from this holy company of martyrs." As he was going to the scaffold, being feeble with age, he said, "O, my God, strengthen me, lest I fall down and become matter of scorn to the enemies!" Being crooked with age, and hanging down his head, the executioner could not well come at his neck; whereupon the minister said to him, "My noble lord, as you have commended your soul to Christ, so now offer up your heavy head cheerfully to God, and lift up yourself towards heaven." Then lifting up his head as well as he could, he said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hand I commend my spirit!" and so his head was cut off.

The next was Procopius Dorzeki, who, after his condemnation, said to the minister, "I have had a great contention all night with old Adam, so that it made me sweat again; but thanks be to my God, by whom my soul hath overcome all temptations;" saying further, "O, Almighty God, strengthen thy servant, that I may not be made a derision to mine enemies by any fear of death; and as thou wast wont to encourage thy holy martyrs, so I strongly believe thou wilt comfort me." When he was called forth to execution, he said, "Thanks be to God, who doth now call me to himself; to him I have lived, and for him I will die! for my Saviour hath therefore died and risen again, that he might be Lord both of the living and the dead. I know that my soul shall live, and my body shall be raised like to his glorious body."

Another was the Lord Henry Otto, a man of great judgment; he having received the sentence of condemnation, said, "Kill my body, disperse my members whether you please; yet do I believe that my Saviour will gather them together again, and clothe them with skin; so that with these eyes I shall see him, with these ears I shall hear him, with this tongue I shall praise him, and rejoice with this

heart for ever." Afterwards, when the minister came to him, amongst other things, he said, "I was troubled, but now I feel a wonderful refreshing in my heart;" adding, with his hands lifted up to heaven, "I give the thanks, O most merciful Saviour! who hast been pleased to fill me with so much comfort; O now I fear death no longer, I will die with joy!" As he was going to the scaffold, he said to the minister, "I am sure that Christ Jesus will meet my soul with his angels, that he may bring it to an everlasting marriage, where I shall drink of a new cup, a cup of joy for ever: this death, I know, shall not separate me from him." After he had prayed silently, he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord God, I commend my spirit! have pity on me through Jesus Christ, and let me see thy glory;—and so he received the stroke of the sword.

Another was the Lord of Rugenia, an excellent man, and full of zeal for God: when he was judged to die, he said, "That it was more welcome to him than if the Emperor had given him life, and restored him to his estate, with addition of more:" afterwards he said to the minister, "God is our witness, that we sought for nothing but the liberty of religion; and in that we are overcome, and condemned to die: we acknowledge, and find, that God will not have his truth defended by our words, but by our blood," &c. When he saw divers called out before him, he said, "What is the matter, my God? Thou knowest that I resign myself wholly to thee. Ah! do not despise thy servant, but make haste to take me away;" and when the sheriff came for him, he rejoiced, and said, "Praised be my God, that I shall now be taken out of the world, that I may be with Christ;" and so he went up to meet him. On the scaffold he comforted himself with that promise; "Father, I will that where I am my servant may also be, to behold that glory which thou gavest me;" "Therefore," said he, "I make haste to die, that I may be with Christ, and see his glory;" and so he suffered martyrdom courageously.

The next was Valentine Cockan, of about sixty years old: during his imprisonment, he was full of heavenly discourse; and, at the scaffold, he said, "Grant me, O God! to pass through this valley of death, that I may presently see thee; for thou knowest, my God, that I have loved thy word; bring me, O God! through the paths of life, that I may see fitness of joy in thy presence;" and, kneeling down, he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" and so holily ended his life.

The next was Toby Steffick, a man of composed temper, he spent the most of the time of his imprisonment in silent sighs and tears! before his execution, he said, "I have received many good things of the Lord all my life long; shall I not therefore receive this cup of affliction? I embrace the will of God, who, by his ignominious death, makes me conformable to his Son, and, by a narrow way, brings me to his heavenly kingdom: I praise God, who hath joined me, undeservedly, to these excellent men, that I might receive, with them, the crown of martyrdom." When he was called to die, he said, "My Saviour being about to die, said, 'Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt; that will be done.' Shall I therefore, who am but a worm, yea, dust, and a shadow, contradict his will? Far be it from me; yea, I come willingly, my God, only have mercy on me, and cleanse me from all my sins, that no spot or wrinkle may remain in me, but that I may appear

pure in thy sight;" and so he lifted up himself full of sighs, yet full of hope; and, as he was praying, he rendered up his spirit to God.

Another was Christopher Chober, who much encouraged his fellow-martyrs, and then cited the words of Ignatius, "I am God's corn, and shall be ground with the teeth of wild beasts; so we," saith he, "are God's corn, sown in the field of the church; and, that we may be for our master's use, we are now to suffer death; but, be of good cheer, God is able to raise up a thousand worshippers of himself out of every drop of our blood; for though truth now suffers violence, yet Christ reigns, and no man shall cast him down from his throne." Being called to execution, he said, "I come in the name of my God, neither am I ashamed to suffer these things for his glory; for I know whom I have believed; I have fought the good fight of faith, and finished my course, &c. Then praying, "Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit, he received the crown of martyrdom."

John Shultis was next, who, on the scaffold, said, "Why art thou so sad, O my soul? hope thou in God; for thou shalt yet praise him," &c. "The righteous seem in the eyes of fools to die, but indeed they go to their rest. Lord Jesus, thou hast promised, that who so comes to thee, thou wilt not cast off. Behold I now come, look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul to thyself: then, kneeling down, he said, Come, come, Lord Jesus, and do not tarry;" and so he was beheaded.

The next was Maximilian Hostialick, a learned and pious man; after his condemnation, he was sadder than the rest; and, being asked by the minister the reason of it, he said, "The sins of my youth do now come into my mind; for though I know that nothing remains to condemn them which are in Christ Jesus, yet I know that God exerciseth justice as well as mercy towards his own." Being called to death, he said, "Look upon me, O Lord my God! and lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death; and lest mine enemies say, We have prevailed." Afterwards, repeating the words of Simeon, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," he was beheaded.

The next was John Kutnaur, who, when the Jesuits began to speak to them, said, "Pray you trouble not our consciences; we are sufficiently furnished against the fear of death; we need none of your help." And when they would have proceeded, he said, "Why do you create unprofitable labour to yourselves, and trouble to us?" then said they one to another, "They are hard rocks, and will not suffer themselves to be removed:" to whom he answered, "You say true; Christ is an hard rock, and we are firmly fixed on him." When he was called forth to execution, he was besprinkled with the tears of his friends, to whom he said, "Play the men, brethren, and refrain from weeping: I go before, but it is but a short time, and we shall meet in the heavenly glory." When he was upon the ladder, he said, "I have plotted no treason, committed no murder; I have done nothing worthy of death; but I die because I have been faithful to the gospel and my country. O God! pardon my enemies; for they know not what they do: but thou, O Christ! have pity on me; for I commit my soul unto thee," and so he slept in the Lord.

The next was Simeon Sussickey, who, when he saw the Jesuits coming, he said to his companions,

"These birds of prey are flying hither; but God hath promised to preserve his own, as the apple of his eye; and therefore he will not suffer us to be seduced." The last night he had a sore conflict, because the scripture saith, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." But when the minister told him, That that curse was taken away by the death of Christ, he was well satisfied. He went to his death praying and singing.

It may be very edifying to the inquisitive and serious reader, to observe, in the history of those times, the remarkable providential chastisements that befel some of the persecutors, and to attend to the remarks that are frequently and justly made on the honour that providence has put on the posterity of King Frederick, whose family was brought so low at that time, for adhering to the cause of the gospel. But to return to the fifteenth century.

CONCLUSION OF THE ACCOUNTS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE DISCOVERY OF NEW COUNTRIES, A MEAN OF PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HEATHEN.—AND THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING SUBSERVIENT TO THE BLESSED REFORMATION FROM POPERY.

From MILLAR'S Propagation, &c. vol. II. page 340.

In this century, the improvement of arts and sciences, the reviving of learning, and the discoveries made by navigation, were made blessed occasions for advancing the kingdom of Christ over the world. This is well represented by the learned Jurien, in his Preface to the Accomplishment of Prophecies, where he says, "God has revived the light of knowledge, which was almost extinguished under the barbarism of scholastic learning. In the last century, God caused the Greek and Hebrew tongues to revive, which was of such use for understanding the sacred inspired writings, and the confutation of heresy and idolatry, that the Papists do not scruple to say, It is what has undone them. I look upon the voyages of our Europeans, the discoveries made of new countries in the east and west, and the improvement of the art of navigation, to be a mean which God prepares for the fulfilling of that great promise that concerns the more universal conversion of the Gentiles. I consider the great number of half-Christians which the Popish missions makes in the Indies, to be just as proselytes of the Gate, which the Jews made; they were, properly, neither Jews nor Christians, but were the seed of Christianity. These Eastern converts made by Papists, are neither Heathens nor Christians, but they will be the first part of the harvest God intends to have among this people, and after they are fully converted, they will be very serviceable to promote the conversion of those who are yet altogether Pagans. "I admire," says he, "the depth of Divine providence, that, by insensible steps and degrees, disposeth the Mahometan nations for Christianity. For this we need but consult the second book of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, by Sir Paul Rycaut, where we meet with a sect of Mahometans, who believe the Messiah took a natural body, that being eternal, he became incarnate, as the Christians believe, wherefore they insert that

article into their Confession of Faith, That Christ shall come to judge the world at the last day."¹

We may also observe with Mr Jenkyns,² that Christianity has been still professed in these parts of the world where there has been most learning and commerce, where they have been most able, and had greatest opportunities to instruct other nations. To which end the vast extent first of the Greek, Latin, and Syriac, and since of the Persian, Slavonic, and Arabic tongues, have been very advantageous, the Scriptures of the New Testament being written in the first, and translated into all the rest. And though, by the just and wise providence of God, Mahometans and idolaters have been suffered to possess themselves of those places in Greece, Asia, and Africa, where the Christian religion formerly most flourished, yet there are still remainders of the Christian religion among them, so as to give them opportunity to be converted, when their sins shall not hinder to restore the Gospel to these countries; for, by Mr Brerewood's account,³ in the dominions of the Turks in Europe, the professors of Christianity make two-thirds at least of the inhabitants; and in Constantinople itself, he reckons above twenty Christian churches, and above thirty in Thessalonica, where the Mahometans have or had but three mosques. Philadelphia, now called Alashakir, has no fewer than twelve Christian churches.⁴ The whole island of Chio is governed by professing Christians; there are above thirty Latin churches, and above five hundred Greek; and in some other islands of the Archipelago there are none but professing Christians.

From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Part III. Chap. 2. Sect. 71.

WHILST the dawning drew near of that blest day of the Church's rising, after that dark night of anti-Christianism, we may see some precious advantages most remarkably from the Lord falling in to prepare the way thereof.

1. That in the preceding age, the knowledge of the original languages began to break up, and some instruments eminently fitted for the same; human learning did in some further measure revive.

2. Many excellent men of rare endowments then brought forth beyond what had been known for divers ages.

3. But which should be most convincing, how in the year 1440, or thereabout, that rare invention of printing broke up, as a blest and promising presage, to tell the world of the near approach of time, when the temple of God should be opened in heaven, and the Bible, which had for so many ages been shut up, be universally spread, and thus made accessible for the poorest boy or maid's having familiar converse therewith, and to have it at the easiest rate; yea, for bringing forth those works to the world, in defence of the truth, and promoting of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which no pen could have reached without the advantage of such a singular mean given of the Lord for his Church's use; so that the thing itself was not more marvellous and remarkable than the time and season of its being brought forth,

¹ Rycaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire, Book II. Chap. 11, 12.

² Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, vol. I. p. 116, &c.

³ Brerewood's Inquiry, Chap. 10.

⁴ Rycaut's Present State of the Greek Church, p. 74.

the appointed time of the spreading of the kingdom of Christ, when men should run to and fro, and knowledge be increased.

It will not be unsuitable, before I pass this, to give in here some instances of such choice instruments for knowledge and learning, who were then raised up a little before the dawning of that blessed reformation from Popery, as pioneers, to prepare the way of the Lord.

1. As Regiomontanus, who died in the year 1470, one of great knowledge in the original languages, and who had such love to the Scripture, as that he wrote the whole New Testament in Greek with his own hand.

2. Rodolphus Agricola, who died 1465, singularly learned in philosophy, Greek, and Hebrew languages, which he studied with a special respect to the knowledge of the Scripture, did much lament the Church's darkness under which she then lay, and expressly owned the doctrine of Justification by Faith in Jesus Christ.

3. Wesselus, born at Groningen, and of deserved renown at that time, for his knowledge in the languages, laws, and divinity; at his death, as at length by Melchior Adams is shewed, when he was asked by a friend how he did, he answered, His case was but conform to his age, and painfulness of his disease; but one thing he was troubled with, which was a being tossed with doubtings about the truth of Christianity; but shortly after, when his friend returned with great expressions of joy; he said, "Now blessed be the Lord for all these doubtings and false reasonings are gone, yea, I know nothing now but Christ and him crucified." He died 1489.

4. Mosilanus, a professor of the Greek tongue at Leipsick, one of singular candour, besides his great knowledge in the original languages, yea, in those dark times, most convincingly pious also, as his epistles, wrote to the learned of that age, can witness. I judge it edifying to set down here what account he gave of himself, with much seriousness, sometime before death:—"Let not God, to whom all things are known, be gracious to him in the last

shock and conflict with death, if he hath not from his youth, with greatest care, been concerned to wrong the fame of none unjustly, yea, to condemn the honours, pleasures, and profits of this natural life, and hath not made this his one thing, to have his spirit kept from being defiled with the pollutions of the world, and given up to Jesus Christ the alone fountain of wisdom and knowledge, for being influenced and watered by his Spirit; this I have had continually in my thoughts, have revolved in the night; this with all earnestness I have contended for, yea, hath been first in all my desires, to wit, lest that should be wanting, which was to that rich man, who came to Jesus Christ (when he gave such an account what length he had come) of the faithful improvement of those talents put under my hand, I can say, I had no other scope nor intent but this in my life; for if I had pursued honours and greatness in a world, which might not have been successful for such an end, I had taken another way." He died in the year 1524, at the very breaking up of the Reformation.

5. I shall but further add that notable learned man Capnio, who died in 1521, Erasmus, Stephanus, truly learned in the languages, and a special critic, for collating the most ancient copies then extant of the New Testament, whilst printing was but of late broke up in the world.¹

[¹ Capnio, or Reuchlin, was by far the most accomplished scholar of his own age, and even in succeeding times his Oriental scholarship has hardly been surpassed. But he has higher merits than those of a scholar. He was the father of the Reformation. Born in 1454, several years before the more noted of the reformers, he was expressly recognised by them as their precursor. Yet our notices of him are meagre, and our acquaintance with his life and times but scanty. Even D'Aubigne's information regarding him is but limited, considering the part that he acted, and the materials that exist, for a more ample biography. Maius, a native of Pforzheim, wrote his life in admirable Latin. Schnurrer and Meiner have done the same ably; but the most important work relating to this great man is Mayerhoff's German Treatise on Reuchlin and his Times. This has recently been translated and incorporated into a small but most interesting volume, by a Mr Barham. It is published at London 1843.—Ed.]

BOOK II.

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

OF THE EMINENT INSTRUMENTS RAISED UP AT AND AFTER THE REFORMATION IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR CONVERSION, AND SUCCESS IN CONVERTING OTHERS BY THEIR PREACHING AND WRITINGS.—SOME OF THEM HAD FORMERLY BEEN REMARKABLE FOR OPPOSING THE TRUTH BY PUBLIC DISPUTATIONS, &c.—THEIR LABORIOUSNESS IN PREACHING.—THEIR COURAGE IN SUFFERING.—MEEKNESS AND FORGIVENESS TO PERSECUTORS.—THE RECANTATIONS OF SOME OF THEM FOLLOWED WITH SUCH EXTRAORDINARY REPENTANCE AS TENDED TO CONFIRM THE GOOD CAUSE.—PROVIDENTIAL OVER-RULING OF THE HEARTS OF SOME PERSONS OF EMINENT POWER IN THEIR FAVOURS.—RESTRAINTS OF THE FURY OF OTHERS. TESTIMONIES OF ADVERSARIES TO THE GOODNESS OF THEIR LIVES.—THEIR ZEAL AGAINST UNSUITABLENESS OF PRACTICE TO PROFESSION.—THEIR PUBLIC SPIRIT AND CONCERN FOR THE INTERESTS OF RELIGION THROUGH THE WORLD.—ON SOME OCCASIONS GOD MADE THEM INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING GREAT NUMBERS AT ONCE TO THE PROFESSION OF THE TRUTH.—THE SUCCESS WITH WHICH THEY WENT ON.—HUMAN POWER AND POLICY COULD NOT PREVAIL AGAINST THEM.—MANY OF THEM GAVE A REMARKABLE TESTIMONY TO THE WORK OF THE REFORMATION ON THEIR DEATH-BEDS, GOING OFF WITH TRIUMPHANT JOY AND FORETASTES OF HEAVEN.

CHAPTER I.

SOME INSTANCES OF THOSE IN GERMANY, VIZ., 1. LUTHER.—
2. MYCONIUS.—3. ZELLIIUS.—4. BUCENHAGIUS.—5. MELANCH-
THON.—6. BRENTIUS.—7. BUCHOLTZER.

From CLARE'S Lives.

1. LUTHER. In the library of the College of Erford, he met with a copy of a Latin Bible, which he had never seen before, and, with admiration, observed that there were more portions of Holy Scripture than were read in the churches, which made him wish that he had the like book. And it pleased God that not long after, he obtained his desire, and fell close to the study of it, some sickness and fear also whetting him on in those studies.

Afterwards, falling into a violent disease, which threatened death, an old priest came to him, who cheered him up by largely discoursing with him upon justification by faith, and explaining the articles of the creed to him: then did Luther read over Augustine's works, where he found the same doctrine of justification by faith frequently confirmed. Afterwards he was sent to Rome in the behalf of his convent, where he saw the Pope and the manner of the Roman clergy; concerning whom he saith, "At Rome I heard them say mass in such a manner as I detest them; for, at the communion table, I heard courtiers laugh, and boast of their wickedness."

Upon his return from Rome, he was taken notice of by Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, who heard him preach, and admired the strength of his arguments, and the excellency of the things which he delivered. Soon after, he began to explain the Epistle to the Romans, and some Psalms, where he showed the difference between the law and the Gospel, and refuted justification by works; and his demeanour agreed with his doctrine; his speech came not from his lips only, but from his heart.

The year 1517, was, by the account of Scultetus, the 356th from the reformation of religion in France by the Waldenses,¹ the 146th from the first confutation of Popish errors in England by John Wickliff, the 116th from the first year of the ministry of John Husse, who opposed the errors of Popery in Bohemia,² the 36th year from the condemnation of Dr Wessalia, who taught at Worms the same doctrine before Luther was born, that Luther did afterwards. In this year 1517, John Tecelius brought indulgences into Germany to be sold, averring, that he had so large a commission from the Pope, that though a man had deflowered the blessed virgin, he could pardon him. Luther's zeal being inflamed herewith, caused him to set forth some propositions against indulgences, which so enraged Tecelius, that where-soever he came, he declaimed against Luther, and

¹ See Vitrings on the Revelation, upon the three days and a half.

² And about an hundred years after his martyrdom.

set forth contrary positions; and, not content therewith, he burned openly Luther's propositions, and the sermon which he wrote about indulgences. This caused the students at Wittenberg to burn his positions also.

In 1518, Andrew Bodenstein, from his native place called Carlostadius, with many other divines of Wittenberg, defended Luther's doctrine by their writings. Also the elector of Saxony, of his own accord, without entreaty, took upon him the patronage of Luther. Amongst the friars Luther disputed out of Paul's Epistles concerning justification by faith without works. Bucer being present, and taking notes of this disputation, wrote thus of it to *Beatus Rhenanus*: His sweetness in answering (saith he) was admirable; his patience in hearing was incomparable; you might have seen the acuteness of St Paul in resolving doubts; so that he brought them all into admiration of him, by reason of his short and pithy answers, and those taken out of the store-house of God's holy scriptures. In his letters to *Jodocus*, a divine of Isenach, who had been his master, he thus expresseth himself: The whole university of Wittenberg, except one licentiate, are of my mind, concerning the doctrine of faith and works, as is also the duke of Saxony: the bishop of Brandenburg (who is my ordinary) and many prelates, and the more ingenious citizens, say, with one mouth, that they never knew Christ and the gospel before.

At last the emperor sent for him, and withal sent him a safe conduct, requiring his repair to Worms within twenty-one days; but many of his friends dissuaded him from going; to whom he answered, that these discouragements were cast into his way by Satan, who knew, that by his possession of the truth in so illustrious a place, his kingdom would be shaken; and therefore, if he knew that there were as many devils in Worms, as tiles on the houses, yet would he go thither. Accordingly he went to Worms: whereupon some persuaded the emperor to deal with him, as the council of Constance had dealt with *John Huss*; but the emperor said, that the public faith was not to be violated. The next day Luther appeared before the emperor, and a frequent assembly of the princes; at which time, *Eccius*, a lawyer, at the command of the emperor, made a speech; in the end whereof, he asked him, whether he would recant and retract his works? To which Luther answered, "Of my books (saith he) some tend to faith and piety; to these my adversaries give an ample testimony: others are against the pope and his doctrine; should I revoke these, I should confirm his tyranny: others are against private men who defend his cause; in these, I confess, I have been too vehement; yet I cannot revoke them, unless I will set open a gap to the impudence of many." But *Eccius* told him, that the emperor was not satisfied with this answer, but required his recantation. To which Luther answered, "I beseech you, give me leave to maintain the peace of my own conscience, which, if I should consent to you, I cannot do: for unless my adversaries can convince me by sound arguments taken out of the Holy Scriptures, I cannot satisfy my conscience; for I can plainly prove that both popes and councils have often erred grievously; and therefore it would be an ungodly thing for me to assent to them, and to depart from the Holy Scriptures, which are plain, and only cannot err. And so the assembly was dismissed at that time.

A few days after, the bishop of Trevers appointed Luther to come unto him, with whom also some other of the princes were assembled; at that time they used many arguments to draw him to a recantation, and concluded, that they perceived, if he refused, the Emperor's purpose was to banish him out of the bounds of the empire; and therefore they exhorted him seriously to think upon the same. Luther answered, that he was very thankful to them, that so great princes would take so much pains for his sake, who was so mean and unworthy a person; yet he told them, that he would rather lose his life than depart from the manifest truth of the word of God, seeing it was better to obey God than man. Then was he commanded to withdraw; and there came to him one *Vacus*, a lawyer, who persuaded him to submit his writings to the judgment of Cæsar and the princes; to whom he answered, that he would not decline the judgment of Cæsar, and the orders of the empire, if they would be guided by the word of God; which (saith he) makes so plain for me, that unless they convince me of an error, I cannot depart from mine opinion. Shortly after the emperor sent to him to depart home, giving him twenty-one days for his return, commanding him, neither by word nor writ to declare anything to the people by the way. And after his departure the emperor pronounced sentence of banishment against him. This sentence being published, Prince Frederick appointed certain noblemen, whom he most confided in, to convey him to a secret place, thereby to avoid the danger, who accordingly conveyed him privately to Wartburg, which he called his *Patmos*, where he continued ten months, and wrote divers useful treatises.

In 1522, Luther wrote to Melancthon to provide him a lodging at Wittenberg; for (saith he) the translation of the Bible will urge me to return. For having translated much of the Bible into Dutch in his *Patmos*, it was necessary for him to confer with learned men, and to have their assistance about the same. In his absence, *Justus Jonas*, *Carlostiad*, *Melancthon*, *Ampsдорff*, and others, had removed private mass, images, auricular confession, prayer to saints, &c.

Melancthon knowing the rage of the Papists, and Cæsar's threats to subvert the gospel, was much troubled, and gave himself wholly up to grief, sighs, and tears; whereupon Luther wrote to him: "In private conflicts I am weak, and you are strong; but in public conflicts, you are found weak, and I stronger; because I am assured that our cause is just. If we fall, Christ, the Lord and ruler of the world falleth with us; and suppose he fall, *Malleum ruere cum Christo, quam regnare cum Cæsare*, I had rather fall with Christ than stand with Cæsar: I extremely dislike your excessive cares, with which you say, that you are almost consumed; that these reign so much in your heart, it is not from the greatness of danger, but the greatness of your incredulity. If the cause be bad, let us give it up, and flee back; if it be good, why do we make God a liar, who hath given us so great promises? saying, cast thy care upon the Lord; be of good comfort, I have overcome the world. A man should search such sentences as these upon his knees from Rome to Jerusalem. If Christ be the conqueror of the world, why should we fear it, as if it could overcome us? Be courageous and cheerful, solicitous for nothing; the Lord is at hand to help us." And, in another place, when king Henry the Eighth of England had written bitterly

against him: "Let the Henrys, the bishops, the Turk, and the devil himself, do what they can, we are children of the kingdom, worshipping and waiting for that Saviour, whom they, and such as they, spit upon and crucify."

In 1523, a diet was held at Noremberg, in the absence of Cæsar, wherein the edict of Worms was made null. Of this the Pope's legate complained to the princes, saying, "That Luther was not punished according to the Emperor's edict;" to which the princes answered, "That the court of Rome neglected reformation; that Germany was so far enlightened by the sermons and writings of Luther, that if they should go about to put the edict in execution, great tumults would arise, and the people would be ready to think that they went about to oppress the truth, and to put out the light of the Gospel, that so they might the better defend those manifest vices which could be no longer concealed."

He used to be very frequent in prayer. Vitus Theodorus thus writeth of him:—"No day passeth wherein Luther spendeth not three hours at least in prayer. Once it fell out," saith he, "that I heard him; what a spirit, what a confidence was in his very expression! With such a reverence he sued for anything, as one begging of God, and yet with such hope and assurance, as if he spake with a loving father or friend."

The day before his death, he dined and supped with his friends, discoursing of divers matters, and amongst the rest, gave his opinion, "That in heaven we shall know one another." After supper the pain in his breast increasing, he went aside and prayed; then went to bed and slept; but, about midnight, being awakened with the pain, and perceiving that his life was at an end, he said, "I pray God to preserve the doctrine of his Gospel amongst us; for the Pope and Council of Trent have grievous things in hand:" after which he thus prayed, "O Heavenly Father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I give thee hearty thanks, that thou hast revealed unto me thy son Jesus Christ, whom I believe, whom I profess, whom I love, whom I glorify, whom the Pope, and the rout of the wicked, persecute and dishonour: I beseech thee, Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul! O, my Heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this life, and must lay down this frail body; yet I certainly know that I shall live with thee eternally, and that I cannot be taken out of thy hands: 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life.' Lord, I render up my spirit into thy hands, and come to thee: and again, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: thou, O God of truth hast redeemed me." When he was dying, Justus Jonas and Cælius said to him, "O, Reverend Father, do you die in the constant confession of that doctrine of Christ, which you have hitherto preached?" To which he answered, "Yea," which was the last word he spoke.

He was always constant in the known truth, from the confession of which he could never be moved, either by promises or threats. He used to say, "Three things make a divine—meditation, prayer, temptation; and that three things were to be done by a minister, 1. To read the bible over and over. 2. To pray earnestly. 3. Always to be a learner; and that they were the best preachers who spake as

to babes in Christ, in an ordinary strain, popularly and most plainly." He said, "That in the cause of God, he was content *totius mundi odium et impetum sustinere*, to undergo the hatred and violence of the whole world." As he was mighty in prayer, so, in his sermons, God gave him such a gift, that when he preached, his hearers thought their own temptations were noted and touched. Some of his friends asking him the cause of this, Mine own manifold temptations and experiences, said he, are the cause of it. Wellerus also, a disciple of Luther's, recordeth, that he oft heard him say, that he had been frequently assaulted and vexed with all kind of temptations, except to the sin of covetousness.

He would by no means endure that any should be called after his name; for, said he, the doctrine which I teach is none of mine, neither did I die for any man; nor would Paul suffer this, 1st Cor. i. 13. We are Christians, and profess the doctrine of Christ. He died 1546.

2. MYCONIUS, FREDERICK. While he was yet in a monastery, he read privately Luther's books, which the other friars took very heinously, and threatened him for it. Afterwards, being called to be a preacher at Vinaria, he at first mixed some Popish errors with the truth; but, by the illumination of God's Spirit, he at last began to preach against Popery, and to hold forth the truth clearly in Thuringia, which spread so swiftly in one month's space, and was so greedily embraced, not only through Saxony, but through many other countries, as if angels had been the carriers of it. At Dusseldorp he preached the Gospel sincerely and purely, though to the hazard of his life; and, at Cullen, he maintained a public disputation with the friars, which was afterwards printed. With the like constancy and faithfulness, he preached the doctrine of the Gospel in Brunswick, in Cella of Saxony, and in other parts of Westphalia. Also in divers public conventions at Smalcald, Frankfurt, and Noremberg. his counsel being asked, with much courage and zeal he handled the affairs of religion, seeking to promote the glory of God, and the profit and welfare of the Church.

In 1528, Henry the Eighth of England fell out with the Pope, for not divorcing him from his wife Catharine of Spain, sister to Charles the Fifth, by reason of whose greatness the Pope durst not do it; whereupon the King of England sent over to the German princes (especially to the Duke of Saxony) to confederate against the Pope, and to join with them in an agreement about religion; upon which occasion Myconius was sent over into England. But, coming thither, he discovered the King's hypocrisy about religion, not only by the six articles about that time established, but also by his imprisoning of Latimer, and cutting off the Lord Cromwell's head, and burning of Mr Barnes, &c., and by his seizing upon all the abbey-lands: whereupon he left England, and being come home, in 1538, he was called by Henry of Saxony to visit and reform the churches of Misnia, together with Luther, Jonas, Cruciger, &c.

In 1541, he fell into a consumption, whereof he wrote to Luther, that he was sick, not to death, but to life: which gloss upon the text pleased Luther very well, who wrote back to him, "I pray Christ, our Lord, our Salvation, and our Health, that I may not live to see thee and some others of our colleagues die and go to heaven, and leave me here alone. I pray God, that I may first lay down this dry, ex-

haunted, and unprofitable tabernacle. Farewell, and God forbid I should hear of thy death whilst I live." A while after Myconius recovered, according to this prayer, though his disease seemed to be desperate, and outlived it six years, even till after Luther's death. Upon which Justus Jonas, speaking of Luther, says, *Iste vir potuit quod voluit*, "That man could have of God what he pleased." Myconius was a man of singular piety, of solid learning, of an excellent judgment, of great zeal, accompanied with admirable candour and gravity. He died 1546.

3. ZELLIUS. He was the first that preached the truth in the church of Strasburg, to whom; after a good while, Symphorianus, an ancient pastor of St Martin's Church, joined himself, who formerly had been very loose in his carriage; and, therefore, the people did the more admire this great change in him; and some of his former acquaintance, led by his example, shook off Popery, and embraced the truth: these two were rather popular preachers than learned; yet Zellius was a man of singular piety: and, not long after, Anthonius Firnius, minister of St Thomas' Church, joined himself to them. Also, in the year 1523, there came thither Martin Bucer, Capito, and Gaspar Hedio, learned and eminent men, who more vigorously carried on the work of reformation in Strasburg. Zellius continued a faithful and painful pastor in that church about twenty-six years. He died 1548.

4. BUGENHAGIUS.—He was severe and bold in reproving, and an earnest defender of the truth against errors. He joined with Luther in the translation of the Bible; which being finished, every year, upon that day, he invited his friends, and made a feast, which he called the translation of the Bible. He attended his charge with great fidelity and extraordinary pains. In the year 1537, Christian, King of Denmark, sent for him to reform religion, and to erect schools in his dominions; in consequence of which, he is said to have appointed some thousands of ministers in Denmark and Norway. He died in 1558.

5. MELANCTHON.—In 1518, he was sent for from Tubinge, by Frederick, Duke of Saxony, to the university of Wittenberg, to teach the Greek tongue. About which time Erasmus wrote thus of him, "Philip Melancthon is a most learned and excellent Grecian; he is a youth and stripling, if we consider his age, but one of us, if ye look upon his variety of knowledge almost in all books. He is very exquisite in the learning of both the tongues. I pray Christ this young man may live: he will soon eclipse Erasmus." He came to Wittenberg, when he was but twenty-two years old; there he began to expound Paul's Epistle to Titus out of Greek, to the great admiration of his hearers, who flocked exceedingly to his lectures. And Luther also was greatly taken with them, as he professeth in a letter to Spalatinius.

When Melancthon was first himself converted, he thought it impossible for his hearers to withstand the evidence of the truth of the Gospel. But, after he had been for some time a preacher, he complained that old Adam was too hard for young Melancthon. He used to say, that there were three labours very difficult, *Regentis, Docentis, Parturientis*; of magistrates, of ministers, and of women in travail. He died in 1560.

6. BRENTIUS.—When Luther's books came abroad, Brentius, by reading of them was brought

to the knowledge of the truth, which he willingly embraced: and, being desirous to propagate it to others, he began to read upon Matthew; first, to some friends of his own college; but his auditors increasing out of other colleges, he was forced to read in the public schools. Afterwards he was called to be pastor at Halle, where his doctrine did so please the senate, that though he was but twenty-three years old, they chose him to that place; and he carried himself in it with such holiness of life, integrity of manners, and diligence in his calling, that none could condemn his youth. And the Lord so blessed his labours, that many were converted to the truth; yea, amongst the very Popish priests, some were converted, others left their places for shame, and went elsewhere. He used much wisdom and modesty in his sermons; and when, in the beginning of his preaching there, the priests railed exceedingly upon him, and the doctrine, and the people expected that he should answer them accordingly, he, contrariwise, went on in teaching the fundamental points of religion; and, as he had occasion, confuted their errors, without bitterness, from clear scripture arguments, whereby, in time, he so wrought upon them, that he brought them to a sight of their errors, and to a detestation of their idolatry. The pastor of Stuttgard dying, Brentius was chosen in his room; in which place he continued all his life, and carried himself with much piety, prudence, and diligence, always maintaining love and concord with his colleagues. He died in 1570.

7. BUCHOLTZER.—He had an excellent sweetness and dexterity in preaching, and was of a sound judgment and holy life. His sermons were so piercing, that he never preached, but he wrought wonderfully upon the affections of his hearers. If any were cast down under a sense of sin and wrath, he exceedingly comforted them. If any were troubled with temptations and afflictions, he raised them up. He had a lively voice, lively eye, lively hands; and such were all his gestures; his ministry was so grateful, that his hearers were never weary, nor thought his sermons too long. He was very self-denied, in so much as that excellent lady Catherine of Brandenburg used to say, that whereas all the rest of her courtiers and family were always asking something of her, Bucholtzer never asked any thing; yea, he refused gifts when they were offered him, preferring the fruit of his ministry before the reward of it. He was so humble, that when his friends blamed him for living in so obscure a place, whilst he taught school, he told them that he preferred it to a kingdom. He could never endure to hear himself commended; and if his friends in their letters had written any thing to his praise, he could not read it with patience. His candour was such, that he never spake or wrote any thing but from his heart. He never read or heard any thing from others but he put a candid construction on it. His care in his public ministry was to avoid those questions that gender strife, and to instruct his hearers how to live a good life, and die a comfortable death. In his sickness he caused himself to be carried to church, where he preached his last sermon, about the blessed departure of believers out of this life; which he performed with such excellent words and soul-ravishing affections, that the hearers said, "Bucholtzer had wont to excel our other preachers; but now he hath excelled himself." He died in 1584.

CHAPTER II.

SOME INSTANCES OF THOSE IN SWITZERLAND.—1, ZUINGLIUS.—2, ECOLAMPADIUS.—3, MUCULUS.—4, CALVIN.—5, FARELLUS.—6, BULLINGER.—7, BEZA.

From CLARK'S Lives.

1. ZUINGLIUS.—He was born in Switzerland of godly parents, and by them brought up in learning. He especially addicted himself to the study of the Bible; and finding his defects in the knowledge of the tongues, he learned Greek, wrote out Paul's Epistles, and got them by heart. And reading in Peter, "That no scripture is of private interpretation," he betook himself by earnest prayer to God for the Spirit of Truth to be his teacher; and, lest he should be misled by a false spirit, he compared scripture with scripture, and expounded obscure texts by those which were more clear.

After a while he was chosen to a place called Our Lord's Hermitage, by Theobaldus Guolzeggus, the baron thereof, to which place there was a great resort of people from all countries, who came on pilgrimage thither, which much moved him to embrace that call, that he might have opportunity to disperse the knowledge of the truth into several parts. About this time one of the ministers dying at Zurich, they much desired Zuinglius to succeed him; and he, coming accidentally to that place, was chosen pastor there in 1510, and began to preach unto them the history of Christ out of Matthew. Presently after there came one Sampson, a Franciscan friar, and a preacher of indulgences, who was sent by the Pope into Switzerland to get money: Zuinglius strongly opposed himself against him, shewing him to be an imposter. Zuinglius also caused the Pope to be admonished by his commissary, not to excommunicate Luther; for that he foresaw the Germans would despise both him and his excommunication, which accordingly came to pass.

In 1520, the senate of Zurich, by the counsel of Zuinglius, commanded the preachers of their jurisdiction freely to teach whatsoever might be proved by the authority of the prophets and apostles, passing by the inventions of man.

In 1522, the bishop wrote to the college of canons in Zurich, exhorting them to take heed to themselves; for that Pope Leo, and the emperor, by their proclamations, had condemned those doctrines: he put them in mind, therefore, to obey those decrees, and not to innovate any thing in religion, till those whom it concerned had, by common council, set down somewhat. Hereupon Zuinglius wrote back to the bishop, that he understood by whose instigation he did these things, but he wished him not to follow their counsel; for (saith he) the truth is invincible, and will not be resisted. And afterwards, some others joining with him, they wrote to the bishop, entreating him to decree nothing against the doctrine of the gospel, and that he would no longer endure the filthy and infamous life of the priests. About this time, Luther's books coming abroad, though Zuinglius himself abstained from reading of them, yet he persuaded his people to buy, and read them; which he did, that they might see the agreement that was in their doctrine, being both taught by the same spirit: there also he studied Hebrew, and got the senate to erect a school for

Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and, associating to himself Leo-Juda, he got such skill in the Hebrew, that he began to explain Isaiah and Jeremiah. Shortly after there came to Zurich Franciscus Lambertus, and disputed with Zuinglius about the intercession of the saints, and the sacrifice of the mass; but, being nonplussed, he left his error, and gave praise to God. Zuinglius began also to publish his writings about this time, and Pope Adrian wrote to him with great promises to oblige him to the papal see, but all in vain.

He began to preach at Glarona in the year 1516, against many of the Popish errors and abuses before the name of Luther was so much as heard of in those parts. His doctrine and judgment were sound: his study of piety, and of reforming religion from Popish superstitions is seen in his works. In his sermons he was very methodical, teaching the truth with great perspicuity: he was very sharp in reproofing vices, especially the oppression of the poor, prodigality, and the pensions of the Switzers. He used to say, that it was a wicked warfare, and nothing more hateful to God, than for the hire of foreign princes to spill blood: when he thundered most against sin, lest the innocent should be affrighted, he used to say, "Honest man, be not affrighted at these things; I speak not to thee; therefore care not for it." He died in 1531.

2. ECOLAMPADIUS. His parents, having no other child, gave all their estate for the maintenance of a minister in their own town, and chose this their son to be the first that should undertake that charge. In 1522, Sir Francis Sickenen, sent for him, concerning which himself thus writeth: "Because," saith he, "Sir Francis Sickenen, captain of the Emperor's army, hath sent for me to instruct his family, or rather to feed it with spiritual sermons, being long since instructed, I thought it my duty to endeavour, that the law of God should be made familiar to them, whereby they might grow in the true and sincere study of Christianity: whereupon I daily read the Gospel, and expounded it to those that were present, familiarly exhorting them to the study of piety: and whereas they had been accustomed to hear sermons only upon the Sabbaths, and to have masses all the week after, I so prevailed that masses were laid aside, and some parts of the Epistles and Gospels were read and expounded every day to them." Shortly after, the Senate of Basil chose him to be a professor of divinity in that city (though the Popish party sought by all means to hinder it) where he restored church discipline. And presently after, being sent for to Ulm, together with Blaurerus and Bucer, he carried on the work of reformation there.

At Marburg (by the invitation of the Landgrave of Hesse) there was a disputation for three days between Luther, Jonas, and Melancthon, on the one part, and Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, and others, on the other part, about the controversy concerning Christ's presence in the sacrament; but the sweating sickness breaking out there, put an end to it; yet they agreed about all other fundamentals in religion, and parted in a brotherly manner. Ecolampadius, returning to Basil, spent the remainder of his days in preaching, reading, writing, publishing books, visiting the sick, &c.

In the year 1531, and of his age forty-nine, he fell sick (about the same time that Zuinglius was so unhappily slain, the grief of whose death much ag-

gravated his weakness) yet intermitted he not his labours, 'ill he was forced to keep his bed; and then he spent his time in divine meditations, and comforting his friends: and, sending for the ministers of the churches to him, he spake to this purpose: "O, my brethren, the Lord is come, he is come; he is now calling me away: I desired to speak with you, to encourage you to continue faithful followers of Christ, to persevere in purity of doctrine, and in lives conformable to the Word of God; Christ will take care for the defence of his Church." A certain friend coming to him, Ecclampadius asked him what news? His friend answered, None: but (saith he) I'll tell you some news; I shall presently be with my Lord Christ. In the morning he prayed earnestly with the words of David, in the fifty-first Psalm, and presently after said, O Christ, save me! And so he fell asleep in the Lord, in the year 1531.

3. MUSCULUS. He laboured in the work of the gospel at several places, particularly at Bern. Being often told by an old man, *Si vis fieri bonus concionator, da operam ut sis bonus Biblicus*; "If you will be a good preacher, study to be well acquainted with the Scripture;" he betook himself night and day to reading and meditation upon the Bible. About the year 1518, Luther's books began to come abroad into the world, and Musculus having some of them sent him, read them with much seriousness and delight; and God thereby revealing the truth to him, he became a zealous maintainer of it, not only in the monastery, by conference and disputations, but in his public sermons also; so that he was commonly called the Lutheran monk: and, whereas Luther was charged by some with heresy, he stoutly defended him, saying, It may be Luther may err in some things, which is common to the nature of man; yet he is not, therefore, to be accounted an heretic. And his labours proved not fruitless; for (through God's blessing upon them) he converted many of that fraternity who afterwards left their abbey, and became zealous professors of the truth unto death.

Divers others also abroad were converted by him; and amongst them a certain nobleman, called Reinhard of Rotenburgh, who was captain of the castle at Latzelsteine, and protector of that college. Musculus was a man of much account with the Palatine, by whom he was protected from many dangers and scares that were laid for him, especially by the bishop, and some old monks that were obdurate in wickedness; and, therefore, more opposite to the truth. He was often in great peril of his life, and yet by special providences preserved: so that, persisting in that place, he could neither enjoy safety nor freedom in the service of God, as he desired, he resolved to leave the monastery, and to go elsewhere; which resolutions he communicated to some of his friends. But, in the meantime, the prior died, and he, by common consent of all, was chosen to succeed him. Musculus looked upon this as a design of the devil, by these baits of honour, pleasure, and profit, to withdraw him from his zealous purposes of propagating the truth, and to tie him to that kind of life, that he was resolved against: he, therefore, refused the offer, and, leaving the monastery, preached the gospel in several places, though sometimes in great poverty. He died in 1563.

4. CALVIN. He was born in France, and laboured in the work of the gospel at Geneva. Returning out of Italy, (into whose borders, he used to say, he went that he might return again) he settled

his affairs, and taking along with him his only brother, Anthony Calvin, he intended to go to Basil or Strasborough; but all other ways being stopped, by reason of war, he went to Geneva, without any purpose of staying there. A little before, the gospel of Christ had been very providentially brought into that city by the labour and industry of two excellent men, William Farell of the Delphinat, sometime a scholar of Faber Stapulensis; and Peter Viret, a Bernate, whose labours God afterwards wonderfully blessed and prospered. Calvin hearing of these worthy men (as the manner is amongst the godly) went to visit them, to whom Mr Farell, (being a man endowed with an heroic spirit) spake with great vehemency, and charged him to stay with them at Geneva, and to help them in the work of God. Calvin being moved with his earnest protestations, submitted to the judgment of the presbytery and of the magistrates, by whose suffrages, together with the consent of the people, he was chosen professor of divinity. His ordinary labours in that office were these: every other Sabbath he preached twice; Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, he read his divinity lectures; every Thursday he assisted in the consistory for the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline; on Fridays he read a lecture for the clearing of some hard places of Scripture; besides which, he wrote many commentaries upon the Scriptures; answered many adversaries to the truth; wrote many letters to sundry places, of advice and direction in weighty affairs; so that we have cause to wonder how it was possible for one man to undergo so many businesses. He made very much use of Farell and Viret, and yet himself contributed much more to them. And truly their familiarity, as it was much envied by the wicked, so it was very grateful to all good men. And it was a very pleasant sight to behold these three men, so famous in the church, and all agreeing in the work of the Lord, and yet so excelling in several gifts of the Spirit. Farell excelled in a certain greatness of mind, whose thundering sermons could not be heard without trembling, and whose ardent prayers would lift a man up into heaven. Viret did so excel in sweet eloquence, that he chained his hearers to his lips. Calvin, how many words he spake, with so many grave and pithy sentences he filled the minds of his hearers; so that (saith Mr Beza) I often thought that the gifts of these three men meeting in one, would make up a complete pastor. Besides the forementioned labours of Calvin, he had also many foreign businesses; for God so blessed his ministry, that from all parts of the Christian world he was sought to, partly for advice in matters of religion, and partly to hear him preach; so that at the same time there was an Italian church, an English church, and a Spanish church, besides the church of Geneva, and that city seemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his sake.

When he was indisposed, his colleagues admonished and earnestly entreated him, that he would abstain from dictating, but especially from writing; but he answered, What? would you have me idle when my Lord comes? Before his death, among other things in his speech to the syndicks and aldermen of Geneva, he had these words, "Of mine own accord, I acknowledge that I am much indebted to you, for that ye have patiently borne with my too much vehemency sometimes; which sin also I trust God that he hath forgiven me. But as touching the doctrine that you have heard from me, I take God

to witness that I have not rashly and uncertainly, but purely and sincerely, taught the word of God intrusted unto me." When he understood, by letters from Farell to Viret, that he who was now an old man of eighty years old and sickly, was yet determined to come from Neocom to visit him, and was now onward upon his journey, he wrote thus to him to stay him: "Farewell, my best and sincerest brother, and seeing God will have you to outlive me in this world, live mindful of our friendship, which, as it hath been profitable for the church of God here, so the fruit thereof tarrieth for us in heaven. I would not have you weary yourself for my sake. I hardly draw my breath; and I expect daily when it will wholly fail me. It is enough that I live and die to Christ, who is gain to his, both in life and death. Again farewell. May 11, 1564." Yet, for all this letter, the good old man came to Geneva, and having fully conferred with Mr Calvin, returned back to Neocom. The rest of his days, even till his departure, Calvin spent almost in perpetual prayer, with his eyes fixed upon heaven. The day after his death there was a great weeping and wailing all over the city; and when he was carried out, the senators, pastors, and professors of the school, and almost the whole city, followed the corpse, not without abundance of tears.

He was a man of an incredible and most ready memory, in the midst of numberless distractions, and of a most exact judgment. He was very regardless of preferment, even when it was often offered: he eat little meat, and took very little sleep. He had a certain sweetness mixed with his gravity. Discreet and mild he was in bearing with men's infirmities; yet would he severely, without dissimulation, reprove their vices, which freedom he always used from a child. Such a preacher he was, that he drew England, Spain, and Italy to him, filling Geneva with strangers. Such a voluminous writer, that (as it was said of St Augustine) he wrote more than another can well read. His writings were so eagerly received, that, as most rare and precious pieces, they were forthwith translated into all languages. What shall I speak of his indefatigable industry, even beyond the power of nature, which, being paralleled with our loitering, I fear, will exceed all credit? and may be a true object of admiration, how his lean, worn, spent, and weary body could possibly hold out. He read every week in the year three divinity lectures, and every other week, over and above, he preached every day, so that (as Erasmus saith of Chrysostome) I do not know whether more to admire the indefatigableness of the man, or his hearers. Yea, some have reckoned up that his lectures were yearly one hundred and eighty-six, his sermons two hundred and eighty six, besides Thursday he sat in the presbytery. Every Friday, when the ministers met in conference to expound hard texts, he made as good as a lecture. Yea, besides, there was scarce a day wherein he spent not some part, either by word or writing, in answering the questions and doubts of sundry pastors and churches that sought unto him for advice and counsel; over and above which, there was no year passed wherein came not forth from him some great volume or other in folio, so that, in few years, (besides many golden tractates, and sundry exquisite answers, which, upon short warning, he made to principal adversaries) his huge explications upon the five books of Moses, Joshua, Job, Psalms, on the Prophets, and almost the whole New Testa-

ment, came forth into the world, fuller of pithy sententious matter than of paper. These things considered, what breathing time could he find for idleness, or loose thoughts? in his last grievous sickness, he could scarce be compelled by his friends to pretermitt his daily task of preaching, and reading his divinity lectures, and at home, when he could not go abroad, he rather wearied others with continual dictation to them, than himself. Nothing was more frequent in his mouth than this, "Of all things, an idle life is most irksome to me." Yea, such conscience did he make of mispending a minute, that he was loth to detain the ministers that came to visit him in their public exercises. He died in 1564.

5. FARELLUS.—In 1527, he went to a certain town called Elin, where he preached the gospel, and was admonished by Ecolampadius to mingle prudence with his zeal. In 1528, he went to Aquileia amongst the Bernates, where he preached Christ, and undauntedly opposed Antichrist; disputing also with divers at Bern, whereupon ensued a wonderful change in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1528, he with Viret went to Geneva, where they planted the church, and propagated the gospel, and many of the citizens embraced it; yet at first not so much out of love to the truth, as out of hatred to the Popish tyranny. Long he had not been there before he was drawn into the bishop's court, which two of the Syndics much disliked, the rather because Farell promised them that he would prove all his doctrine out of the Holy Scriptures; so that they accompanied him into the bishops court, that they might see all things to proceed in judgment lawfully; but it fell out otherways: for the judge of the court would by no means endure a disputation, saying, if that be suffered, all our mystery would be destroyed; and withal railing upon Farell, he said, thou most wicked devil, why comest thou to this city to trouble us? I am not (answered Farell) as you call me, but I preach Jesus Christ who was crucified for our sins, and rose again, and he that believeth in his name shall be saved: this is the sum of my errand: I am a debtor unto all that are ready to hear, and obey the gospel, desiring this only, that the obedience of faith may flourish every where; and I came into this city to see if there were any that would lend me the hearing, and I will render an account of my faith and hope every where; and will confirm my doctrine with my blood if need be. Then cried out one of the court in Latin; he hath blasphemed, what need we any more witnesses? he is guilty of death. Hurl him into the Rhone: hurl him into the Rhone. 'Tis better this one Lutheran should be put to death, than that further troubles should be raised. Farell answered; do not utter the words of Caiaphas, but of God. Then one struck him on the mouth with his fist, and he was commanded to stand aside as if they would consult, and in the interim he was shot at with a gun by the vicar's servant, but it hit him not, God defending his servant. And though one of the Syndics favoured him, yet now the other shrunk from him, so that the bishops council prevailed that he should be driven out of the city. And thus being accompanied with some citizens, he, and his partner Anthony Salner were expelled the city, but God turned it to the great good of others, for they sowed the seed of the word in the neighbouring country, by the side of the lake Lemain, viz. at Orba and Granson. Neither yet (through God's power and goodness) was the work interrupted at

Geneva: for just at the same time came a young man of the Delphinat, called Anthony Fromintius, who entering into the city taught a public school, and together with the rudiments of grammar, he most happily laid the foundation of Christian religion in the hearts and minds of his scholars, which were not a few. In 1541, Farell went to Metz, and preached in the church-yard of the Dominicans; the friars, when they could not otherwise hinder him, rang their bells: but he having a strong voice, did so strain it, that he went on audibly to the end of his sermon. The day after there came about three thousand persons to hear the word of God; but some that favoured the gospel, intreated Mr Farell so long to forbear, as till he might preach without a tumult. Then was he questioned by the magistrates, by what authority, or by whose request he preached. To which he answered, by the command of Christ, and at the request of his members: gravely discouraging both of his own authority, and of the excellency of the gospel; telling the magistrates what his duty was in reference thereunto. But shortly after, by the command of the Emperor, the citizens of Metz were forbidden to hear any man preach who was not licensed by the bishop, and some others. Whereupon Mr Farell went to Neocom, where he wholly employed himself in the service of the church, performing the office of a faithful pastor to extreme old age, with admirable zeal and diligence. This was that Farell who (discouraged by no difficulties, deterred with no threatenings, reproaches, or stripes) gained to Christ multitudes in Montbelgard, Aquileia, Lausanna, Geneva, and Neocom. There was in him, besides piety, learning, innocency of life, exemplary modesty, a certain singular presence of mind, sharp wit, and vehemency of speech, so that he rather seemed to thunder than speak; and lastly such admirable fervency in his prayers, that he seemed to carry his hearers into heaven with him. He died 1565.

6. BULLINGER.—When he was studying divinity, he observed, that, whereas the schoolmen quoted the fathers, the fathers they quoted the Scriptures. Whereupon he betook himself to the reading of the Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, with Jerome, and some other commentators upon it; by which at last, through God's mercy, he began to abhor the Popish errors.

In 1529, he was called to his native place of Breunhart, where God so prospered his ministry, that, presently after his coming, the magistrates banished Paphry, and set out a severe decree against adultery and drunkenness; and being chosen pastor of that place, he preached every Sabbath in the afternoon, and the three days following in the morning: besides every day, at the time of evening prayers, he expounded a part of the New Testament.

In 1571, by reason of the extreme hard winter, there was a very great dearth, in which Bullinger, and the other ministers, obtained of the senate, that there should be frequent prayer in public, and that provision should be made for the poor, which was done accordingly.

In 1574, he fell into a grievous disease, which much tormented him for some weeks; but it pleased God to give him ease: whereupon he exercised his public ministry again. The year after he relapsed into his disease, and though the pain was almost insupportable, yet he never brake forth either in word or gesture into the least impatience, but prayed the

more fervently; and when he had any ease, he used to discourse pleasantly with his friends, saying, "If the Lord will make any further use of me, and my ministry in his church, I will cheerfully obey him; but if he please (as I much desire) to take me out of this miserable life, I shall exceedingly rejoice to go to my Saviour Christ. Socrates was glad when his death approached, because, as he thought, he would go to Homer, Hesiod, and other learned men, whom he thought he should meet with in the other world: how much more do I joy, who am sure that I shall see my Saviour Christ, the saints, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and all the holy men who have lived from the beginning of the world? These, I say, when I am sure to see, and to partake of their joys, why should I not willingly die, to enjoy their perpetual society and glory?" He died 1575.

7. THEODORE BEZA, was born at Vezelai in 1519. He was early instructed in the true religion drawn out of the fountain of God's word. Through means of a wealthy uncle he was led into many of the world's pleasures, but being smitten with a dangerous disease, and brought near to the gates of death, he was humbled under the mighty hand of God, and led to cry out, "Lord bring my soul out of prison that I may praise thy name." Being restored to health he forsook all for Christ, and was shortly after called to be Professor of Greek in the University of Lausanne. Here he carried on that "truly golden work," which had been begun by Marot, of translating the Psalms into French metre. In 1559, he was removed to Geneva, and was chosen one of the pastors in that city. About the year 1561, after a long and singular discussion between him and the Papists at Passy in France, Beza remained there, preaching much in various places around Paris, so that the word of God "grew mightily and prevailed." Soon after he returned to Geneva, where he endeavoured to stir up his countrymen to commiserate and pray for their afflicted brethren in France. In 1589, Geneva was full of troubles; whereupon extraordinary public prayers were appointed twice a-week, which burden Beza took upon himself, the other pastors freeing him from the daily sermons he used to preach before. Only he preached once every Sabbath morning between eight and nine o'clock. Though very feeble and afflicted with a trouble in his head, he did not desist from preaching till the year 1600, when he was eighty-one years old. Not long after he invited his brethren to supper. They at first declined, because there was to be a public fast that week, and the magistrates had forbidden all feasting. Beza told them, that he would get leave of the magistrates, and that he did not intend a feast but a frugal supper. Whereupon they consented, and met together in brotherly fellowship and love.

Beza in his younger years, after the Lord had touched his heart by the word, was one day in the church of Charenton, where he providentially heard the 91st Psalm expounded. It was followed with such power to him, that not only did he find it sweet at present, but was enabled to believe that the Lord would fulfil to him all the promises of that Psalm. At his death, he did declare to his Christian friends, that he had found it so indeed. That as he had been enabled to close with the second verse, in taking the Lord for his God, and got a sure claim thereto, yea that he should be his refuge and fortress; so he had found remarkably in the after changes of his life, that the Lord had "delivered him from the snare of

the fowler;" for he had been in frequent hazard by the lying in wait of many to ensnare him; and "from the noisome pestilence," for he was sometimes in great hazard from the pestilence in these places where he was called to reside. And amidst the civil wars which were then so hot in France, he had most convincing deliverances from many imminent hazards, when he was called to be present sometimes with the Protestant princes upon the field, where "thousands did fall about him." And thus, when near his end, he found that Psalm so obviously verified, whereon he was caused to hope, that he went through all these promises, declaring the comfortable accomplishment of them. How he had found the Lord "giving his angels charge over him, often answering him when he called upon him;" how he had "been with him in trouble, had delivered him, and had satisfied him with long life." "And now," says he, "I have no more to wait for, but the fulfilling of these last words of the Psalm, 'I will show him my salvation,' which with confidence I long for."

He was a thick set man and of a strong constitution, inasmuch that he used to say that he never knew what it was to have his head ache. He was of an excellent wit, an acute judgment, a firm memory; very eloquent, affable, and courteous, so that he was called the Phoenix of his time. When Calvin died he was very sorrowful, and is said to have exclaimed, in the true feeling of broken-hearted affection, "now that Calvin is dead, life will be less sweet and death less bitter."

CHAPTER III.

SOME INSTANCES OF THOSE IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, VIZ.:-

1. HAMILTON.—2. WISHART.—3. MILL.—4. FRITH.—5. BUNNEY.—6. TINDAL.—7. ROGERS.—8. SAUNDERS.—9. HOOPER.—10. TAYLOR.—11. BRADFORD.—12. RIDLEY.—13. LATIMER.—14. PHILPOT.—15. CRANMER.—16. JEWELL.—17. KNOX.—18. DEERING.—19. GILPIN.—20. FOX.—21. GREENHAM.—22. BOLLOCK.—23. PERKINS.—24. CARTWRIGHT.

From CLARK'S *Martyrology*, page 257, and KNOX'S *History Book I.*

1. PATRICK HAMILTON, in Scotland, was brother's son to James Hamilton, earl of Arran, and sister's son to John Stuart, duke of Albany, which in providence was subservient to raise more attention to his doctrine, holy life, and sufferings. Having travelled into Germany, he became acquainted at Wittenberg with those eminent servants of Christ, Martin Luther, and Philip Melancthon, whereby he greatly increased in godly knowledge and learning; from thence he went to the university of Marburg, which was then newly erected by Philip Landgrave of Hesse, where he was intimate with other learned men, especially with Francis Lambert, by whose instigation he was the first that there publicly set up conclusions to be disputed of concerning faith and good works. By reason of his learning and integrity of life, he was had in admiration by many; but the zeal of God's glory did so eat him up, that he could not rest till he returned into his own country, where the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace were planted in his heart, began most abundantly to break forth, as well in public as in secret.

In process of time, the fame of his doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of James Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, who grew impatient, that by this means the kingdom of darkness was disturbed; and therefore he so laboured with Patrick Hamilton, that he got him to St Andrews, where, after divers days' conference, he had his freedom and liberty, the bishop seeming to approve his doctrine, acknowledging, that in many things there needed a reformation in the church; but, withal, fearing that their kingdom should be endangered, they laboured with the king, who was then young, and much led by them, to go on pilgrimage to St Doctresse in Ross, that so by reason of his absence no intercession might be made to him, for the saving the life of this innocent servant of Jesus Christ, who, not suspecting the malice that lodged in their hearts, remained as a lamb amongst wolves.

The king being gone, upon a night, Mr Hamilton was seized by the bishop's officers, and carried to the castle, and the morrow after he was brought forth unto judgment, and was condemned to be burnt for the testimony of God's truth; the articles for which he suffered, were about pilgrimages, purgatory, prayer to saints, and for the dead, &c. And that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they caused it to be subscribed by all those of esteem that were present; and to make their number great, they took the subscription of the very children who were of the nobility. Immediately after dinner, the fire was prepared, and he was led to execution; yet most men thought it was only to terrify him, and to cause him to recant. But God, for his own glory, the good of his servants, and for the manifestation of their brutal tyranny, had otherwise decreed; for he so strengthened him, that neither the love of life, nor fear of this cruel death, could once move him to swerve from the truth which he had professed.

At the place of execution he gave to his servant, that had long attended him, his gown, coat, cap, and his other garments, saying, "After this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee to bear in mind; for, though it be bitter in the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess who deny Jesus Christ before this wicked generation;" and so, being tied to the stake in the midst of coals, and timber, they set fire to some powder, which with the blast scorched his left hand, and the side of his face, but neither killed him nor kindled the wood and coals. All they ran to the castle for more powder and more combustible matter; which being at last kindled, with a loud voice he cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?" The fire was slow, and therefore put him to the greater torment. But that which most grieved him, was the clamour of some wicked men set on by the friars, who continually cried, "Turn thou heretic; call upon our lady; say *salve regina*," &c., to whom he answered, "Depart from me and trouble me not, thou messenger of Satan;" and speaking to one Campbell, a friar, that was the ringleader, who still roared on him with great vehemence, he said to him, "Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and hast confessed the contrary to me; I appeal thee before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ," after which words he resigned up his spirit unto

God, in the year of Christ 1527; and, within a few days after, the said friar died in a frenzy, and as one that despaired.

From Knox's History, Book 1.

When those cruel wolves had, as they supposed, clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than before; for then, within St Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm, who heard of that fact, there was none found who began not to inquire, wherefore Mr Patrick Hamilton was burnt; and when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden, if such articles were necessary to be believed, under the pain of damnation? And so, within short space, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity, inasmuch that the University of St Andrews and St Leonard's college, principally by the labours of Mr Gavin Logy, the novices of the abbey, and the sub-prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to espy the vanity of the received superstition; yea, within few years after, began both black and grey friars publicly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical estate. Amongst whom was one called William Arithe, who, in a sermon preached in Dundee, spake somewhat more liberally against the licentious life of the bishops, than they could well bear. The bishop of Brechin having his parasites in the town, buffeted the friar, and called him heretic. The friar passed to St Andrews, and did communicate the beads of his sermon to Mr John Mair, whose word then was holden as an oracle, in matters of religion; and, being assured of him that such doctrine might well be defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no heresy, there was a day appointed to the said friar, to make repetition of the same sermon; an advertisement was given to all such as were offended at the former to be present. And so, in the parish church of St Andrews upon the day appointed, appeared the said friar, and had, amongst his auditors, Mr John Mair, Mr George Lockhart, the abbot of Cambuskeneth, Mr Patrick Hepburn, prior of St Andrews, with all the doctors and masters of the universities. Shortly after this, new consultation was taken there, that some should be burnt; for men began liberally to speak. A merry gentleman, named John Lindsay, familiar to James Beaton, standing by when consultation was had, said, "My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves; if ye will burn them, let them be burnt in hollow cellars; for the smoke of Mr Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon."

From CLARK'S Martyrology, page 228.

In the year 1534, the archbishop of St Andrews convened before him David Straiton, a gentleman, and Mr Norman Gourlay: the first of these had disinclined the bishop of Murray, in the matter of the tithes, but had nothing of religion in him; but when he was summoned to answer for heresy, it troubled him exceedingly, and then he began to frequent the company of such as were godly, and there appeared a wonderful change in him; so that, whereas before he despised the Word of God, now all his delight was in hearing of it read to him; and

he was a vehement exhorter of all men to peace and concord, and contempt of the world. He much frequented the company of the laird of Dun (Erskine), whom God, in those days, had marvellously illuminated; hearing that text read (for he could not read himself), "He that denieth before men, or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him before my Father and his holy angels." At those words, being suddenly as one revived, he fell upon his knees, and stedfastly lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, at length he burst forth into these words, "Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercy's sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth, for fear of death, or any corporal pain." Being afterwards, together with Mr Norman, brought to judgment in Holyrood House, the King himself being present, much means were used to draw this David Straiton to make a recantation; but he persevered in his constancy, still denying that he had offended; and so they were both condemned to the fire, and in the year 1534, they were first hanged, and afterwards burnt.

Not long after the burning of these two holy men, there was one dean Thomas Forrest, who used to preach every Lord's day to his parishioners, out of the Epistles and Gospels, as they fell in order: this was counted a great novelty; for none used to preach but the friars; and therefore they, envying him, accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld for an heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of Scripture to the vulgar people. The bishop, instigated by the complaint of the friars, called the said dean Thomas before him, to whom he said, My joy, dean Thomas, I love you well; and therefore I must counsel you how to govern yourself: the dean thanked him: and then he proceeded, I am informed that you preach the Epistle and the Gospel every Sunday to your people, and that you take not your dues from them; which is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, dean Thomas, I would have you take your dues, or else 'tis too much to preach every Sunday; for, by so doing, you make the people think that we should do so also: 'tis enough for you, when you find a good Epistle or Gospel, to set forth and preach the liberty of holy church, and let the rest alone. Thomas answered, My lord, I presume none of my parishioners complain of my not taking my dues; and whereas you say 'tis too much to preach every Sunday, I think it is too little, and wish that your lordship would do the like. Nay, nay, dean Thomas, said the bishop, let that be; for we are not ordained to preach: then said Thomas, Whereas you bid me preach when I meet with a good Epistle and Gospel, I have read them all over, and I know no bad ones amongst them; but when your lordship shows me such, I will pass by them; then said the bishop, I thank God I never knew what the Old and New Testament was: and, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portulac and pontifical. Go your ways, and let all these fancies be; for, if you persevere herein, you will repent when it is too late. I trust, said Thomas, my cause is good and just in the presence of God; and therefore I care not what follows thereupon; and so he went his way; but, shortly after, he was summoned to appear before the cardinal, by whom he was condemned and burnt for a chief heretic, and teacher of heresy. But, notwithstanding all their blood tyranny, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increase in Scotland, partly by read-

ing, partly by brotherly conference, which in those dangerous days was much used to the comfort of many, which so enraged the Popish party, that, in 1538, there was burnt in one fire four persons of good quality. The year after there were apprehended Jerome Russell, a man of a meek and quiet nature, and Alexander Kennedy, of about eighteen years old; these two poor servants of Jesus Christ being brought before the archbishop, and his associates, to judgment, Kennedy at first was faint, and would fain have recanted; but when all place of repentance was denied him, the Spirit of God (which seasonably comes in with comfort) began to refresh him; yea, the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in his visage as in his tongue and words: for, with a cheerful countenance and joyful voice, falling on his knees, he said, "O eternal God, how wonderful is that love and mercy that thou bearest unto mankind, and to me a vile catiff, and miserable wretch above all others! forever now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have east myself into everlasting damnation, thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppressed: now, I defy death, do with me what you please; I praise God, I am ready." Then did they rail upon him and Jerome, who also said unto them, This is your hour and power of darkness; now sit ye as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocency will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity. Shortly after they were condemned to die; and as they went to execution, Jerome comforted Kennedy, saying to him, "Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world; the pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us therefore strive to enter into our Master and Saviour's joy by the same straight way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him for whose sake we now suffer." And thus passing cheerfully on, they constantly triumphed over death and Satan, in the midst of the flaming fire, where they gave up their spirits to God.

In the year 1543, Cardinal Beaton, coming to Edinburgh, caused many godly persons to be called before him; and, when he could prove nothing else against them, he caused four men to be hanged, upon suspicion that they had eaten a goose upon a Friday; and a woman, with her child sucking on her breast, to be drowned, for refusing to pray to the Virgin Mary. Many others he caused to be banished, others to be imprisoned at St Johnston; amongst whom was one John Rogers, a godly and learned man, that had fruitfully preached Christ Jesus, to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns, whom he caused to be murdered in prison, and then thrown over the wall, giving it out that, by attempting to escape, he had broken his neck.

From Knox's History.

YET the same year, 1543, the commissioners of burghs, and a part of the nobility, required of the parliament, that it might be enacted, that it should

be lawful for every man, to use the benefit of the translation which then they had of the Old and New Testament, together with the benefit of other treatises containing wholesome doctrine, until such time as the prelates and other churchmen should give and set forth unto them a translation more correct. The clergy hereto long repugned; but in the end, convinced by reasons, and by multitudes of voices, they also condescended. And so by act of Parliament it was made free to all men and women to read the scriptures in their own vulgar tongue; and so were all the acts made to the contrary abolished. This was no small victory of Jesus Christ, fighting against the conjured enemies of his verities; no small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, nor the articles of their faith in the vulgar tongue, but they should have been accused of heresie. Then might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands. We grant that some (alas!) profaned that blessed word; for some that perchance had never read ten sentences in it, had it most common in their hand, they would chop their familiars on the cheek with it, and say, this hath lain under my bed feet these ten years. Others would glory, O how oft have I been in danger for this book, how secretly have I stole from my wife at midnight to read upon it. And this was done we say of many to make court, and every favour thereby: for all men esteemed the governor to have been one of the most fervent Protestants that was in Europe. Albeit we say that many abused that liberty, granted of God, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wondrously increase, and God gave his holy spirit to simple men in great abundance. Then were set forth works in our own tongue, besides those that came from England, that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and abuses of that Roman antichrist.

From CLARK'S Martyrology, page 266.

2. WISHART. He first preached in Ross, and then in Dundee, where, with great admiration of all that heard him, he expounded the Epistle to the Romans, 'till, at the instigation of the Cardinal, one Robert Mill, a principal man there, and formerly a professor of religion, inhibited him from preaching, requiring him, that he should trouble their town no more, for he would not suffer it; and this was spoken to him in the public place: whereupon he mused a space with his eyes bent unto Heaven, and then looking sorrowfully upon the speaker and people, he said, "God is my witness that I never intended your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more dolorous to me than it is to yourselves; but I am assured that, to refuse God's word, and to chase me from you, his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation; with the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you: now ye yourselves refuse me, and I must leave my innocency to be declared by my God; if it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth; but if unlooked for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful; but if you turn not at the first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword."

Then went he into the west country, where he made offers of God's word, which was gladly received by many, until the Bishop of Glasgow, by the instigation of the Cardinal, came with his train to the town of Ayr to resist Wishart. The Earl of Glencairn, and some other gentlemen hearing of it, came thither also with their retinue, and, when they were all come together, the bishop would needs have the church himself to preach in; some opposed, but Wishart said, let him alone, his sermon will not do much hurt, let us go to the market-cross; and so they did, where Wishart had such a sermon, that his very enemies were confounded. After that, Wishart remained with the gentlemen in Kyle, preaching sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but, coming to Manohlin, he was by force kept out of the church. Some would have broken in, but he said to one of them, Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and himself often preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places: 'tis the word of peace God sends by me, the blood of none shall be shed this day for the preaching of it; and so, going into the fields, he stood upon a bank, where he continued in preaching to the people above three hours; and God wrought so wonderfully by that sermon, that one of the wickedest men in all the country, the Laird of Sheld, was converted by it, and his eyes ran down with such abundance of tears, that all men wondered at it. Presently news was brought to Wishart that the plague was broke out in Dundee, which began within four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that it is almost beyond credit how many died in twenty-four hours space; this being related to him, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, he would needs go thither, saying, they are now in trouble, and need comfort; perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly esteemed. Coming to Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great, and, without delay, he signified that the next day he would preach; and because most of the inhabitants were either sick, or employed about the sick, he chose the East-gate for the place of his preaching, so that the whole were within, and the sick without the gate: his text was Psalms cvii.; "He sent his word, and healed them." &c.; wherein he treated of the profit and comfort of God's word, the punishment that comes by the contempt of it, the readiness of God's mercy to such as truly turn to him, and the happiness of those whom God takes from this misery, &c. By which sermon, he so raised up the hearts of those that heard him, that they regarded not death, but judged them more happy that should then depart, rather than such as should remain behind; considering that they knew not whither they should have such a comforter with them. He spared not to visit them that lay in the greatest extremity, and to comfort them; he provided all things necessary for such as could take food, the town being very bountiful to them, through his instigation. But whilst he was thus busying himself for the comfort of the afflicted, the devil stirred up the Cardinal, who corrupted a desperate Popish priest, called John Weighton, to slay him. And on a day, the sermon being ended, and the people departed, suspecting no danger, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand, under his gown; but Mr Wishart, being of a sharp piercing eye, seeing the priest as he came down, said to him, My friend,

what would you have? and, withal, clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him; the priest berewith being terrified, fell down upon his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon; a noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, Deliver the traitor to us, or we will take him by force; and so they burst in at the gate: but Wishart, taking him in his arms said, Whosoever hurts him, shall hurt me; for he hath done me no hurt, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come; and so he appeased them, and saved the priest's life. Afterwards he preached in divers other places, the people much flocking to hear him.

In February 1546, Mr Wishart was sent for by Cardinal Beaton, to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine, as they called it; the Cardinal called all his retinue to come armed to the place of their sittings which was the abbey church, whither, when Mr Wishart was brought, there was a poor man lying at the door that asked his alms, to whom he flung his purse; when he came before the Cardinal, there was a dean appointed to preach; whose sermon being ended, Wishart was put up into the pulpit to hear his charge; and one Lawder, a priest, stood over against him, and read a scroll full of bitter accusations and curses, so that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and swallowed up Wishart quick: but he stood with great patience, without moving, or once changing his countenance. The priest having ended his curses, spit at Mr Wishart's face, saying, what answerest thou? thou runnagate, traitor, thief, &c., then did Mr Wishart fall upon his knees, making his prayer unto God; after which he said many and horrible sayings unto me, a Christian man, many words abominable for to hear, have ye spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought it a great abomination, &c., then did he give them an account of his doctrine, answering to every article as far as they would give him leave to speak; but they, without having any regard to his sober and godly answers, presently condemned him to be burnt. After which sentence, he falling upon his knees, said, O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants, which do further thy word in this world, whereas they, on the contrary, seek to destroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself to the world. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy names' sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles; yet we desire that thou wouldst preserve and defend thy church, which thou hast chosen before the foundations of the world, and give thy people grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life. Then were the common people put out, the bishops not desiring that they should hear the innocent man speak, and so they sent him again to the castle, till the fire should be made ready; in the castle came two friars to him, requiring him to make his confession to them, to whom he said, I will make no confession to you, but fetch me that man who preached even now, and I will speak with him; then was the sub-prior brought, with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the sub-prior wept, who going to the cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for Mr Wishart's life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the cardinal was very angry, saying: "we know long ago what you were." The captain of

the castle with some friends, coming to Mr Wishart, asked him, "if he would break his fast with them," "yea," said he, "very willingly, for I know you be honest men." In the meantime he desired them to hear him a little; and so he discoursed to them about the Lord's Supper, his suffering and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aside all rancour and malice as becomes the members of Jesus Christ, who continually intercedes for us to his Father. Afterwards he gave thanks, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving it to every one, saying, eat this, remember that Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually; so taking the cup, he bade them remember that Christ's blood was shed for them, &c.; then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and so retired into his chamber. Presently came two executioners to him from the cardinal, one put upon him a black linen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about several parts of his body, and so they brought him forth to the place of execution; over against which place, the castle windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cushions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence fed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal fearing lest Wishart should be rescued by his friends, caused all the ordnance in the castle to be bent against the place of his execution, and commanded the gunners to stand ready all the time of his burning; then were his hands bound behind his back, and so he was carried forth. In the waysome beggars met him, asking his alms for God's sake, to whom he said, "my hands are bound wherewith I was wont to give you alms, but the merciful Lord, who of his bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities both for your bodies and souls;" then two friars met him, persuading him to pray to our lady to mediate for him, to whom he meekly said, "cease, tempt me not, I entreat you;" and so, with a rope about his neck and a chain about his middle, he was led to the fire; where, falling upon his knees, he thrice repeated, "O thou Saviour of the world have mercy upon me; Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands;" then, turning to the people, he said, "Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you see prepared for me: but I exhort you that you love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the world's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort; I pray you also show my brethren and sisters which have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the word of God which I taught them, according to the measure of grace given to me, for no persecution or trouble in this world whatsoever; and show them that the doctrine was no old wives' fables, but the truth of God; for if I had taught men's doctrine, I had had greater thanks from men; but for the word of God's sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind; for this cause I was sent into the world that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Behold my face; you shall not see me change my countenance; I fear not the fire; and if persecution come to you for the word's sake, I pray you fear not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the soul." Then he prayed for them who accused him, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven forgive them that have of ignorance, or of an evil mind, forged lies of me. I forgive them with all my

heart: I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me this day ignorantly." Then turning to the people again, he said, "I beseech you brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good, or else there shall come upon them the wrath of God which they shall not escape." Then the executioner upon his knees said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death;" and he calling him to him, kissed his cheeks, saying, "lo here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thine office;" and so he was tied to the stake, and the fire kindled. The captain of the castle coming near him, bade him be of good courage, and to beg for the pardon of his sin, to whom Mr Wishart said, "this fire torments my body, but no whit abates my spirit." Then, looking towards the cardinal, he said, "he who in such state from that high place, feeds his eyes with my torments, shall be hanged out at the same window to be seen with as much ignominy, as he now leans there with pride;" and so his breath being stopped, he was consumed by the fire. Which words were very remarkably fulfilled, for after the cardinal was slain, the provost raising the town, came to the castle gates, crying, "what have you done to my lord cardinal? where is my lord cardinal?" to whom they within answered, "return to your houses, for he hath received his reward, and will trouble the world no more;" but they still cried, "we will never depart till we see him." Then did the Leslies hang him out at that window to show that he was dead, and so the people departed. Mr Wishart suffered martyrdom in 1546.

[3. WALTER MILL. He had been brought up in the errors of Popery, and became priest of Lunan in Angus-shire. When he came first to know the Gospel, he left off saying mass, and for this was condemned by Cardinal Beaton in 1538. He escaped the flames, however, by flying to Germany. In the land of his exile he married, and acquired an ample knowledge of Divine truth in the society of the Reformers. When he returned to Scotland, the infirmities of age prevented him from making any prominent display of his principles. He lived in retirement; but even in his seclusion the old man caused his light so to shine before others, that they took knowledge of him that he had been with Jesus. As far as he could, he "went about doing good;" speaking words of rebuke wherever he saw wickedness, and imparting instruction in the principles of Christianity to his poor countrymen, who were perishing for lack of knowledge. This, however, the enemies of the truth could not endure. Accordingly he was seized, and brought to trial before the Popish prelates, assembled in St Andrews. His first act was to kneel and pray in the presence of his murderers, until Oliphant, a minion of the priesthood, and a priest himself, called on him to arise and answer to the articles of charge. "You keep my Lord of St Andrews too long here," was the rude complaint of the insolent priest to the martyr on his knees. But the old man cared not for those who only could kill the body, and he continued in supplication to the Father of mercies in his hour of trial until he had made known all his requests; and when he arose, he told his persecutors that he "ought to obey God rather than man," and that he served a mightier Lord than the lord of St Andrews. When he came to make his defence, he was so old, feeble, and exhausted, that it was feared

none would hear him; but as soon as he began to speak, he surprised them all; his voice making the church to ring, and his quickness and courage astonishing his very enemies." He was condemned; but none could be found to execute the bloody work. So great was the horror of the citizens, that no one would sell, at any price, a rope to bind him to the stake; and this could only be procured by taking the cords from the bishop's pavilion. The same priest who had interrupted his devotions at the trial, accompanied with others, played a similar part when the aged saint came to the stake. The martyr paused when he came in view of the pile, but Oliphant commanded him to proceed; nevertheless he declined to go forward voluntarily, on the ground that the law of God forbade him to lay violent hands upon himself, but said that he would go readily, if his slayers would put forth their hands, as taking part in his death. On this, the heartless priest pushed the old man roughly forward, when he proceeded to the stake, exclaiming triumphantly, in the words of the Psalmist, "I will go to the altar of God." His last request was, that he might be permitted to address the people; but this Oliphant refused, and told the martyr that the bishops were already offended at his much speaking.

The harshness of the priest, however, roused the indignation of the spectators, who, while they loudly exclaimed that the priests would yet have to bewail that day, insisted that Mill should be allowed to speak. The spirit thus evinced by the populace overawed the oppressors, and the aged martyr, after commending his soul to God, spoke for a little, amid the tears and groans of those who heard him. He still refused every proposal of recantation; and just before he was bound to the stake, he turned to the priests and spoke to them as boldly as he had done at his trial: "I marvel at your rage," he said, "ye hypocrites, who do so cruelly pursue the servants of God! As for me, I am now eighty-two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred shall rise out of my ashes, who shall scatter you, ye hypocrites, and persecutors of God's people; and such of you as now think yourselves the best, shall not die such an honest death as I now do. I trust in God, I shall be the last who shall suffer death, in this fashion, for this cause, in this land." He then prayed, and was bound to the stake. The fire soon consumed him to ashes. His dying words proved true for he was the last victim of Popery in Scotland. His cruel martyrdom did more to hasten the downfall of the Papacy in Scotland than any other act could have done. The very year that followed the burning of Mill brought John Knox home.]

From CLARE'S Lives.

4. FRITH. The books that were written by this blessed martyr were many, and much sought after in the reign of King Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth, for the instruction and comfort of the godly. He much helped Tindal in the translation of the New Testament. He suffered martyrdom, with great courage and a most forgiving spirit, in 1531.

["When he and another martyr were at the stake, doctor Cook, a priest in London, openly admonished the people, that they should in no wise pray for them—no more than they would do for a dog. At which words, Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to

forgive them. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bore away the flame from him unto his fellow that was burning with him; but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that, even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow, than to be careful for himself. This, truly, is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his saints; who sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his most holy name Amen."]

5. BILNEY. He was educated at Cambridge. Being desired to preach at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall, he was the instrument of converting many of his fellows to the knowledge of the gospel, and amongst others Hugh Latimer. Afterwards he went into many places, teaching and preaching, and sharply reproving the pomp and insolence of the clergy: Whereupon Cardinal Wolsey caused him to be apprehended in 1527.

During his imprisonment, he wrote to Tonstal, bishop of London, several letters, in one of which he says—"These priests and friars are the physicians upon whom the woman, vexed twelve years with a bloody issue, spent all that she had, and found no help, but was still worse and worse, till at last she came to Christ, and was healed by him. Oh, the mighty power of the Most High! which I, also a miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt: whereas, before I had spent all that I had upon these ignorant physicians so that I had little strength left in me, less money, and least wit and understanding: but, at last, I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was translated by Erasmus, which, when I understood to be eloquently done, I bought it, being led thereto rather by the elegant Latin, than the Word of God, (for, at that time, I knew not what it meant) and looking into it, by God's special providence, I met with those words of the apostle, 'This is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof I am the chief.' O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul! This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward working, did so exhilarate my heart, which before was wounded with the guilt of my sins, and almost in despair, that immediately I found marvellous comfort and quietness in my soul, so that my bruised bones did leap for joy. After this the Scripture began to be more sweet unto me than the honey and the honey-comb: whereby I learned that all my travels, fastings, watchings, redemption of masses, and pardons, without faith in Christ, were but, as St Augustine calls them, an hasty and swift running out of the right way, and as fig-leaves which could not cover Adam's nakedness. Neither could I ever obtain quietness and rest, or be eased of the sharp stings and hitings of my sins, till I was taught of God that lesson, John iii. 14, 15; 'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.' As soon as (according to the measure of grace given unto me by God) I began to taste and relish this heavenly lesson, which none can teach but God only, I desired the Lord to increase my faith; and, at last, desired nothing more than that I being so comforted by him, might be enabled, by his Holy Spirit, and grace from above, to

teach the wicked his ways, which are all mercy and truth, that so sinners might be converted to him by me. I did with my whole power teach, that all men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn them, and afterwards hunger and thirst for that righteousness which is by faith in Christ; for these things I have been attached, and am now cast into prison."

Notwithstanding all this, the poor man was prevailed upon to recant. But, after his recantation, he fell into such terrors of conscience, that he was near the point of utter despair; and, returning to Cambridge, he continued under such terrors, that his friends were fain to be with him night and day, endeavouring to comfort him, but all in vain. This continued a whole year, during which time he was in such anguish, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking; yea, he thought that all the Word of God was against him, and sounded his condemnation. But, in 1531, he began, through God's mercy, to feel some comfort, being resolved to lay down his life for the truth, which before he had renounced: whereupon, taking his leave of his friends, he went into Norfolk, preaching first in private to confirm the brethren, afterwards in the fields, confessing his fact, and entreating all to beware by him, and never to trust in their fleshly friends in the cause of religion. At Norwich he was apprehended, and by the bishop cast into prison, whither Dr Cole and Dr Stoakes were sent to dispute with him; but Bilney's doctrine and good life so prevailed with Cole, that he was somewhat reclaimed, and brought to favour the Gospel. During his latter imprisonment, they used many means to have withdrawn him from his steadfastness, which not prevailing, he at last was condemned to death. The day before his execution, some friends finding him eating heartily, with much cheerfulness, and a quiet mind, said, That they were glad to see him at that time so heartily to refresh himself. O, said he, I imitate those who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may to hold it up. Discoursing further with them for their edification, some put him in mind of the heat of the fire, yet told him, withal, that the comforts of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing; whereupon he, putting his finger into the flame of the candle (as also he did at divers other times), I feel, said he, by experience, that fire is hot, yet I am persuaded, by God's holy Word, after short pain, will be joy unspeakable, alleging that text, Isa. xliii. 1, 2. The next morning, the officers fetching him to execution, a certain friend entreated him to be constant, and to take his death patiently; to whom he said, I am sailing with the mariner through a boisterous sea, but shortly shall be in the haven, &c. help me with your prayers. By the way, as he went, he gave much alms, and at the place of execution he spake to the people, confessing his faith, by rehearsing the articles of the creed; and afterwards prayed privately, with earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven. Being tied to the stake, the friars desired him to declare his charity to them, by assuring the people that they were not the causers of his death; for, said they, they think that we have procured it, and thereupon will withdraw their charitable alms from us; whereupon he said, I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake; for they were not the authors of my death. The fire being kindled, the wind drove away the flame from him, so that he was

the longer a burning; holding up his hands, crying sometimes Jesus, sometimes Credo; at last he yielded up his spirit to God in 1531.

6. TINDAL. He was born about the borders of Wales, and educated in the University of Oxford, where he grew up in the knowledge of the tongues and the liberal arts, but above all of the Scriptures, to which his mind was singularly addicted; inasmuch as, being in Magdalen Hall, he read privately to some fellows and students some parts of divinity, instructing them in the Scriptures. His life also was so blameless, that he was much loved and esteemed. Being in company with one who was reputed a learned doctor, and disputing with him, he drove him to that issue that the doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, "We had better be without God's laws than the Pope's." Mr Tindal hearing this, full of godly zeal, replied, "I defy the Pope and all his laws; and, if God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the Scriptures than you do. Being desirous, for the good of his country, to translate the New Testament into English, he found that there was no place for him to do it in England, and therefore, being assisted by Humphrey Monmouth, a godly citizen, and other good men, he went into Germany; where this good man being inflamed with of a tender care and zeal for his country, refused no travel nor pains, if by any means possible he might reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word and truth which the Lord had vouchsafed to him. And, conferring with John Frith, he thought in his mind, that no way could more conduce thereunto, than if the Scriptures were translated into their vulgar language, that so the people might see the plain text before them; for he well perceived that one great cause of error was, because the knowledge of the Scriptures was hidden from the people. Upon these considerations, he there set upon this work; and having translated the New Testament in 1527, he set upon the Old, and finished the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly Prologues prefixed before every one of them. The like also he did upon the New Testament. Besides divers other godly Treatises which he wrote there; which being published, and sent over into England, became exceeding profitable to the whole English nation.

At his first going over into Germany, he went into Saxony, and had much conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters; and then returning into the Netherlands, made his greatest abode at Antwerp: he wrote also divers other books.

These books being sent over and dispersed in England, it cannot be imagined what a door of light they opened to the eyes of all the nation, which for a long time had been shut up in darkness. These godly books, but especially his translation of the New Testament coming abroad, as they brought singular profit to the godly; so the ungodly clergy, disdainful and envying that the people should be wiser than they, and fearing, perhaps, lest by the shining beams of the truth, their hypocrisy and works of darkness should be unmasked, they began to make a great stir: but, especially, the devil envying the progress of the Gospel, sought by all means to hinder the blessed labours of this worthy man: for, when he had finished his translation of Deuteronomy, intending to print it at Hamburg, he sailed thitherward.

But, by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books and writings, and so was compelled to begin all again, to his great hindrance and doubling of his labours; yet, through God's mercy, he was not discouraged; but, taking the opportunity of another ship, he went to Hamburg, where he met with Mr Coverdale, who assisted him in the translation of the five books of Moses, the sweating sickness being in that town all the while, which was in 1529. And during their employment in that work, they were entertained by a religious widow, Margaret Van Emerson.

When his English Testament came abroad, Satan's and the Pope's instruments raged exceedingly, some saying that there were a thousand heresies in it; others, that it was impossible to translate the Scriptures into English; others, that it was not lawful for the lay-people to have it in their own language, &c., and at last the bishops and priests procured of King Henry the Eighth, a proclamation, prohibiting the buying or reading of it in 1527.

Yet, not satisfied, herewith, they suborned one Henry Philips to go over to Antwerp to betray him; who, when he came thither, insinuated himself into Mr Tindal's company, and pretended great friendship to him; and having learned where his abode was, he went to Brussels, and there prevailed so far, that he brought with him the Emperor's attorney to Antwerp, and, pretending to visit Mr Tindal, he betrayed him to two catchpoles, who presently carried him to the attorney, who, after examination, sent him to prison in the castle of Filford, eighteen miles off, and withal they seized upon all his writings, and what else he had at his lodgings.

The English merchants at Antwerp, who loved Tindal very well, did what they could to procure his release; also letters were sent by the Lord Cromwell and others, out of England, in his behalf; but Philips so bestirred himself, that all their endeavours came to nothing; and Tindal was at last brought to his answer; and, after much reasoning, although he deserved not death, yet they condemned him to die.

When he was brought to the place of execution, while he was tying to the stake, he cried with a fervent and loud voice "Lord, open the king of England's eyes." And so he was first strangled, and then burnt.

The power of his doctrine and the sincerity of his life, was such, that during his imprisonment (which was about a year and a half) he was the instrument of converting the keeper and his daughter, and some others of his household. Philips, who betrayed him, long enjoyed not the price of innocent blood, but died in a miserable manner.

The Emperor's attorney that prosecuted him, left this testimony of him, that he was *vir doctus, pius et bonus*, a learned, pious, and godly man. While Mr Tindal was prisoner in the castle, there was much writing, and great disputations betwixt him and them of the university of Louvain (which was but nine or ten miles from thence) so that they had all enough of him, not knowing how to answer the authorities and testimonies of Scripture, on which he grounded his doctrine.

Concerning his translation of the New Testament, which was so vilified by his adversaries, he thus writes in an Epistle to John Frith: I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give up reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against

my conscience, nor would do it for all that is in the earth, whether honour, pleasure, or profit, &c. He suffered in 1536.

7. ROGERS. He was educated at the University of Cambridge, where he profited very much in good learning, and from thence was chosen by the merchants to be their chaplain at Antwerp; to whom he preached many years, and there, falling into acquaintance with Wm. Tindal, and Miles Coverdale (who were fled thither from the persecution in England), he, by their means, profited much in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and joined with them in that painful and profitable work of translating the Bible into English, and being much enlightened thereby in the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, he cast off the heavy yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry. In King Edward's time, he was sent for home by Bishop Ridley, and was made a prebend of Paul's, and the dean chose him to read a divinity lecture in that church, in which place he preached faithfully till Queen Mary's days; and in the beginning of her reign, in a sermon at Paul's cross, he exhorted the people constantly to adhere to that doctrine which they had been taught, and to beware of pestilent Popery, idolatry and superstition; for which he was called before the Lords of the Council, where he made a stout and godly answer, yet withal carried himself so prudently, that for that time he was dismissed; but after the Queen's proclamation against true preaching came forth, he was again called (the bishops thirsting for his blood), and committed prisoner to his own house, whence he might have escaped, and had many motives, as, his wife and ten children, his friends in Germany, where he could not want preferment, &c.; but being once called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, though to the hazard of his life. At length he was again carried before the Lords of the Council, where the Lord Chancellor taunted, reviled, and checked him, not suffering him to speak his mind, and so remanded him to prison; whereupon he wrote thus: "I was compelled to leave off what I would have most gladly spoken, and, therefore, I desire the most hearty and unfeigned prayers of all Christ's true members, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort and strength, buckler and shield; as also of all my brethren who are in the same case and distress: that I, and you all may despise all manner of threats, and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer, and Saviour, and the only true Head of the Church, that doth all in us all; that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or rather out of the plain field from him in the heat of the battle; but that we may persevere in the fight (if he please not otherwise to deliver us) 'till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and, even with tears, most instantly, and earnestly desire you all to pray; and, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and to all my little souls,—her, and my children," &c.

On the 4th February, 1555, he was warned suddenly by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself for the fire, who then being sound asleep, could scarce be awaked with much jogging; at length being awaked and raised, he was bid to make haste. "If it be so," said he, "I need not tie my points." Then he was carried to Smithfield, where

scarce being permitted to speak to the people, he briefly exhorted them to perseverance in that truth which he had taught them, which also he was now ready to seal with his blood. Then was a pardon proffered to him to recant; but he utterly refused it. His wife, with nine small children, and the tenth sucking at her breast, came to him, but this sorrow-sight nothing moved him; but in the flames he washed his hands, and with wonderful patience took his death, all the people exceedingly rejoicing at his constancy, and praising God for it. He was the martyr in Queen Mary's days. He suffered in 1555.

8. LAURENCE SAUNDERS. He was frequent, and very fervent in prayer, and when assaulted by temptations, he still found much support and comfort in prayer, whereby he gained such experience, that he became a great comforter of others with the same consolations which himself had found in God. In the beginning of King Edward's reign, he began to preach, (being first ordained a minister,) and that with such general approbation, that he was chosen to read a divinity lecture at Fotheringay, where, by his doctrine and life, he edified many, and drew many ignorant persons to God, and stopped the mouths of the adversaries. Being imprisoned in Queen Mary's reign, in a letter to his wife, he thus writes:—"I am cheerful, and I hope I shall be cheerful maugre all the devils of hell; riches I have none to endow you with, but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is to the hungry conscience, (whereof, I do thank my Christ, I do feel part,) that I do bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ." Being brought again to examination, and life being promised if he would recant, he answered, "I love my life and liberty; if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my own conscience; but, by God's grace, I will abide the greatest extremity that man can do against me, rather than do any thing against my own conscience." And when Gardener threatened him with death, he said, "Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of the Lord be, either life or death; and I tell you truly, I have learned to die; but I exhort you to beware of shedding innocent blood; truly it will cry aloud against you." Being excommunicated, degraded and condemned, he was sent to Coventry to be burned. When he came near the place of execution, he went cheerfully to the stake, kissing it, and saying, "Welcome the Cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life." The fire, by his cruel enemies, was made of green wood, and other smothering matter, which could not burn, whereby he was put to grievous torments; but the grace and plentiful consolation of Christ, which never forsakes his servants, gave him admirable strength and patience, so that in all he stood quietly, and at last sweetly slept in the Lord.

During his imprisonment, he wrote many excellent letters, and after his condemnation, in a letter to his wife and friends, he thus writes: "Oh what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God, for his unmeasurable mercies poured upon us! and I most unworthy wretch, cannot but bewail my great ingratitude towards so gracious a God, and loving Father; I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so especially for my sin of unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers. To number God's mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water in the sea, the sands on the shore, or the stars in heaven. O my dear wife and friends, rejoice with me, I say, rejoice with thanksgiving, for this

my present promotion, in that I am honoured to magnify my Lord, not only in my life, by my slow mouth, and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness to the truth, but also by my blood to seal the same to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true Church. I profess to you, that as yet the comfort of my sweet Christ, doth drive from me the fear of death. But if my dear husband Christ, do, for my trial, leave me a little to myself, alas! I know in what case I shall then be; but if he do, yet I know he will not be long, nor be far absent from me; though he stand behind the wall, yet he will peep in at a crevice. He is a tender-hearted Joseph; though he speak roughly to his brethren, and threaten bondage to his best beloved Benjamin, yet can he not contain himself from weeping upon us, and with us, from falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto all his; wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance; yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh, the infidel, shall provide us chariots, whereby with ease we may be carried to him. Our very adversaries do help us to our everlasting bliss, by their speedy dispatch, blessed be our God! Fear not bug-bears which lie in the way; fear rather the everlasting fire, &c. My dear wife, and fellow-heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope; be patient in tribulation; continue instant in prayer; and pray for us appointed for the slaughter, that we may be unto our Heavenly Father, a fat offering, and an acceptable sacrifice, &c. Farewell all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in everlasting joy. Amen, amen, amen. Pray, pray."

Dr Pendleton, and this Mr Saunders, meeting together in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and speaking of the persecution that was like to ensue, about which Mr Saunders shewed much weakness, and many fears, Pendleton said to him, "What man? there is much more cause for me to fear, than for you; for as much as I have a big and fat body, yet will I see the utmost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this flesh of mine consumed to ashes, before I will forsake Jesus Christ, and his truth which I have professed; yet not long after, upon trial, poor feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the power and goodness of God, sealed the truth with his blood; whereas proud hearted Pendleton played the apostate, and turned Papist. Saunders suffered in 1555.

9. HOOPER. He preached twice, but at least once every day. The people so flocked to him, that the churches could not contain them. In his doctrine and ministry he was earnest, and zealous. In the Scriptures perfect and ready; and in pains indefatigable. In this pains-taking he continued to his life's end, neither did his labour break him, nor promotion change him. Being called to preach before King Edward, he made him first Bishop of Gloucester, where he was Bishop two years, then of Worcester, where he carried himself so uprightly, and inoffensively, that his enemies had nothing to say against him. He used to go about from town to town, and from village to village, to preach unto the people. He governed his house so, that in every corner of it there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the Scriptures.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's days, he was

sent for by a pursuivant to London; and though he had opportunity, and was persuaded by his friends to fly, yet he refused, saying, Once I did fly, but now being called to this place, and vocation, I am resolved to stay, and to live, and die with my sheep.

When he came to London he was railed upon by Gardiner, and committed to prison. Afterwards also, at his examination, they called him beast, hypocrite, &c., which he bore without answering again. Six days he lay close prisoner in Newgate, none being suffered to come to him; during which time, Bonner, Harpsfield, and divers others came to him, leaving no means untried to reduce him to their Antichristian church, sometimes making many great proffers and promises to him of worldly riches, and promotion, other sometimes using grievous threatenings to affright him: but they found him always the same man,—steadfast and unmoveable. February the 4th, at night, his keeper gave him some inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to be burned, which he rejoiced very much at, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, and praising God for sending him among this people, over whom he had been pastor, there to confirm with his blood the truth that before he had taught unto them, not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform it to his glory: and immediately he sent for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be ready to ride when they should call for him. The day following he was delivered to some of the queen's guard, who conveyed him to Gloucester, and, when he came near the city, much people met him, who cried, and bewailed his condition exceedingly. The night before his death, he did eat his meat quietly, and slept soundly; after his first sleep, he spent the rest of the night in prayer. The next day, Sir Anthony Kingston coming to him, told him that life was sweet, and death bitter. To which he answered, the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet: I am come hither to end this life, and suffer death, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have taught unto you. Also a blind boy coming to him, after he had examined him in the grounds of religion, he said, Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, but hath given thee another sight much more precious, having endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight; for then shouldst thou be blind both in body and soul.

Being delivered to the Sheriff, he said to him, My request to you, Mr Sheriff, is only that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end of me; and, in the meantime, I will be as obedient to you as you can desire. If you think I do amiss in any thing, bold up your finger, and I have done. I might have had my life, with much worldly gain; but I am willing to offer up my life for the truth, and I trust to die a faithful servant to God, and a true subject to the queen. When he saw the Sheriff's men with so many weapons, he said, This is more than needs; if you had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all. As he went to the stake, he was forbid to speak to the people. He looked cheerfully, and with a more ruddy countenance than ordinary. Being come to the place of execution, he prayed about half an hour, whereof this was a part: Lord, (said he) I am hell, but thou art heaven. I am a swill and a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious and merciful Redeemer: have mercy, therefore, upon me, most miserable and wretched of-

fender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven; receive wretched me to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father; for well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow of their wicked doings to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me; with as much diligence as a poor wretch might (being thereto called) I have set forth thy glory.

Thou wilt seest, O Lord my God, what terrible torments and cruel pains are prepared for thy poor creature; even such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able patiently to bear; but that which is impossible with man, is possible with thee; therefore, strengthen me, of thy goodness, that, in the fire, I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem fittest to thy glory. Having a box with a pardon set before him, he cried, If you love my soul, away with it; If you love my soul, away with it. Three irons being prepared to fasten him to the stake, he only put an iron hoop about his middle, bidding them take away the rest, saying, I doubt not but God will give me strength to abide the extremity of the fire without binding. When reeds were cast to him, he embraced and kissed them, putting them under his arms, where he had bags of gunpowder also. When fire was first put to him, the faggots being green, and the wind blowing away the flame, he was but scorched; more faggots being laid to him, the fire was so supprest, that his nether parts were burned, his upper parts being scarce touched. He prayed mildly, as one that felt no pain, O Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul! and, wiping his eyes with his hands, he said, For God's love let me have more fire. A third fire being kindled, it burned more violently; yet he was alive a great while in it; the last words which he uttered being, Lord Jesus, have mercy on me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! And so he slept in the Lord in the year 1555.

10. ROWLAND TAYLOR. He was rector in Hadley in Suffolk, where Mr Thomas Bilney had formerly been a preacher of the word; and in which place there were few, either men or women, that were not well learned in the Holy Scriptures, many having read over the whole Bible, and being able to say a great part of Paul's Epistles by heart.

Here this Dr Taylor preached constantly on Sabbaths, and at other times when he could get the people together. So soon as he was called to this place, he left the family of Dr Cramer, Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had formerly lived, and, like a good shepherd, constantly abode with his flock, and gave himself wholly to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring to fulfil the precept of Christ to Peter, "Lovest thou me? feed my sheep." His life also and conversation was very exemplary, and full of holiness; he was meek and humble, yet would stoutly rebuke sin in the greatest. He was very mild, void of all rancour and malice, and forgiving to his enemies. To the poor, blind, lame, sick, bed-ridden, or those that had many children, he was a father, causing the parishioners to make good provision for them, besides what of his own bounty he gave them. He brought up

his own children in the fear of God, and good learning; and thus he continued, as a good shepherd amongst his flock, feeding, governing, and leading them all the days of King Edward the Sixth.

But, in Queen Mary's reign, his friends earnestly entreated him to fly, telling him that he could neither expect justice nor favour, but imprisonment and cruel death: to whom he answered, I know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, appear before them, and, to their beads, resist their false doings; for I believe that I shall never be able to do so good service as now, and that I shall never have so glorious a calling, nor so great mercy of God proffered me as I have now; wherefore, pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength, and his Holy Spirit, that all my adversaries shall be ashamed of their doings; then said his friends, Mr Doctor, we think it not best so to do; you have sufficiently done your duty, and borne witness to the truth, both in your sermons, and in resisting the Popish priests; therefore, seeing our Saviour Christ bids, when we are persecuted in one city, to fly to another; we think that, by flying at this time, you should do best, reserving yourself for better times. O! said Dr Taylor, I am now old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and wicked days: you may do as your consciences serve you, but I am resolved not to fly; God shall hereafter raise up teachers, who shall with much more diligence and fruit teach than I have done; for God will not forsake his Church, though for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and that not without just cause.

His friends, seeing his constancy and resolution, with weeping eyes, commended him to God; and so preparing himself, he went immediately to London, and presented himself to Stephen Gardiner, Lord Chancellor of England, who railed upon him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, asking if he knew him not? &c., to whom he answered, Yea, I know you, and all your greatness; yet you are but a mortal man; and if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear ye not God, the Lord of us all? How dare you, for shame, look any Christian in the face, seeing you have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ, and his Word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing?

In prison he spent his time in prayer, reading the Scripture, preaching to the prisoners, and to others that resorted to him; and it pleased God, that he found in that prison holy Bradford, whom he began to exhort to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constantly unto the end. Mr Bradford bearing this, thanked God who had provided him so comfortable a prison-fellow; and so they both together praised God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one another: insomuch as Dr Taylor told his friends, that God had provided graciously for him, to send him to that prison, where he found such an angel of God to be in his company, to comfort him.

He was divers times examined of his faith, and witnessed a good confession before his adversaries; for which, at last, he was condemned to die. When his sentence was read, he told them, that God, the righteous Judge, would require his blood at their hands; and that the proudest of them all should repent their receiving again of Antichrist, and their tyranny against the flock of Christ. He also thus wrote to his friends:—God be praised, since my con-

demnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done; if I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had Judge Hales.¹ But, God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmoveably settled upon the rock, nothing doubting, but that my dear God will perform and finish the work he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour, both now, and ever, through Christ our only Saviour, Amen. When he came within two miles of Hadley, he desired to alight; and, being down, he leaped, and fetched a frisk or two, saying, God be praised, I am now almost at home, and have not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house. At Hadley town's end, a poor man, with his five children, met him, crying, O! dear father and good shepherd, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children. The streets were full of people weeping and bewailing their loss, saying, Ah! good God! there goes our good shepherd from us, that hath so faithfully taught, so fatherly cared for us, and so godly governed us. Oh, merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? what shall become of this most wicked world? Good Lord! strengthen him, and comfort him; to whom he said, I have preached unto you God's word and truth; and I am now come to seal it with my blood.

Coming to the place of execution, he was not suffered to speak to the people, who much lamented his death; yet he was cheerful, saying, Thanks be to God, I am even at home; and when he had prayed and made himself ready, he went to the stake, and kissed it. The fire being kindled he held up his hands, calling upon God, and saying Merciful Father of Heaven; for Jesus Christ, my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands, and so stood still without moving, till one with an halbert struck out his brains. He died in 1556.

11. BRADFORD. He was born at Manchester, and by his parents brought up in learning; and afterwards he served Sir John Harrington, a man much employed under Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth; in which place he had opportunity of much advantaging himself, for his master found him so active, and fit for his employments, that, above all others, he made most use of his faithful service; and thus he continued with him for some years; but God intending him for other employment, having given up a just account to his master, with his good approbation, he went to Cambridge, where, by his diligence in study, he profited so much in knowledge, and so pleased all by his godly and blameless conversation, that, after one year's abode in the university, he was chosen fellow into Pembroke-hall. Bucer falling into acquaintance with him, highly prized it, and persuaded him to enter into the ministry, which he modestly excused for want of learning; to whom Bucer said, If thou have not fine manchet, yet give the people barley-bread, or such as thou hast.

Being thus persuaded into the ministry, Bishop Ridley made him a prebend in St Paul's, where he continued three years, faithfully preaching Christ crucified, and pithily impugning errors and heresies, and persuading to a godly life.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Bourn, Bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's Cross, which so moved the people to indignation, that they were ready to pull him out of the pulpit;

¹ See Fox's Martyrology.

whereupon Bourn required Bradford, (who was behind him) to stand in his place, and to quiet the people, which accordingly he did; whom, when the people saw, they cried, Bradford, Bradford, God save thy life, Bradford. Bourn not yet thinking himself safe, requested Bradford to convey him into the schoolmaster's house, which accordingly he did, going at his back, and sheltering him from the people; whereupon one said to him, Ah! Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee. In the afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow church, and sharply rebuked the people for their seditious carriage; yet, within three days after, he was cited before the council, and charged with sedition for this act, and by them was sent prisoner, first to the Tower, then to the King's Bench in Southwark, and, after his condemnation, he was sent to the Counter; in which places, for the time that he remained prisoner, he preached twice a-day, unless sickness hindered, and often administered the sacrament. Preaching, reading, and prayer, was his whole life. He ate but one meal a-day, and that a spare one too; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner, he used to meditate with his hat on his eyes, from which flowed plenty of tears, dropping on his trencher. He was in such credit with his keeper in Southwark, that, in an evening, he would give him leave, upon his bare word, to go into London, to visit a sick person; and he was so mindful of his promise, that he used to return to prison again rather before his hour. He was of person somewhat tall and slender, and of a faint sanguine colour. He slept not above four hours in the night; and, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His recreation was honest company, and Christian discourse, a little after dinner; and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour ill spent wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or exhorting others. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally communicate to his fellow-prisoners. Once a-week he visited the thieves on the other side the prison, giving them godly exhortations, and distributing some money amongst them. An intimate friend of his asked him, if he should procure his liberty, what he would do, and whither he would go? to whom he answered, that he cared not whether he were delivered out of prison or not; but, if he should, that then he would marry, and abide secretly in England, and teach the people as the time would suffer him. He was had in great reverence and admiration of all good men; so that many who knew him not but by fame only, much lamented his death; yea, many Papists wished heartily that he might live. Nor was there any prisoner with him but received some profit by him. The day before he was carried to Newgate, the keeper's wife came running into his chamber, saying, O, Mr Bradford, I bring you heavy news; for to-morrow you must be burned; your chain is now a-buying, and presently you must go to Newgate; with that Mr Bradford put off his cap, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, I thank God for it, I have looked for this a long time; it comes not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour: the Lord make me worthy thereof. He spent the rest of the evening in prayers, well watered with tears, whereby he ravished the minds of the hearers. The morning before he was to be burned, as he was putting on a clean shirt, in which he was to suffer, he made such a prayer of the wedding gar-

ment, that some present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied on looking on him as their ears were attentive to hear his prayer. At his departing out of his chamber he prayed earnestly, and gave money to every servant and officer in the house, exhorting them to fear and serve God continually, labouring to eschew all manner of evil. Then, turning to the wall, he prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken to them in vain, but that the Lord would work effectually in them for his Christ's sake. The prisoners, with weeping tears, took their farewell of him.

Whilst he was a prisoner, he was often examined before the bishops, and proffered life if he would recant, but he answered, Life with God's displeasure is worse than death; and death in his favour is true life. When he came into Smithfield, (where another young man was to suffer with him) he fell flat on his face and prayed; then taking a faggot in his hand, he kissed it, and the stake also, then putting off his raiment, he stood by the stake, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, said, O, England, England, repent of thy sins, repent of thy sins; beware of idolatry, beware of false Antichrists, take heed they do not deceive thee; and, turning his head to the young man, he said, Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night; and then, embracing the reeds, he said, Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it; and so he slept in the Lord. He was very charitable, in so much as in a hard time he sold his rings and jewels to relieve those that were in want. He was so humble from the sense of his corruptions, that he subscribed some of his letters out of prison thus; the most miserable, hard-hearted, unthankful sinner, John Bradford; a very painted hypocrite, John Bradford; Miserrimus Peccator John Bradford; the sinful John Bradford. He suffered martyrdom in the year 1556.

12. RIDLEY. He was called by Cranmer to be vicar of Herne in East Kent, where he was a painful preacher; at which time it pleased God to reveal to him the true doctrine concerning the Lord's-Supper; and, among others, to convert by his ministry the Lady Phines, who proved an eminent instrument of God's glory. He was made Bishop of Rochester, and (in Edward the Sixth's days) he was removed to be Bishop of London; in which places he took so great pains in preaching, that he was dearly beloved of his flock, to whom also he was singularly exemplary in his life, so that his very enemies had nothing to say against him.

To his sermons multitudes of people resorted. His manner was daily to read a lecture to his family at prayer-time, giving to every one that could read a New Testament, and hiring them with money to learn chapters by heart, being marvellous careful that his family might give an example of godliness and virtue to others. He was first converted by reading Bertram's Book of the Sacrament, and much confirmed by conference with Cranmer and Martyr.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's days, he was imprisoned with the first, in the Tower, and from thence he was sent to Oxford with Cranmer and Latimer, and there kept in the common gaol; until at length, being severed from his brethren, he was committed to the custody of one Irish, with whom he remained until the day of his death.

Writing to Latimer, in prison, he saith: I pray

you, good father, let me hear something more from you to encourage me, for except the Lord assist me in this service, I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight; but he can make a coward in his cause to fight like a man. In a letter to Mr Bradford, he saith: As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received both meat, and money, and shirts, not only from our acquaintance, but from some strangers also: I know for whose sake they do it. And again, Ever since I heard of our dear brother Rogers, his stout confession and departure, (blessed be God for it) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as sometimes I did before. And again, Sir, blessed be God, notwithstanding our hard restraint, and the evil reports raised of us, we rejoice in God, and all our care is, and shall be (by God's grace) to please and serve him, from whom we expect, after these momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and, as yet, never a learned man, scholar, or other, hath visited us since our coming to Bocardo, which now may be called the College of Quondams, for we be no fewer than three, and I dare say every one well contented with his portion, which is our heavenly Father's good and gracious gift. Farewell, we shall, by the grace of God, one day meet and be joyful together; which day assuredly approacheth: the Lord grant it may shortly come.

The night before he suffered, he caused his beard to be shaven, and his feet washed, and bade his hostess and the rest that were at table to the wedding; he asked his brother also whether his sister could find in her heart to be present at it? Yea, said he, I dare say, with all her heart. His hostess (Mrs Irish) weeping, he said, O, Mrs Irish, I see now that you love me not for, in that you weep, it appears you will not be at my marriage, nor are therewith content: I see you are not so much my friend as I thought; but quiet yourself, though my breakfast be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be pleasant and sweet.

His brother offering to watch with him, he refused it, saying, I intend to go to bed, and sleep as quietly as ever I did in my life. In the morning he came forth well dressed, and looking behind him, he spied Mr Latimer coming after; to whom he said, O, be you there? Yea, said Latimer, have after as fast as I can follow.

Coming to the stake, he lifted up his hands and eyes stedfastly to heaven, and espying Mr Latimer, he ran with a cheerful countenance to him, embraced and kissed him, and comforted him, saying, Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or give us strength to abide it. So he went to the stake, kneeled by it, and kissed it, and prayed earnestly; and being about to speak to the people, some ran to him and stopped his mouth with their hands. Afterwards, being stripped, he stood upon a stone by the stake, saying, "O, heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee even unto death; I beseech thee, Lord God, to have mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver it from all its enemies."

As a smith was knocking in the staple which held the chain, he said to him, Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course. Then his brother brought a bag of gun-powder, and would have tied it about his neck. Ridley asked what it was? his brother answered, gunpowder; then, said he, I

take it as being sent of God, therefore, I will receive it as sent from him. And when he saw the flame coming up to him, he cried with a loud voice, *In manus tuas, &c.* Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit, Lord, receive my soul. But the fire being kept down by the wood, he desired them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire to come up to him; which his brother-in-law misunderstanding, still heaped on faggots, whereby his nether parts were burned before his upper parts were touched; at last his upper parts fell down into the fire also, and so he slept in the Lord.

In a letter which he wrote to his friends, he hath this passage: "I warn you, my friends, that ye be not astonished at the manner of my dissolution, for I assure you, I think it the greatest honour that ever I was called to in all my life; and, therefore, I thank the Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him of his great mercy to call me to this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake, and for his cause; wherefore, all you that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God, our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in myself a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) to this high dignity of his true prophets, faithful apostles, and of his holy and chosen martyrs, to die; and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his everlasting truth."

Whilst he was master of Pembroke-hall, he used to walk much in the orchard, where he learned, without book, almost all Paul's Epistles, and the Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, concerning which himself said: Though in time I did forget much of them again, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven, and the profit thereof I have felt in all my life-time hitherto. He suffered in 1555.

13. LATIMER. He was so zealous in his Popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, that, being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mixed his massing wine with water, and that he never should be damned if once he were a professed friar. He used to carry the cross before the procession. Mr Thomas Bilney, seeing Mr Latimer to have a zeal in his way, (although without knowledge) was struck with a brotherly pity towards him, thinking by what means he might best win this ignorantly zealous brother to the true knowledge of Christ, and thereupon going to his study, he desired him to hear him make a confession of his faith, which Latimer consenting to, was so touched thereby, that he gave over school divinity, and studied more orthodox divines. So that, whereas he was before an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of bawling and railing, into diligent conferring with Mr Bilney and others. Being thus won to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion, but, pitying the misery of others, he became a powerful public preacher, and an instructor of many in private also; whereupon the devil raised up many doctors and friars against him, and the Bishop of Ely forbade him to preach, in the year 1529. But, by the means of Dr Butts, the king's physician, a favourer of good men, he was chosen into the number of those who laboured in the cause

of the king's supremacy, whereupon he went to the court, and lodged in Dr But's chamber, preaching many times in London. At last being weary of the court, by the Lord Cromwell's means, he had a charge given him at West Kingstone, near Sarum, where with much diligence he instructed his flock, and preached zealously many times abroad in the country. Whereupon some Popish priests drew up articles against him; and he was much molested by the bishop of London and Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was cited to appear before them. These men detained him for a long space from his cure at home, calling him three times before them every week, which much troubled him, seeing they would neither preach themselves, nor suffer him to do his duty; hereupon he wrote to the archbishop, expostulating with him, for so detaining him from his charge, and that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against sundry abuses which were crept into the Church. Yet the king rescued him out of their hands, and at the request of the Lord Cromwell, made him bishop of Worcester, in which place he busily employed himself in instructing his flock, and giving them a good example by his holy life. He spent all his time in study, teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, to the utmost of his power. Yet neither there was he quiet; for one of great place accused him to the king for preaching sedition, but the king rested satisfied with his answer. At new-year's tide, the bishops used to present the king with a new-year's gift, and bishop Latimer, amongst the rest, presented him with the New Testament, wrapped up in a napkin, with this posie about it, "*Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus*"—whoremongers and adulterers God will judge. But the six articles coming out, and he seeing that he could not retain his office with a good conscience, of his own accord he resigned his bishopric.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, he was sent for by a pursuivant, whereof he had notice six hours before he came to his house, yet instead of flying, he prepared himself for his journey. And when the pursuivant came, he said to him, "My friend, you are welcome, I go as willingly to London to give an account of my faith as ever I went to any place in the world; and I doubt not as God hath honoured me formerly to preach his word before two excellent princes, so he will enable me to bear witness to the truth before the third, either to her eternal comfort or discomfort. The pursuivant having delivered his letter, told him that he was not commanded to stay for him, and so immediately departed: his adversaries hoping that he would have fled; but Latimer halted after to London, and as he rode through Smithfield, he said, that Smithfield had groaned for him a long time. Coming before the Council, after many mocks and scorns, he was sent to the Tower, and at last from thence he was carried to Oxford, with Cranmer and Ridley, where they spent their time in brotherly conference, fervent prayer, and fruitful writing; yea, many times he continued so long in fervent prayer, that he was not able to get up without help. Three things he more especially prayed for. 1. That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his Word, so he would be pleased to give him grace to stand to his doctrine, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. 2. That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again, which he often re-

peated, and that with so much ardour, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face. 3. That the Lord would preserve Queen Elizabeth, and make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England. The Lord most graciously answering all those his requests. At last he was condemned, and with Dr Ridley was carried to be burned. When he came to the stake, he lifted up his eyes with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying, "*fidelis est Deus*," &c., God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able, &c. When the fire was brought, he said to Dr Ridley, "be of good comfort, brother, and play the man, we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as, I trust, shall never be put out." When he was stripped into the shroud, he seemed a very comely person to all that were present; and whereas in his clothes, he appeared a withered, and crooked, silly old man, he now stood bold upright, as comely a father as one might behold. As he was burning, the blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, as if all the blood in his body had been gathered hither, to the great astonishment of the beholders, according to his former request, that he might be so happy as to shed his heart's blood for the truth. When the fire was first kindled, he cried, "O, Father of heaven, receive my soul!" and so embracing the flame, having stroked his face with his hands, and bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, with very little pain, or none at all.

In a letter to King Henry the Eighth, he thus concludes—"Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand, when you shall give an account for your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword: in the which day that your grace may stand steadfast, and may have your *quietus est* sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which will only serve at that day, is my daily prayer, &c." He suffered in 1555.

14. PHILPOT. He was a knight's son, born in Hampshire. In 1553, (which was the first year of Queen Mary), a convocation was assembled, wherein Dr Weston was prolocutor; in the beginning whereof a disputation was begun between the Papists and Protestants, in which Mr Philpot was so earnest, that Dr Weston commanded him to hold his peace, whereto he replied, "You perceive that I have stuff enough for you, whereby I am able to withstand your false positions; and therefore you command me to silence." "If you will not give place," said the prolocutor, "I will send you to prison." "This is not," replied Mr Philpot, "according to your promise made at first in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paul's Cross, when you said, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they could say; and now, of a dozen of arguments that I have, you will not suffer me to prosecute one; but I see that a sort of you here, who hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and man, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's word, and to set forth your false devices, which, by the sacred Scriptures, you are not able to maintain." Six days after, came a mandate from the queen, to break up the disputation; whereupon Dr Weston, who all along had used many unseemly checks and taunts to the Protestants, thus concluded: "It is not the queen's pleasure that we should spend any longer

time here, and we are all well enough : for you have the word, and we have the sword." And shortly after, Mr Philpot was cast into prison, where he lay a year and a half before he was examined. Then he was sent for by Dr Storrie, and, after some capricious questions proposed to him, he was committed prisoner to the bishop of London's Coal-house : there he found a godly minister of Essex, who, desiring to speak with him, did greatly lament his infirmity ; for, through extremity of imprisonment, he had yielded to the bishop of London, and was set at liberty ; whereupon he felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself ; and could have no peace, till going to the bishop's register, and desiring to see his recantation, he tore it in pieces ; whereupon the bishop sending for him, buffeted him, plucked off a great part of his beard, and sent him to this Coal-house, where Mr Philpot found him very joyful under the cross. Philpot being afterwards sent for to the bishop, "after some discourse," saith he, "I was carried to my Lord's Coal-house again, where I, with my six fellow-prisoners, do rouse together in the straw as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do in their beds of down." A few days after, he was called before Bonner, with the bishops of Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester ; at which conference the bishop of Worcester said, "Before we begin to speak to him, 'tis best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that God would open his heart, that he may conceive the truth." Hereupon Mr Philpot, kneeling down, said, "Almighty God, who art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee, of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight,) the spirit of wisdom to speak, and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand, also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in anything." "Nay, my Lord of Worcester," said Bonner, "you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer ; for this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much ; for, in this point, they are like to certain arrant heretics, of which Pliny speaks, that they daily sung *antelucanos hymnos*, praises to God before the dawning of the day." "Then," said Mr Philpot, "My Lord God make me, and all you here present, such heretics as they were ; for they were godly Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their Christian practices and well-doing." But all their conference proved to no purpose ; for the bishops would not dispute, and Mr Philpot would not take their words without Scripture and arguments, so he was returned to his Coal-house again. After sundry other examinations, he was, by the bishop, set in the stocks, in a house alone, of which he writes : "God he praised, that he thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake : better it is to sit in the stocks in this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damned conscience."

Being sent to Newgate, he spake to the people as he went, saying, "Ah ! good people, blessed be God for this day." Having notice given him overnight, that the next day he should be burned, he said, "I am ready, God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection ;" and so he went to his chamber, pouring out his spirit unto the Lord in prayer, and giving him most hearty thanks for accounting him worthy to suffer for his truth. Coming into Smithfield, he

kneeled down, saying, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield !" he kissed the stake, saying, "shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, when my Lord and Saviour refused not to suffer a most vile death for me ?" When the fire was kindled, with much meekness and comfort, he resigned up his spirit unto God.

In a letter to John Careless, then prisoner in the King's Bench, he writes, "Indeed, my dear Careless, I am in this world in hell, and in the shadow of death ; but he that for my deserts hath brought me down into hell, shall shortly lift me up into heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and others of my faithful brethren in the King's Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell, in the judgment of the world, yet assuredly I feel, in the same, the consolation of heaven, I praise God ; and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me as the walks in the garden of the King's Bench."

In another letter he writes thus, "The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme miseries, but our God is omnipotent, who turneth misery into felicity : believe me, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross. I speak by experience, therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you ; for, when they imprison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God ; when they cast us down, they lift us up ; yea, when they kill us, they do then send us to everlasting life ; and what greater glory can there be, than to be made conformable to our Head, Christ, which is done by afflictions ? O good God ! what am I, upon whom thou shouldst bestow so great a mercy ? This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it ; this is the way, though it be but narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. Oh, how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof ! God forgive my unthankfulness and unworthiness of so great a glory. I have so much joy, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament ; yea, in all the days of my life, I was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised for ever, and ever ; and the Lord pardon my unthankfulness. Our enemies do fret, foam, and gnash their teeth, that we, under this grievous affliction can be so merry. Pray instantly, that this joy may never be taken from us ; for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God, which passeth all understanding. This peace, the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel ; and, therefore, cannot faint, neither for fire nor water." He suffered in 1555.

15. CRANMER. He was born of a very ancient family in Nottinghamshire. He was very charitable and gentle ; so prone to forgive, and forget wrongs, that it grew into a proverb, "Do my Lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live." He stoutly opposed the six bloody articles, and yet with such humility and modesty, that the king could not be offended with him for it. He was so free from passion, that he never miscalled the meanest of his servants. He was not only just in paying all men, so that when he was cast into prison, he owed no man a farthing, but he relieved many that were in want.

The chief weight of reforming religion in England, lay upon his hands, so that for sixteen years together, his house was never empty of learned men to assist

in deciding Ecclesiastical controversies. His charity to the poor was very great, for whom he provided lodgings, being sick, lame, wounded, &c., and appointed an almoner, physician, and chirurgeon to attend them. His enemies, from time to time, endeavoured by all means to have brought him into the displeasure of the king; yet it pleased God so to over-rule the king's heart, that he would never be alienated from him; which favour the king continued to him so long as he lived. and in King Edward the Sixth's days, he continued in his place, and much helped forward the work of reformation. But in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, he was a principal man whom she maligned; and, therefore, she appointed commissioners to examine him, who commanded him to bring to them an inventory of all his goods, which they seized upon; and, shortly after, he was sent prisoner to the Tower, for treason, as was pretended.

Before he was committed to the Tower, some of his friends persuaded him to fly, and to reserve himself for better times; but he answered stoutly, "If I were accused of theft, murder, or any other wickedness, perhaps I could more easily be persuaded to fly, but now I see that I must be questioned, not for my faithfulness towards men, but for my faith towards God, and concerning the truth of the Holy Scriptures against Papists; and, therefore, I will rather lose my life in the defence of the truth, than, by flying out of the kingdom, to desert such a cause."

He was kept in prison almost three years; and the doctors of Oxford laboured by many subtle tricks to draw him to a recantation, removing him to the dean's house of Christ-church, where he had dainty fare, recreations, and what else might entice him from Christ to the world: they promised him life, the queen's favour, his former dignity, and what not, if he would but with his hands subscribe to a few words by way of recantation, which, if he refused, there was no hope of pardon. With many such provocations and flatteries, they at last prevailed with him to subscribe it. After which he had neither inward quietness in his own conscience, nor any outward help from his adversaries: for the queen, being glad of his recantation, yet presently resolved his death, appointed the time, (when he least expected it,) and the persons that should see it performed. He had no notice of his death, until the very morning, a little before he was to suffer. At which time there was a great concourse of people, some expecting that he should make his public recantation at his death, others hoping better of him.

From prison he was brought to St Mary's church, where Doctor Cole (by the queen's order,) preached, and in his sermon affirmed, that God was so incensed for the slaughter of Sir Thomas More, and Doctor Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, (who were beheaded in the reign of King Henry the Eighth,) that he could not be appeased by any other means but by the sacrificing of Cranmer. During his sermon, Cranmer was set on a stage before him; which sad spectacle affected many, to see him, who had lived in so great honour and favour, to stand there in a ragged gown, discoloured clothes, an old cap, and exposed to the contempt of all men.

Cole, in his sermon, showed for what Cranmer was condemned, encouraged him to take his death patiently, and rejoiced in his conversion to Popery; but that joy lasted not long. The sermon being ended, Doctor Cranmer, entreated the people to pray

for him, that God would pardon his sins, especially his recantation, which most of all troubled his conscience, and which he said was contrary to the truth which he thought in his heart, and was written for fear of death, and upon the hope of life. "And," said he, "that hand of mine which hath written contrary to my heart, shall first be punished." At these words, the doctors began to rage and foam, and caused him to be pulled down from the stage, and his mouth to be stopped, that he should not speak to the people.

The place appointed for his martyrdom, was the same where Ridley and Latimer had before suffered; and when he was brought to it, he kneeled down and prayed; and so put off his clothes. When the fire was kindled and came near him, he stretched out his right hand which had subscribed, holding it so steadfast and immoveable in the fire, (saying that once he wiped his face with it,) that all might see his hand burned before his body was touched. When the fire came to his body, he endured it patiently, standing steadfast always in one place, moving no more than the stake which he was bound to: so long as he could speak, he repeated, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and so, in the flames, he gave up the ghost in 1556.

16. JEWELL. He was born at Buden in Devonshire, when he was a student, his life was such, that the dean of the college, though a Papist, said to him, "I should love thee, Jewell, if thou wert not a Zuinglian: in thy faith I hold thee a heretic; but surely in thy life thou art an angel: thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran." About the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, the Popish party of that college prevailing, they expelled him the house for his religion: after which he tarried a while at Broadgates-hall, where the fame of his learning drew many scholars to him, and he was chosen to be orator to the university. There he stayed so long, till the adversaries caught him, urging him to subscribe, with dreadful threatenings if he did not comply. Now was he brought into such straits, that consulting with flesh and blood, he set his name to the paper, whereby he approved some articles of Popery. This much obscured the glory of his after-suffering, and nothing promoted his safety; for enares being laid for him, he had certainly been caught, had he not, by God's special providence, gone that very night that he was sought for accidentally a wrong way to London; and so by going out of the way he found safety; but afterwards he repented of this public subscription, by public confession and contrition.

As he travelled on foot in a snowy night towards London, he was found in the way by Mr Latimer's servant, starved with cold, and faint with weariness, lying on the ground, panting, and labouring for life, by whose means he was preserved; yet when he came to London he found no safety, looking every hour to be delivered up to that cruel butcher Bonner, whereupon he fled from his native country, and wandering beyond sea, was disappointed of all his friends, and means to procure him so much as a night's lodging; yet through God's mercy he came at last to Frankfurt, where presently after he made an excellent sermon, and in the end of it, openly confessed his fall in these words, "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart that made my weak hand commit this wickedness," which confession was mixed with hearty sighs, and tears, and concluded with earnest supplication, first, to Almighty God whom he had offended, and then to the church which he had

scandalized; and there was none in that congregation but ever after embraced him as a dear brother, yea, as an angel of God.

From thence he was often invited by kind letters from Martyr to Strasburg, whither at last he went, and where he found many divines and gentlemen who had fled from England, having left their estates, honours, kindred, and friends for the testimony of the Gospel of Christ. These English exiles were for a while maintained by the charity of some Londoners, till Gardiner having notice of it, by imprisoning and impoverishing their benefactors, stopped the current of their bounty; yet, in this extremity, the Lord raised up Christopher, Prince of Wirtemberg, bountifully to relieve them. Many eminent persons of the reformed churches were also very kind to them. Jewell took much pains in composing the differences among his brethren, arising from various opinions concerning ceremonies and church-discipline; and those who groaned most under the burden of affliction, he persuaded to patience under the Cross of Christ, shutting up all with that sweet sentence, often repeated by him, *Hac non durabunt actatem*. These miseries will not endure an age. Soon after it pleased God to set Queen Elizabeth on the throne of England, in the beginning of whose reign the exiles returned home, and Jewell amongst the rest.

Then was he made Bishop of Salisbury, though with reluctance, looking upon it as a great burthen. In that office he took much pains, both by preaching and governing, and was very careful to provide faithful pastors, and reform abuses. Besides his public employments, he read much and wrote much; scarce any year of his bishopric passed, wherein he published not some work. He had a great memory, which by art was raised to a prodigious pitch, for he could readily repeat any thing he had penned after once reading it. Many barbarous and hard names out of a calendar, after once or twice reading at most, and short meditation, he could repeat both forwards and backwards without hesitation. And Sir Francis Bacon reading to him the last clauses of ten lines in Erasmus' paraphrase in a confused and dismembered manner, he sitting silent a while, on a sudden rehearsed all these broken parcels of sentences the right way and the contrary without stumbling.

All his talents he willingly spent in the service of Christ. Nay, he would not be persuaded to give over his labours, when he was grown weak. As he was going to preach at Lacock in Wiltshire, a friend meeting him admonished him to return home for his health's sake, telling him that it was better the people should want one sermon, than be wholly deprived of such a preacher. To whom he replied, "That it best became a bishop to die preaching," alluding to that of Vespasian, *oportet imperatorem stantem mori*; and thinking, probably, upon that of his master, blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he comes shall find so doing. His text at Lacock, was, "Walk in the Spirit;" and presently after sermon, his disease growing more and more upon him, he was forced to take his bed. In the beginning of his sickness he made his will, and gave most of his estate to his servants, to scholars, and to the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, called all his household about him, he expounded the Lord's Prayer. Wherein he said, It hath always been my desire that I might glorify God, and honour his name by sacrificing my life, unto the death for the defence of his truth: but seeing God hath not granted my

desire, yet I rejoice that my body is exhausted, and worn away in the labours of my holy calling, and now that my hour is at hand, I earnestly desire you to pray for me, and to help me with the ardency of your affections, when you perceive me, through the infirmity of the flesh, to languish in my prayers: hitherto I have taught you, but now the time is come wherein I may, and desire to be taught, and strengthened by every one of you.

Then he desired them to sing the 71st Psalm, himself also joining as well as he could, sometimes also interpreting some words of particular application to himself, and in the end he said, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace, break off all delays; Lord receive my spirit." Then one standing by, prayed with tears, that if the Lord pleased, he would restore him to his former health; Jewell overhearing him, seemed to be offended, and said, I have not lived so, that I am ashamed to live any longer, neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me: Christ is my righteousness. Father, let thy will be done; thy will, I say, and not mine, which is imperfect and depraved: this day quickly let me see the Lord Jesus: and so, after a few fervent inward prayers, his soul returned to him that gave it, in 1571.

17. KNOX. He was born in Lothian in Scotland, and studied philosophy and school-divinity at St Andrews. Afterward he betook himself to the earnest study of the holy Scriptures, by which being, through God's mercy, informed of the truth, he willingly embraced, and truly professed it, and imparted it to others. But the bishops and friars could by no means endure that light which discovered their darkness; and therefore presently raised up a persecution against him, especially Cardinal Beaton, who caused him to be apprehended, and cast into prison, purposing to have sacrificed him in the flames; but it pleased God, by a special providence, that he was delivered; upon which he presently fled to Berwick to the English, where he preached the truth of the Gospel with great fruit, and defended it against the Popish party; so that his fame spread abroad exceedingly. He preached also at Newcastle, London, and some other places.

King Edward being dead, the persecution raised by Queen Mary made him leave England, and go to Frankfort, where, for a time, he preached the Gospel to an English congregation; but, meeting with opposition there, both from Papists and others, he went to Geneva, where also he preached to an English congregation, and was very intimate with Calvin, continuing there some years.

In 1559, and of his age 54, the nobility of Scotland, with some others, beginning the reformation of religion, sent for him home. Many of the gentlemen of the country, after they had heard his doctrine, desired also to be made partakers of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and (through God's mercy) his ministry made such an impression upon their hearts, that they presently refused all society with idolatry, and bent themselves to the uttermost of their power to maintain the truths of Christ. This so vexed the friars, that from all quarters they flocked to their bishops to complain of Knox, so that he was summoned to appear in the Blackfriars' Church of Edinburgh the 15th of May following, and accordingly he appeared; thither came also John Erskine of Dun, with divers other gentlemen, which the bishops taking notice of, durst not proceed against him: inso-

much that Knox the same day, that he should have appeared before them, preached in Edinburgh to a greater audience than ever he had before. The place where he preached was in the Bishop of Dun-keld's great lodging, in which place he preached ten days together, both forenoon and afternoon. Then did the Earl of Glencairn solicit the Earl Marshall to hear Knox, which he with his counsellor Drummond did, and so liked his doctrine, that he willed Mr Knox to write to the Queen-regent somewhat that might move her to hear the word of God. This Knox was willing to do, and wrote that which was afterwards printed, called, a letter to the Queen-dowager, which was delivered by the Earl of Glencairn into her own hands.

Whilst Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, there came a letter from the English congregation which was settled at Geneva in 1555, requiring him, in the name of God, that, as he was their chosen pastor, so he should repair to them for their comfort.

Upon this he took his leave in every congregation, where, before he had preached, exhorting them to fervent prayer, frequent reading of the Scriptures, and mutual conference, till God should give them greater liberty.

Shortly after he passed over into France, and from thence went to Geneva: whereupon the bishops of Scotland summoned him; and, for non-appearance, condemned him, and burnt his effigies at the Cross of Edinburgh. From which unjust sentence, when Mr Knox heard of it, he made an appeal, which he directed to the nobility and commons of Scotland.

March the 10th, 1556, certain of the nobility of Scotland, sent this ensuing letter to Mr Knox at Geneva, "Dearly beloved in the Lord, the faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts (thanks be to God) are stedfast in the belief wherein you left them, and have a godly thirst and desire, from day to day, to enjoy your presence again; and if God so move your heart, and give you life, we desire you, in the name of the Lord, that you return to us again into this place, where you shall find all faithful that you left behind you; who will not only be glad to hear your doctrine, but ready to jeopard their estates for the setting forth of the glory of God, as he will permit them. And albeit the magistrates of this country be as yet in the state you left them; yet, at the writing hereof we have no experience of any more cruelty used than was before; but rather believe that God will augment his flock, because we see daily the friars (enemies to Christ's gospel,) in less estimation both with the queen's grace, and the rest of the nobility of the realm. This in few words is the mind of the faithful here present, and of others absent. The rest of our minds this faithful messenger will show you, when he comes to you: Fare ye well in the Lord." Subscribed GLENCAIRN, ERSKINE, ARGYLE, JAMES STUART.

Knox, upon the receipt of this letter, advised with Calvin, and other ministers, who, upon mature deliberation, told him that he could not refuse this call unless he would show himself rebellious against God, and unmerciful to his country; whereupon he returned answer, "That he would come to them so soon as he could settle the affairs of that dear flock that was committed to his charge."

After his arrival, being to preach at St. Andrews, the bishop presently raised a hundred spearmen, and went thither on the Saturday; whereas, the Lords had none but their servants; and, at the same time,

the queen, and her Frenchmen, lay at Faulkland, not far from St. Andrews. The bishop sent word to the Lords, that if John Knox offered to preach the next day, he should be saluted with a dozen of calivers, whereof the most part should light on his nose. The Lords, after long deliberation, sent for Knox, to hear his opinion herein; yet, withal, advised him to forbear for his own safety, and not to preach that day in contempt of the bishop; to which Knox answered, "God is my witness, that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of any man, neither do I now intend to present myself in that place, with respect to my own commodity, or for the hurt of any creature; but, to forbear preaching to-morrow, except I be violently withholden, I cannot, out of conscience, consent to it; for, in this town and church, God was pleased, first to call me to the honour and office of a preacher, from which I was driven by the tyranny of the French, and procurement of the bishop, as ye all know well enough. How long I continued prisoner, what torments I sustained in the French galleys, and what were the sobbs of my heart, is now no time to relate: this only I cannot conceal, which many heard me speak when my body was far from Scotland, that I certainly hoped to preach in St. Andrews, before I departed this life. And, therefore, my Lords, (saith he,) seeing God above the expectation of many, hath brought me to this place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, and from which I was most unjustly removed: I beseech your honours not to hinder me from presenting myself to my brethren: and, as for the fear of danger that may come to me thereby, let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek; and, therefore, I cannot so fear their boasts and tyranny, as thereby to be deterred from doing my duty, when God of his mercy offereth me such an occasion; I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me, only I crave audience; which, if it be denied me here at this time, I must seek farther where I may have it."

Upon this speech, the Lords were fully content that he should supply the place, which accordingly he did without interruption; and his sermons so wrought upon the magistrates and people; that, presently after sermon, they removed all the monuments of superstition and idolatry out of that church.

After some time, through Divine mercy, the party who were for the reformation prevailed, Gospel ministers were placed in several places, and Knox was settled at Edinburgh, where he preached many excellent sermons.

At last, his body and voice growing weak, and finding his end approaching, he importuned the council of the city to provide themselves of one to succeed him. Mr Lawson, professor at Aberdeen, was the man pitched upon, at whose admission, Mr Knox, though very weak, would needs preach, which he did with great fervency. A day or two before his death, he sent for Mr Lindsay, Mr Lawson, and the elders and deacons of the church, to whom he said, "The time is approaching which I have long thirsted for, wherein I shall be released from all my cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever. And now, God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and sincere word of God; and that the end that I proposed in my ministry, was, to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort their consciences who were humbled under the sense of their sins, and borne down with the threat-

enings of God's judgments. I am not ignorant that many have, and do blame my too great rigour and severity; but, God knoweth, that in my heart, I never hated those against whom I thundered God's judgments; I did only hate their sins, and laboured according to my power to gain them to Christ. That I did forbear none of what condition soever, I did it out of the fear of my God, who hath placed me in the function of his ministry, and I know will bring me to an account. Now, brethren, for yourselves, I have no more to say, but to warn you to take heed to the flock over which God hath placed you overseers, which he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son. And you, Mr Lawson, fight a good fight, do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind, and God from heaven bless you, and the church whereof you have the charge; against it, (so long as it continues in the doctrine of the truth,) the gates of hell shall not prevail."

The next day, Mr Knox gave orders for the making of his coffin, continuing all the day (as he did also through his sickness) in fervent prayer, crying, "Come, Lord Jesus, sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit!" Being asked, whether his pains were great? he answered, "That he did not esteem that a pain which would be to him the end of all troubles, and the beginning of eternal joys." Oft, after some deep meditation, he used to say, "Oh, serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be troublesome to you: blessed is the death of those that have part in the death of Jesus."

[He was so enfeebled with a host, (cough) that upon the 13th of November he left off his ordinary reading of the Scripture; for every day he read some chapters of the Old and New Testament, with some Psalms, which he passed through every month once. Upon Friday the 14th, he arose beside his accustomed diet, and yet, when he is risen, could scarce sit on a stool. Being demanded what he would do up? he said, he would go to the kirk and preach: for he thought it had been the Lord's-day; and said he had been meditating all night upon the resurrection of Christ, which he should have taught in order, next after the death of Christ, which he had finished upon the Lord's-day before. Oft and many times desired he of God, that he might end his days in teaching, and meditation of that doctrine: and so he did indeed. He desired the elders and deacons to be sent for, that he might take his last good night of them, as he had done before of the people, at the admission of Mr James Lawson, at what time he said, he would never enter into that place again. Upon the Lord's-day, the 16th, he kept his bed, and would take no meat, supposing that it had been the first Sabbath of the Fast, till the Laird of Braid, who was sitting at his bedside, called him to remembrance, and caused him eat a little.

Upon Monday, the 17th, the elders and deacons came to him, to whom he protested he had taught nothing but true and sound doctrine; beating down, by the threatenings of God's judgments, the proud and stubborn, and raising up and comforting the troubled consciences by the promises of God's mercies: And how severe soever he was against any man, it was not for hatred of his person, but only to beat down in him his vice, and that in him which rebelled against God, which God would not leave unpunished; and for discharge of his conscience before God; and that he made not merchandise of the

Word of God, whose message he bore, and to whom he must make account for the same. In respect whereof, albeit he was a weak and unworthy creature, and a fearful man, he feared not the faces of men. And as for that severity he had used against the Laird of Grange, with whom he had been so familiar, it was only to bring him to acknowledge his shameful declining, that thereby he might turn to repentance: and willed Mr David Lindsay, then present, and Mr James Lawson, to signify to him, that John Knox, now going to die, was the same man that he was before, when he was able of body; and to will him to consider his own estate wherein he now standeth.

After this speech, his infirmity increased, for he never spake almost but with great pain. And yet few came to him to whom he gave not some admonition or exhortation. Mr David Lindsay reported to divers, that, at one time when he came to visit him, and asked how he did, he answered, "Well, brother, I thank God. I have desired all this day to have had you, that I may send you yet to you man in the castle, whom, ye know, I have loved so dearly. Go, I pray you, and tell him that I have sent you to him yet once, to warn him; and bid him, in the name of God, leave that evil cause, and give over that castle. If not, he shall be brought down over the walls of it with shame, and hang against the sun. So God hath assured me." Mr David thought the message hard, yet went to the castle, and meeteth first with Sir Robert Melvill walking on the wall, and told him what was his errand; who, as he thought, was much moved with the matter. Thereafter he communed with the captain, whom he thought also somewhat moved. But he went from him in to secretary Lethington, with whom, when he had conferred a little, he came out to Mr David again, and said, "Go, tell Mr Knox, he is but a drivelling prophet." Mr David returned to Mr Knox, and reported how he had discharged his commission; but that it was not well accepted of the captain, after he had conferred with the secretary. "Well," said Mr Knox, "I have been earnest with my God about the two men. For the one, I am sorry that so shall befall him, yet God assureth me that there is mercy for his soul. For the other, I have no warrant that ever he shall be well." Mr David thought the speech hard, yet layed it up in his mind, till Mr Knox was at rest with God, and found the truth of that which he had spoken, within few days after.

Before his sickness, he commanded his wife, and his servant, Richard Bannatyne, that when God should visit him with sickness, that he was not able to read himself, that then one of them should read to him every day the 17th chapter of the Gospel, according to John, a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the 33d chapter of the Prophecy of Isaiah; which was done. Few or no hour of the day past wherein somewhat was not read as he would appoint, and sometimes Mr Calvin's sermons in French. While they were reading Mr Calvin's sermons upon the Ephesians, when they supposed he had been sleeping, they asked if he heard? He answered, "I hear, I praise God, and understand far better;" which words he uttered the last time they demanded, about four hours before his expiring.

My Lord of Morton, Boyd, and the Laird of Dumlairig, came to him upon Wednesday the 19th day. What conference was among them was not

then known. The next day the Lord Lindsay and sundry other gentlemen came to visit him. He exhorted them to continue in the truth, and to have no dealing with the damnable house of the castle of Edinburgh. The Lord Ruthven, when he came to him, said, "If there be any thing, Sir, that I am able to do for you, I pray you charge me with it." He answered, "I care not for all the pleasure and friendship of the world." The Earl of Glencairn visited him often, and so did many barons and gentlemen. A gentlewoman fearing God, desired him to praise God for the good he had done, and began as it were to praise him. He said "Tongue, tongue, lady; flesh of itself is too proud, and needeth no means to esteem the self." He protested he did only cleave to the free mercy of God in Christ. He willed her never to puff up flesh, which of itself was too prone and ready to do the same, without any other provocation. He exhorted her to humility, and to cast away stinking pride, and called to her remembrance what a woman had said to her long ago: "Lady, lady, the black ox hath never trampled upon your foot."

Upon the Lord's-day, the 23d, which was the first Sabbath of the Fast, in time of afternoon's sermon, none being present but such as did wait upon him, after he had lain a long space very quiet, as they thought, he sayeth, "If any be present, let them come, and see the work of God,"—for he thought to have departed then, as they judged. His servant Richard sent for John Johnston. He burst forth in these words: "I have been in meditation these two last nights upon the troubled kirk of God, despised of the world, but precious in his sight; and have called to God for it, and commended it to Christ, her Head. I have been fighting against Satan, who is ever ready to assault. I have fought against spiritual wickednesses, and have prevailed. I have been in heaven, where presently I am, and tasted of the heavenly joys." Thereafter, he said the Lord's Prayer, and the Beleeve, with a paraphrase upon every petition and article. When he was saying, "Our Father which art in heaven," he sayeth, "Who can pronounce so holy words," &c. Many came to visit him after sermon. Some perceiving his breath to be shortened, asked if he had any pain. He answered, "I have no more pain than he that is now in heaven; and am content, if it please God, to lie here seven years. He said often, "Live in Christ, and let never flesh fear death." When he would be lying, as was supposed, asleep, he was at his meditations, and would burst forth in these speeches, or the like, "Lord, grant true pastors to thy kirk, that purity of doctrine may be retained! Restore peace again to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates. Lord, make an end of troubles. Lord, I commend soul and body into thy hands." That night, Doctor Preston came to him about nine hours, and asked how he did. He answered, "I have been tempted by Satan; and when he perceived he could not prevail, he tempted me to trust and rejoice in myself, and to boast. But I repulsed him with this sentence, '*Quid habes quod non accepisti?*'"

Upon Monday, the 24th of November, he rose about nine or ten hours, and yet was not able to stand by himself; put on his hose and his doublet, and sat in a chair the space of half an hour, and then went to bed again. Being asked by the Goodman of Kinzeanleuche if he had any pain, he answered, "No great pain, but such as, I trust, shall put end

to this battle;"—and said to him, "I must leave the care of my wife and children to you, to whom you must be a husband in my room." After noon he caused his wife read the 15th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; and when it was ended, he said, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" A little after, he sayeth, "I commend my soul, spirit, and body, (pointing up his three fingers,) into thy hands, O Lord." About five hours he sayeth to his wife, "Go, read where I cast my first anchor:" and so, she read the 17th chapter of the Gospel according to John, and, after that, some sermons of Mr Calvin's upon the Ephesians. About half an hour to ten, they went to the ordinary prayer, which being ended, Doctor Preston said unto him, "Sir, heard you the prayer?" He answered, "I would to God that ye and all men heard them as I heard: I praise God for that heavenly sound." Then Robert Campbell of Kinzeanleuche sitteth down before him on a stool, and immediately he sayeth, "Now, it is come!"—for he had given a long sigh and sob. Then said Richard Bannatyne to him, "Now, Sir, the time you have long called to God for, to wit, an end of your battle, is come; and, seeing all natural powers fail, give us some sign that you remember upon the comfortable promises which you have often showed unto us." He lifted up his one hand, and immediately thereafter rendered his spirit, about eleven hours at night.¹

He was a man not less learned than endued with virtue, a constant preacher of the truth, and a valiant defender of the same through his whole life. His zeal, learning, and courage, did notably appear in this example: In 1550, he was called before Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and his doctors, to give an account of his opinion about the mass, where, preaching before them, he did so sharply tax their idolatries and blasphemies, and by such solid arguments confute the same, that his adversaries were silenced, and had not wherewithal to reply against him. Men of all ranks were present at his burial. The Earl of Morton, when the corpse was put into the ground, spoke to this purpose: "Here lies the body of him who never feared the face of man." He died in 1572.

18. DEERING. He was born in Kent, and preached in London. Having worn out himself with his labours in the work of the Lord, he fell sick, and perceiving his approaching death, he said, in the presence of his friends that came to visit him, "The good Lord pardon my great negligence, that, (whilst I had time,) I used not his precious gifts to the advancement of his glory, as I might have done; yet I bless God withal, that I have not abused these gifts to ambition and vain studies."

When he had lain still a while, a friend said unto him, that he hoped his mind was employed in holy meditation whilst he lay so silent: to whom he answered, "Poor wretch, and miserable man that I am! the least of all saints, and the greatest of sinners; yet, by the eye of faith, I believe in, and look upon Christ my Saviour: yet a little while, and we shall see our hope; we shall quickly receive the end of our hope, which we have so much looked for. Afflictions, diseases, sickness, and grief, are nothing but part of that portion which God hath allotted to us in this world. It is not enough to begin for a little while, except we persevere in the fear of the Lord

¹ This most interesting account of the death of Knox is taken entire from Calderwood. The spelling has been modernised, but the language is left almost as in the original.—Ed.

all the days of our lives; for in a moment we shall be taken away. Take heed, therefore, that you do not make a past-time of, nor dis-esteem the Word of God: blessed are they that whilst they have tongues use them to God's glory.' When he drew near to his end, being set up in his bed, some of his friends requested him to speak something to them that might be for their edification and comfort. Whereupon, the sun shining in his face, he took occasion from thence to say thus unto them: "There is but one sun in the world, and there is but one righteousness. If I were equal in righteousness to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, yet had I reason to confess myself a sinner, and that I could expect no salvation but in the righteousness of Jesus Christ; and as for my death, I bless God I feel so much inward joy and comfort in my soul, that if I were put to my choice, whether to die or live, I would a thousand times rather choose death than life, if it may stand with the holy will of God." And, accordingly, shortly after, he slept in the Lord in 1576.

19. GILPIN. He was born at Kentmire in Westmoreland, of an ancient and honourable family. At first he was not fully instructed in the true religion, but he'd disputations against Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Worcester; as also against Peter Martyr, who was then divinity-lecturer at Oxford: upon the occasion of which dispute, that he might defend his cause the better, he examined the Scriptures, and ancient fathers; but by how much the more he studied to defend his cause, the less confidence he began to have therein; and so, whilst he was searching zealously for the truth, he began to discern his own errors. Peter Martyr used to say, "That he cared not for his other adversaries, but, (saith he,) I am troubled for Gilpin; for he doth, and speaketh all things with an upright heart;" and, therefore, he often prayed, "That God would be pleased at last to convert to the truth the heart of Gilpin, being so inclinable to honesty." And the Lord answered his prayer; for, presently after, Gilpin resolved more earnestly to apply himself, both by study and prayer, to search out the truth; and it pleased God, accordingly, to reveal it unto him, as also, the many errors in Popery, and the necessity of separating from that apostatical church.

In the meanwhile, Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, being his uncle, resolved to send him beyond sea, to visit the churches in foreign parts, and to allow him means for his travels. Whilst he was resolving upon his journey, he had a parsonage given him, which Tunstal persuaded him to keep, to maintain him in his travels; but he, sending for a friend whom he knew to be learned, and religious, resigned his parsonage to him: for which, when it came to the knowledge of Tunstal, he chid him sharply, and told him that he would die a beggar; but he excused it, saying, that he could not keep it with the peace of his conscience. "But, (said the Bishop,) thou shalt have a dispensation." To whom Gilpin answered, "That he feared when he came to stand before Christ's tribunal, it would not serve his turn to plead a dispensation," &c. When he came beyond sea, he went to Louvain, Antwerp, and Paris. And after a while, Tunstal sent again to persuade him to accept of a parsonage, which he would confer upon him: to whom he wrote back, that he had discussed the question with all the learned, especially with the Prophets and best writers since Christ's time, so that he was fully resolved not to burthen his conscience

by accepting a charge which he could not take care of, &c.

He returned into England, after three years, in Queen Mary's reign, and beheld (to his great grief) the church oppressed with blood and fire; and being placed by Tunstal in the rectory of Essingdon, he began sharply to tax the vices which then reigned in the church, and propounded the doctrine of salvation plainly, and soundly, which procured him many enemies, especially of the clergy, who accused him often to the Bishop for an heretic. But Tunstal could not endure to shed blood, and, therefore, dealt mildly with him. At a certain time, the Bishop's chaplains discoursed with him about Luther, and the sacrament of the altar, whbm he answered so judiciously, that the Bishop, hearing their discourse, said to his chaplains, "Let him alone, for he hath more learning than you all." The arch-deaconry of Durham being annexed to the parsonage of Essingdon, Mr Gilpin for a time supplied both places, but after a while he wrote to the Bishop, desiring that he might have his good-will to resign one of them, which the Bishop was very angry at, saying, "I told thee thou wouldst die a beggar." Not long after, the Bishop conferred upon him, instead of them, the rectory of Houghton, which was a great parish. He took great care to perform the duties of the ministry amongst his people; and seeing the miserable condition of many places in those parts, where, the tithes being impropriated, the souls of the people were starved. He preached often abroad also: and once a-year he took a journey into Northumberland and Tindale, usually about Christmas, because of the opportunity of so many holidays; where he preached to those barbarous people, and distributed money to the poor. Sometimes he was forced to lodge in the snow all night in that journey, at which times he made his man to trot his horses up and down, whilst he bestirred himself that he might not perish with the cold. Once, as he returned home, a husbandman, as he was ploughing, had a horse in his team that fell down and died, for which he made great moan; whereupon Mr Gilpin caused his man to alight and take off his saddle and bridle, and so to carry them to the next town, and gave his horse to this husbandman. And when by chance he met with any naked poor people, he would pull off some of his own clothes and give to them.

In the town of Houghton, there was a street of poor people, for whose relief, every Thursday, he caused a great pot of meat to be boiled, and distributed amongst them; yea, his charity was such, that he was commonly called, "THE FATHER OF THE POOR." Yet had he many enemies, who often accused him to Bishop Tunstal, but he, abhorring to shed blood, was still a defence to him. At last they accused him to Bonner, who sent a messenger to apprehend him, whereof he had notice before-hand, and, therefore, prepared himself for martyrdom, commanding his steward to provide him a long garment to go to the stake in; but it pleased God, by the sudden death of Queen Mary, he was freed from this danger.

In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Mr Gilpin was exceedingly studious to do all the good that possibly he could; he erected a grammar-school, allowing maintenance for a master and usher, divers of the scholars he also instructed himself, so that in that school were bred many that were exceedingly profitable to the church afterwards; for there was

great resort to it, some of which he tabled in his own house, others in the town; yea, upon many poor men's sons he bestowed both meat, drink, apparel, and teaching. Out of this school were sent daily many to the universities, to divers of which he allowed maintenance; whereby he became well known, and the Earl of Bedford much esteemed him, and procured of the Queen the Bishoprick of Carlisle for him, and sent him his *couge d'elire*: but Mr Gilpin returned it back with many thanks, alleging his own insufficiency for the discharge of so great a place. Not long after, also, he was much importuned to take upon him the Provost's place of Queen's College, in Oxford, but he refused it.

He was much given unto hospitality, insomuch as William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, returning out of Scotland, drawn with the fame of Mr Gilpin, came to Houghton, where he was entertained with all due respect; and, when he had well observed Mr Gilpin, and the diligence of his servants, he said at his parting, That he had heard much of Mr Gilpin, but what he had seen and tried was much more than the report. And, when he took his leave of Mr Gilpin, he requested him, if he had any occasion of suit at the court, that he would make use of him to intercede for him.

He still continued his yearly visit to Northumberland and Tindale, where he was greatly esteemed by the rudest people. Being once amongst them, one had stolen his horses; whereupon, hue and cry was sent abroad for Mr Gilpin's horses. The fellow that had stolen them, hearing they were Mr Gilpin's, fell a-trembling, and presently carried them back again, humbly craving pardon, and the benediction of Father Gilpin; protesting, that he feared that he should be thrust into hell if he should do him any wrong.

Also, being to preach at a town called Rothbury, there was a deadly feud between the inhabitants, so that the men of both sides never met at church without bloodshed; and, therefore, when one party came, the other used to stay away: but, Mr Gilpin being in the pulpit, both parties came to church, one party going into the chancel, and the other into the body of the church, armed with swords and javelins. Mr Gilpin, though somewhat moved with this uncouth spectacle, yet went on in his sermon; but when their weapons began to make a clashing sound, and the one side drew near to the other, he came down from the pulpit, and, stepping to the ringleaders of either faction, laboured to establish a peace, and when he could not prevail in that, yet he got a promise from them to continue the peace whilst he was in the church, and, afterwards, whilst he was in those quarters; and so, going up again, he spent the rest of the time in disgracing that barbarous and bloody custom. At another time, coming to a church in those parts, before the people assembled, and, walking up and down, he spied a glove hanging up in the church; whereupon, he enquired of the sexton the meaning of it, who told him that it was a glove of one of the parish, who had hung it up as a challenge to his enemy, with whom he would fight hand to hand, or with any that durst take it down. Mr Gilpin requested the sexton to take it down; who replied, that he durst not. "Then," said Mr Gilpin, "bring me a staff, and I will take it down;" which, accordingly, he did, and put it into his bosom, and in his sermon he took occasion to reprove these inhuman challenges, and reproved him in particular that had hung up the glove; shewing him that he had taken

it down, and that such practices were unbecoming Christians, and therefore he persuaded them to peace and mutual charity amongst themselves. After sermon he distributed money among the poor, and as his manner was, visited the prisoners, gave them money, and preached to them, and brought many of them to repentance, and for some that were condemned to die, he procured pardon, and saved their lives.

Not long after, a rebellion was raised in the north by the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, which Mr Gilpin having intelligence of, resolved to retire himself from his house for a time: and making a speech to the master and scholars to demean themselves quietly and peaceably in his absence, he went to Oxford, until the queen's army, commanded by the Earl of Sussex, had dissipated the rebels; but before that army came, the rebels having seized upon Durham, some of them flew out as far as Houghton, and finding Mr Gilpin's barns full of corn, young cattle fatted, and many things provided for hospitality, they made spoil of all; the chiefest of which plunderers was a knave whom Mr Gilpin had saved from the gallows. But when those rebels were overthrown, Mr Gilpin returned home, and begged the lives of many of the simpler sort, whom he knew to be drawn into that rebellion through ignorance.

After the death of Bishop Pilkington, who was Mr Gilpin's faithful friend, there succeeded in the bishoprick of Durham, one Richard Barns, who was offended with him upon some false suggestions which came thus about: Mr Gilpin's custom was sometimes to go to Oxford, and once as he was upon his way, he espied a youth before him sometimes walking and sometimes running. Mr Gilpin demanded of him what he was, and whence he came, and whether he was going; he answered, that he came out of Wales, and was bound for Oxford to be a scholar. Mr Gilpin thereupon examined him, and finding him a prompt scholar in the Latin, and that he had a smattering in the Greek, asked him if he would go with him, and he would provide for him; the youth was contented: whereupon he took him with him to Oxford, and afterwards to Houghton, where he profited exceedingly both in Greek and Hebrew. Mr Gilpin at last sent him to Cambridge; and this was that famous Hugh Broughton, who afterwards requited evil for good, by stirring up the Bishop of Durham against Mr Gilpin.

Now the bishop sent to Mr Gilpin to preach at a visitation, appointing him time and place; but it fell out to be just at that time, when Mr Gilpin was going his northern journey into Tindale, &c., whereupon he sent his man to the bishop, desiring him to appoint some other to preach the visitation sermon, for that he might have many to do that service, but none would go amongst the borderers if he did it not. When his man had delivered this message to the bishop, the bishop held his peace; which being related to Mr Gilpin, he said, "silence argues consent," and so went on in his journey. But so soon as the bishop heard of it, he suspended him, which Mr Gilpin at his return much wondered at. Shortly after, the bishop sent to him, to warn him to meet him, and the rest of the clergy at Chester, whither Mr Gilpin went: and when the bishop and the clergy were all met in the church, he said to Mr Gilpin, "Sir, I must have you preach to-day;" Mr Gilpin desired to be excused, because he was unprovided, and for that he was suspended. "But," saith the bishop, "I free you from that suspension." "Yet,"

Mr Gilpin replied, "that he durst not go up into the pulpit unprovided." "You are never unprovided," saith the bishop, "you have such a habit of preaching," and commanded him to go into the pulpit forthwith. After a little pause, Mr Gilpin went up, and began his sermon; and though he saw some extraordinarily prepared to write his sermon, yet he proceeded in his application to reprove the enormities in that diocese.

"And now," saith he, "reverend father, my speech must be directed unto you; God hath exalted you, and will require an account of your government; a reformation of what is amiss in the Church, is required at your hands, neither can you henceforth plead ignorance, for behold I bring these things to your knowledge this day, and therefore what evils you shall either do yourself, or suffer by your connivance hereafter, you make your own," &c. His friends hearing him thunder out these things, much feared what would become of him; and after sermon, some of them told him with tears that now the bishop had that advantage against him, which he had long looked for, to whom he answered, "Be not afraid, the Lord God over-ruleth all, and if God may be glorified, and his truth propagated, God's will be done concerning me." After they had dined together (all men expecting the issue of this business), Mr Gilpin went to take his leave of the bishop. "Nay," said the bishop, "I will bring you home," and so went along with him to his house, and walking there together in a parlour, the bishop took him by the hand, saying, "Father Gilpin, I acknowledge you are fitter to be bishop of Durham, than myself to be parson of your church; I ask forgiveness for errors past; forgive me father; I know you have hatched up some chickens that now seek to pick out your eyes; but be sure, so long as I am Bishop of Durham, no man shall injure you." Mr Gilpin and his friends much rejoiced that God had so over-ruled things; that that which was purposed for his disgrace, should turn to his greater credit. His body being quite worn out with painstaking, and feeling before-hand the approach of death, he commanded the poor to be called together, unto whom he made a speech, and took his leave of them. He did the like also to others, made many exhortations to the scholars, to his servants, and to divers others; and so at the last, he fell asleep in the Lord in the year 1583.

20. Fox. He was born at Boston in Lincolnshire. When he was at the university, beside his daily studies, he many times in the dead of the night chose a solitary grove to walk in for his meditations; and in them he suffered many combats and wrestlings, yea many heavy sighs, with tears, and prayers he poured out to Almighty God in them. But hereupon grew suspicion of him that he began to dislike the Popish religion, and snares were laid for him; and at last being examined, he was by the college convicted, condemned for an heretic, and expelled the house.

As he one day sat in Paul's Church, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin, and his eyes hollow, after the ghastly manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came one to him whom he had never seen before, and thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer, and to accept that small gift in good part from his countryman, which common courtesy had enforced him to offer, and that

he should go and make much of himself; for that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood. Mr Fox could never learn who this was; but three days after, the duchess of Richmond sent for him to live in her house, and to be tutor to the Earl of Surrey's children, now under her care. In that family, he continued the remainder of King Henry's reign, and all King Edward's, till the beginning of Queen Mary's; when a storm of persecution arising, Fox was sheltered from it by the duke, his scholar. But when he saw all sorts of men troubled for religion's sake, so that there was nothing but fight, slaughters, and gibbets, and that Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was his enemy, he began to think of some speedy way for his departure; which, so soon as the duke knew, he dissuaded him from it, affirming, that it was neither agreeable to honour nor modesty, for him to suffer his tutor, so well deserving at his hands, to be taken from him. He told him, that in flying, no kind of misery would be wanting; banishment, poverty, contempt, &c., and that, though these were less evils than death, yet was it not come to such extremity, neither would he suffer that it should; saying, that he had yet wealth, and favour, and friends, and the fortune of his house; and if the mischance prevailed farther, that himself would partake of the danger, and make the destruction common; that he remembered with what instructions he had fortified his younger years; neither had he with more attention hearkened thereto, than he would with constancy put them in practice. Yet, when the duke afterwards perceived that he could no longer shelter him from the malice of Winchester, he provided all things necessary for his departure, sending to Ipswich to hire a bark, and whilst all things were making ready, he sent him to a farm-house of one of his servants, with his wife, the companion of his travels, then big with child, who yet would not be persuaded to stay behind him. He had in this bark scarce weighed anchor, when suddenly a rough wind troubled the sea, with so great violence, that the stoutest mariners began to tremble; then followed a dark night, with such hail and rain that hindered the seamen's work, and took away all possibility of steering any longer by the compass; yet the next day, towards evening, with much difficulty they arrived again in the same haven from whence they set out. In the meantime, a pursuivant, with warrant from the bishop of Winchester, had searched the farm, and pursued him to Ipswich; but finding the bark already gone, was returned towards London. This Mr Fox being informed of, as soon as he came to shore; he presently took horse, as if he would have left the town, but the same night returning, he bargained with the master of the ship, with the first wind to set sail again; and the pilot loosed in the night's silence, as soon as the tide turned, though the sea was rough, and the winds blustering; and two days after (through the mercy of God) landed him safely at Newport haven. And after some few days refreshing himself at Newport, and those that were with him, they went to Antwerp, and from thence to Basil, which was a common refuge to many English in those times; many of which maintained themselves by overseeing the press. To these Mr Fox joined himself; and having in his youth been accustomed to hardship, he was able to suffer want, sit up late, and fare hardly. And during his abode there, notwithstanding he was so full of employment, yet he began

his history of the Acts and Monuments of the Church, which afterwards he completed in his own country. First, he wrote it in Latin, and sent it to Basil to be printed, where it was much esteemed; and afterwards wrote it in English for the unlearned.

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, he returned into England with his wife and two children; and instead of seeking preferment by his great friends and own deserts, he lived retiredly in his study, prosecuting his work begun at Basil, of writing the Acts and Monuments. The Papists, foreseeing how much this work would tend to their disparagement and disadvantage, charged the author with falsehood, and feigned some cavils against him, to lessen his credit and authority; which he, by heaping together testimonies for the confirmation of what he had written, endeavoured to take away. This elaborate work, with vast pains, he finished in eleven years, never using the help of any other man, but writing and searching all the records himself. But by these excessive pains, leaving no time free from study, nor affording to himself seasonably what nature required, he was brought to that pass, that his natural vigour being spent, neither his friends nor kindred could by sight remember or know him. Yea, it caused in him withered leanness of body, yet would he by no means be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours. From this time he was much spoken of for a good historian; but, shortly after, his other excellent endowments began to appear. He was very charitable, and had an excellent ability in comforting afflicted consciences, so that there resorted to him noblemen, strangers, citizens, and others also, seeking selves to their wounded consciences. He preached often abroad, and went to visit such as could not come to him, and what spare time he had, he bestowed it in prayer and study; and for his vehement prayers, mingled with groans, he made use of the night's silence for the greater secrecy. There was in him a deliberate and resolved contempt of all earthly things, especially of pleasures, and for this end he declined the friendship of illustrious and noble persons. The money which rich men sometimes offered him he accepted, but returned it back to the poor. He never denied any one who asked for Jesus' sake. And one asking him whether he knew a certain poor man whom he used to relieve; yea, said he, I remember him well. I tell you, I forget lords and ladies to remember such. As he was going along London streets, a woman of his acquaintance met him, and as they discoursed together, she pulled out a Bible, telling him, she was going to hear a sermon; upon which he said to her, if you will be advised by me, go home again. But, said she, when shall I then go to church? He answered, when you tell no body of it. He died in 1587.

21. GREENHAM. His constant course was to preach twice on the Lord's day, and before the evening sermon to catechise the young people of the parish. His manner also was to preach on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays; and on Thursdays to catechise the youth, and again on Fridays to preach to his people; and, that on these week days the people might have the better opportunity to attend upon his ministry, his course was to be in the pulpit in the morning so soon as he could well see. He was so earnest and took such extraordinary pains in his preaching, that his shirt would usually be as wet with sweating as if it had been

drenched in water; so that he was forced, so soon as he came out of the pulpit, to shift himself; and this wonderful and excessive pains he took all his time. Twice a day he prayed in his family, and after sermon he used to call his servants together, and examined them of what they heard, and what they remembered. And besides all these his public labours, he studied very hard, rising every day, both winter and summer, at four o'clock in the morning. He was very eminent for his charity to the poor. His charity to souls was no less exemplary. For having great experience, and an excellent faculty to relieve and comfort distressed consciences, he sought to far and near, by such as groaned under spiritual afflictions and temptations, all whom he entertained in a friendly and familiar manner without respecting the person of the rich more than of the poor; and the Lord was pleased so far to bless his labours, that, by his knowledge and experience, many were restored to joy and comfort, out of unspeakable terrors of conscience. If the Lord had not soon translated him out of this sinful and miserable world, there was none more fit nor willing to have laid down a method to be observed in this so little known art. Many pious and learned friends of his, perceiving his abilities and inclinations this way, did labour much to excite and encourage him in those studies, for such reasons as these. First, That he might hereby the better train up some young men in the like studies, communicating his knowledge and experience to them. Secondly, That he might leave to posterity a commentary of such particular maladies as God had made him instrumental in the cure of, together with the means by him used for effecting of the same. And rules of direction might be framed, partly by his own observation, partly by conference with other learned and experienced persons, whereby in that, and the age following, that art might be brought into some form and method, to the public good and benefit of many, not only for the fruitful curing, but also for the healthful preventing of such maladies. To such as complained to him, that they were troubled with blasphemous thoughts, his counsel was, that they should not fear them, but abhor them. And when some poor Christians were miserably afflicted with fears that they had committed that unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, he used to tell them, that if they would not have committed it, it was certain that they had not fallen into it. He was a special instrument under God, to encourage and train up many pious and learned young men, in the service of Christ, in the work of the ministry, and to restrain and reduce not a few from errors and schism.

Having continued at Dry-Drayton, about the space of twenty or one and twenty years he left it, and went from thence to London, about the year 1588. The causes of his removal were, partly the untractableness and unteachableness of that people, amongst whom he had taken such exceeding great pains. For besides his public preaching and catechising, his manner was to walk out into the fields, and to confer with his neighbours as they were at plough. And partly, he did it upon supposal that he might do far more good in a more public place, by comforting afflicted consciences, wherein the Lord had given him an admirable dexterity. He died in 1591.

22. ROLLOCK. He was born in Scotland, and was in such reputation for learning and prudence,

that the University at Edinburgh was put under his care immediately after its erection. The young students, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom, he instructed in the arts, and governed with severity mixed with clemency, and so educated them in religion, that God blessed his labours accordingly among them; for, indeed he laboured in this above all things, that his scholars should have the marks of true holiness appearing in them. Neither did God frustrate his expectations; for, by his exhortations and divinity lectures, he so far prevailed even with the looser sort of youths, that he soon brought them into very good order. Every morning, calling the students together, he prayed fervently with them, and one day in the week, expounded some portion of scripture to them, from whence he raised doctrines, exhortations, and comminations, not painted with human eloquence, but grave and weighty, such as might most work upon the minds and hearts of young men. And this he did, not that he wanted true eloquence, but because he despised affected speech in holy things. By these kind of lectures he did more restrain and reform the young men than by his discipline, and, indeed, it brought great profit both to master and scholars. Yet, after every lecture, he took notice which of them had committed any faults that week, whom he would so reprove, and lay the wrath of God before their eyes, and withal affect them with shame, that he much reformed them thereby. Yea, such as would neither have been reformed with words nor stripes from others, were so wrought upon by his applying the threatenings of God's wrath, and opening the sweet promises of mercy to them, that usually they broke out into sighs and tears. He took also extraordinary pains to fit such for the work of the ministry as were designed to it; so that the Church received very much benefit from thence, having so many able pastors sent forth into it. How much trouble, care, and pains he bestowed in these employments is hardly to be conceived; for he spent the whole day, except dinner-time, either in the contemplation of the chiefest points of religion, or in searching out the sense of hard places of Scripture, or in confuting the errors of the Romanists. Besides this, he preached every Lord's day in the church, and that with such fervency and evident demonstration of the Spirit, that he was the instrument of converting very many unto God. Mr White on the Power of Godliness, quoted in *Prince's Christian History*, No. 28, says, "A precious holy man told me of a woman that was six years in desertion; and by God's providence hearing Mr Rollock preach, she of a sudden fell down overwhelmed with joy, crying out, 'O, he is come, whom my soul loveth!' and so was carried home for dead; and for divers days after, she was filled with exceeding joys, and had such pious and singularly ravishing expressions, so fluently coming from her, that many came to hear the rare manifestations of God's grace in her; and amongst the rest that went to hear, there was one that could write short-hand, who yet a great while stood so amazed at her expressions, that he could not write; at last, recovering himself, he wrote a whole sheet of paper; which the minister read, and told me, that of all the expressions that ever he read in the book of martyrs or elsewhere he never read any so high as the lowest of them." He wrote also commentaries upon the Scriptures, which, being printed and going abroad into other countries, Beza meeting with that upon

the Romans and Ephesians, wrote to a friend concerning them, that he had gotten a treasure of incomparable value, and that he had not met with the like before for brevity, elegance, and judiciousness; whereupon he thus concludes, I pray God to preserve the author, and daily to increase his gifts in him, especially in these times wherein the vineyard of the Lord hath so few labourers.

Two noblemen, Patrick Galloway, and David Lindsay, coming to visit him in his sickness, he professed to them the hearty love which he had always born to the king; withal requesting them, from him, to go to him, and to entreat him, in his name, to take care of religion, and to persevere in it to the end, as hitherto he had done, not suffering himself to be diverted from it, either under the hope of enlarging his dominions, or by any other subtle devices of wicked men; and that he would reverence and esteem the pastors of the Church as it was meet: "for," saith he, "that ministry of Christ, though in the judgment of man it seem low and base, yet at length it shall shine with great glory."

When the pastors of Edinburgh came to him, he gave them an excellent exhortation; and perceiving his death approach he made such a divine and heavenly speech as astonished the hearers. When the physicians were preparing physic for him, he said, "*Tu Deus medeberis mihi*:" Thou Lord wilt heal me; then he prayed fervently that God would pardon his sins for Christ's sake; professing that all other things, how great soever they seemed to others, yet he accounted them all but dung and dross in comparison of the excellency of Christ's cross; praying further, that he might have an happy departure, and enjoy God's presence, which he had often breathed after, saying, I have hitherto seen but darkly in the glass of thy Word; O Lord, grant that I may eternally enjoy thy countenance, which I have so much desired and longed for. He died in 1598.

23. PERKINS. He was born at Marston in Warwickshire, and brought up at school, from which he went to Cambridge, where he profited much in his studies. He was very wild in his youth, but the Lord in mercy was pleased to reclaim him, that he might be an eminent instrument of good in his Church.

When he first entered into the ministry, being moved with pity towards their souls, he prevailed with the jailor to bring the prisoners (fettered as they were) to the shire-house hard by the prison, where he preached every Lord's-day to them; and it pleased God so to prosper and succeed his labours amongst them, that he was the happy instrument of converting many of them unto God. This his practice being once known, many resorted to that place out of the neighbour parishes to hear him; so that from thence he was chosen to St Andrews parish in Cambridge, where he preached all his life after.

When he was catechist in Christ's college, in expounding the commandments, he applied them so home to the conscience, as was able to make his hearers hearts fall down, and their hairs almost to stand upright. But in his old age he was more mild, often professing, that to preach mercy was the proper office of the ministers of the Gospel. His manner was to go with the prisoners to the place of execution, when they were condemned, and his labours this way were sometimes crowned with remarkable success. He died in 1602.

24. **CARTWRIGHT.** He was of a very laborious and indefatigable spirit. It was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly father; so that, besides all his pains in writing, and in the hospital, he preached every Sabbath-day in the morning about seven o'clock in the lower parish of Warwick, and when he could be suffered, in the upper parish, in the afternoon; besides which he preached a lecture on Saturdays in the afternoon in the upper church, and this he did of his own free will without demanding or receiving one penny for his pains. And whereas he was sometimes suspended from preaching in the churches, his manner was at those times to preach in the hospital, whither many resorted to hear him, though they were sure to be brought to trouble for the same.

Indeed, all his ambition was to advance the kingdom and cause of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to promote God's glory. It was the great joy and rejoicing of his heart to hear of the welfare and prosperity of the churches at home and abroad; for this he earnestly and daily prayed, and when he heard any ill tidings, with Nehemiah, he sat down and mourned, and fasted, and prayed, before the God of Heaven; so that all that conversed with him might easily discern that nothing did affect him in any degree like the good or ill tidings of the Church's state.

He was frequent in prayer every day, and in his younger years hath risen many times in the night to pray; and his labours were very great in the work of the ministry, so it pleased the Lord to make them very successful for the conversion and confirmation of many, and for terror and restraint unto others.

There was a woollen draper in Warwick, who made a profession of religion, but many times broke out into scandalous practices; Mr Cartwright on a time walking with him in his garden, dealt plainly and faithfully with him, rebuking him for his miscarriages, and shewing him the dishonour that he brought to God and the Gospel thereby; this so much wrought upon him that he presently sunk down, and being carried home, died within a few hours after. Mr Cartwright died in 1603.

CHAPTER IV.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS RELATING TO THE REFORMATION ERA.¹

1. GLEAMS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.—2. LUTHER'S CONVERSION.—3. THE ELECTOR'S DREAM.—4. LUTHER'S PRAYER BEFORE THE DIET AT WORMS.—5. MYCONEUS' DREAM.—6. SCOTTISH REFORMATION MOVEMENT.—7. JOHN DUNIE'S RETURN TO EDINBURGH.—8. JOHN DUNIE'S DEATH.—9. CITIZENS WATCHING FOR THE SAFETY OF THEIR MINISTERS.—10. FRUITS OF KNOX'S MINISTRY.—11. DEATH OF THE EARL OF MORTON.—12. JAMES MELVILLE PREACHING IN BIRKBECK.

1. **GLEAMS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.** It is not only among such as the Church of Rome regarded as her adversaries that a life-giving word was heard during these ages. Catholicity herself, let us say so for our consolation, counted many wit-

nesses to the truth within her pale. The original building had, indeed, been consumed; but a generous fire still smouldered under the ashes, and from time to time bright sparks might be observed to escape from it.

Anselm of Canterbury, in a writing on preparation for death, says to the dying—"Look only to the merit of Jesus Christ."

A monk, called Arnoldi, daily offered up in his quiet cell this fervent prayer—"O my Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that thou alone art my redemption and my righteousness."

Christopher of Utenheim, a pious bishop of Basil, made his name be inscribed on a picture painted on glass, which is still at Basil, and around it he had this motto inscribed, as what he wished to have ever before his eyes—"My hope is the Cross of Christ; I seek for grace and not for works."

Brother Martin, a poor Chartreux, wrote an affecting confession, in which he says—"O most charitable God! I know that I cannot be saved and satisfy thy justice but by the merits, the most innocent passion, and the death, of thy well-beloved Son.

Pious Jesus! my whole salvation is in thy hands. Thou canst not turn away from me the hands of thy love, for they created, they formed, and they have redeemed me. With a pen of iron, with much mercy, and in a manner not to be effaced, thou hast inscribed my name on thy side, on thy hands, and on thy feet," &c. &c. The good Chartreux then placed this confession in a wooden box, and shut up the box in a hole which he had made in the wall of his cell.

Never would friar Martin's piety have been known, had not his box been found on the 21st of December, 1776, at the taking down of some old walls, once forming part of a Chartreux monastery at Basil. How many monasteries may have concealed such treasures!

These holy men, however, had this touching faith only for themselves, and they knew not how to communicate it to others. As they lived retired from the world, they could say more or less what the good friar Martin wrote in his box—"Et si hæc prædicta confiteri non possim lingvâ, confiteor tamen corde et scripto. Although I cannot confess these things with my tongue, yet I confess them with my heart and in writing." The word of truth was in the sanctuary of some pious souls; but to use an expression to be found in the Gospel, it had no free course in the world.

Meanwhile, although there might be no open confession of the doctrine of salvation, there were men, even in the very midst of the Church of Rome, who ventured at least openly to denounce the abuses that disgraced that Church; and Italy herself was not without witnesses against the priesthood. The Dominican, Savonarola, at Florence, in 1498, rose against the insupportable vices of Rome. But the torture, the stake, and the inquisition soon put him down.

Geiler, of Kaisersberg, was for three and thirty years the great preacher of Germany. He vigorously attacked the clergy. "Seariness of leaf in a tree," said he, "shews that it is diseased at the root; and so does an immoral people indicate a corrupt priesthood." "If a dissolute man ought not to say mass," said he to a bishop, "then banish all the priests from your diocese." While listening to this courageous minister, the people became accus-

¹ This chapter is wholly new, and collected from various sources. The narratives relating to Scotland are taken from the volumes of the "Wodrow Society." It was thought better to throw together such a miscellaneous chapter, than to take too great liberty with the original work.

tomed to see, even in the very sanctuary itself, the veil withdrawn that covered the turpitudes of their guides.

Even among the princes of the Roman Church, venerable men might be found who, by sacred studies and a sincere piety, were prepared for acting a part in the divine work which was about to take place in the world. Christopher of Stadion, bishop of Augsbourg, both knew and loved the truth, but a bold profession of it would have cost him the loss of every thing. Lawrence of Bibra, bishop of Wurzburg, a man of honesty, piety, and wisdom, and who commanded the respect of the emperor and of the princes, freely reprobated the Church's corruptions; but he died in 1519, too early for the Reformation. John VI., bishop of Meissen, used to say: "Every time I read the Bible, I find quite a different religion there from what people teach us." John Thurzo, bishop of Breslau, was called by Luther "the best of the bishops of his age." But he died in 1520. Guillaume Brignonet, bishop of Meaux, powerfully contributed to the reformation of France. Who can say to what an amount the enlightened piety of those bishops, and of many others, helped to bring about the great work of the Reformation in their own dioceses, and even beyond these?

2. LUTHER'S CONVERSION. Dr Gillies has most unaccountably omitted this in his notice of Luther. It is by far too important to be slightly passed over. I subjoin the following sketch drawn up from various sources:—

When first awakened to a sense of sin, Luther became unspeakably troubled. Once and again deep anguish took hold of his soul, and it seemed as if he would sink under it. On one occasion he had been conversing with a friend upon the things of God. No sooner had the conversation ended, than the truths of which they had been speaking, struck home with awful power to the tossed soul of Luther. He left the room and sought the nearest chamber to give vent to the feelings of his bursting heart. He threw himself upon the bed and prayed aloud in agony; repeating over and over again these words of the apostle, "He hath shut them all up in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon all."—Rom. xi. 32.

Luther now began to try to make himself holy. He fasted for days together. He shut himself up alone in his cold cell. He passed many nights, sometimes for weeks, without sleep. He read, he studied, he prayed, he wept, he watched, he strove, but all in vain! He found himself as far from holiness and peace as ever! If ever any one could have gained heaven by his own merits, Luther would have gained it. To those around him he seemed the holiest man alive. But the light of the law shewed him that within all was vile. His soul cried out for rest, but he found it not, for he was seeking it not in God's way, but in a way of his own. He wanted to be sure that his sins were forgiven him, for he felt that till he knew this he could not have peace. But his fear increased upon him, and he knew not what to do, nor which way to turn. He saw every thing that he thought and did to be *sin*, and how could he rest till he knew that all was forgiven! His friends told him to do good works and that would satisfy the justice of God. Miserable comforters!

"What good works," said he, "can proceed out of a heart like mine; how can I with works like these stand before a holy Judge."

The terrors of the fiery law compassed him about and consumed his soul. His "sore ran in the night and ceased not." He saw nothing in God but the angry Judge. He had not yet learned the riches of his grace through Jesus Christ.

His bodily health gave way. "A wounded spirit who can bear." He wasted away. He became thin and pale. His eyes, which were peculiarly bright, looked wild with despair; and death seemed just at hand. In this state he was visited by an old priest. His name was Staupitz. He pitied the dying monk, and all the more so when he was told the cause of his suffering, for he had himself passed through the same conflict. But he had found the peace of Christ in his soul, and was therefore well fitted to give counsel to Luther.

"It is vain," said Luther to him, "that I make promises to God; sin is always too strong for me."

"Oh, my friend," said Staupitz, "I have often made vows myself, but I never could keep them; I now make no more vows; for if God will not be merciful to me for Christ's sake, I cannot stand before him with all my vows and works."

Luther made known to him all his fears. He spoke of God's justice, God's holiness, God's sovereign majesty. How could he stand before such a God?

"Why," said his aged friend, "do you distress yourself with these thoughts? Look to the wounds of Jesus, to the blood which he has shed for you; it is there that you will see the mercy of God. Cast yourself into the arms of the Saviour. Trust in him—in the righteousness of his life—in the atoning sacrifice of his death. Do not shrink away from him. God is not against you; it is only you who are averse from God. Listen to the Son of God. He became man to assure you of the divine favour."

Still Luther was dark. He thought he had not repented properly, and asked, "How can I dare believe in the favour of God, so long as there is in me no real conversion? I must be changed before he can receive me."

He is told that there can be no real conversion so long as a man fears God as a stern judge. "There is," said his friend, "no true repentance but that which begins in the love of God and righteousness. That which some fancy to be the end of repentance is only its beginning. If you wish to be really converted, do not try these penances. Love Him who has first loved you."

Luther listens and is glad. The day breaks,—new light pours in. "Yes," said he, "it is Jesus Christ that comforts me so wonderfully by these sweet and healing words." *In order to true repentance we must love God!* He had never heard this before. Taking this truth as his guide, he went to the Scriptures. He turned up all the passages which speak of repentance and conversion; and there two words which were formerly his terror, now become precious and sweet. The passages which used most to alarm him, now "seemed to run to me from all sides, to smile, to spring up and play around me. Formerly I tried to love God, but it was all force; and there was no word so bitter to me as that of repentance. Now there is none more pleasant. O how blessed are all God's precepts when we read them not in books only, but in the precious wounds of the Saviour." Thus he learned that we are not forgiven because we love God, but we love God because we are forgiven. We cannot repent, we can-

not love, till we have known and believed the love that God hath to us. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and gave his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.

Still Luther's darkness at times returned. His sins again went over his soul, and hid the face of God.

"Oh, my sin! my sin! my sin!" cried he, one day to his aged friend.

"What would you have?" said Staupitz. "Would you like if your sin was not real? Remember, if you have only the *appearance* of a sinner, you must be content with the mere *appearance* of a Saviour. But learn this, that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of those who are real and great sinners, and deserving of utter condemnation." "Look at the wounds of Christ," said he, on another occasion, "and you will see there shining clearly the purpose of God towards men. We cannot understand God out of Christ."

But Luther's peace sometimes gave way, and his fears returned. He was taken ill and brought down to the gates of death. Terror again took hold on him. Death seemed full of gloom. It was a fearful thing to meet a holy God! An old monk visited him in his sick-bed, and in him God gave him another comforter and guide. Sitting at his bedside he repeated this sentence of the creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." These words, thus simply and sweetly brought to mind, were like balm to the soul of Luther. "I believe," said he to himself, "the forgiveness of sins." "Ah, but," said the old man, "we are not merely to believe that there is forgiveness for David or Peter; the command of God is that we believe there is forgiveness for our own sin." Luther's spirit was revived. He found on this rock a sufficient resting-place, and his soul rejoiced in the forgiving love of God.

Thus his weary soul found rest. He was now like a vessel that has reached its haven. No storm can reach or harm it. He was like the dove in the clefts of the rock. He was like the man who had reached the city of refuge. He found himself safe and at rest. *Jehovah his righteousness* was his song, and his joy. It was what he saw in Christ that gave him hope and confidence toward God, and not what he saw in himself. It was what he knew of Christ and his righteousness, that took away all fear, and filled his soul with peace. He believed and was forgiven. Nor did he reckon it presumption to count himself a forgiven soul. He gloried and rejoiced in this. He counted it one of the most grievous of all sins to doubt it. He saw that the gospel was intended to bring us forgiveness, and to assure us of it. He saw that whenever we really believe the gospel, then that forgiveness is as completely and certainly ours as if we were already in heaven. This was the very life of Luther's soul. It was this that made him so bold in the cause of Christ, in all his future life. He was assured of the favour of God, and that took away all fear of men.

There was one text of Scripture which seems to have been greatly blessed to him. It was very frequently on his mind during his many struggles. It was the text which Paul quotes from Habakkuk, to prove that we are justified by faith alone, "the just shall live by faith." Once he was sent to Rome on some business, and he thought that good works done at Rome were better, and had more merit than those done anywhere else. He was told that if he would crawl up a very long stair, called Pilate's staircase, on

his bare knees, he would acquire a great stock of merit. With great earnestness he set himself to do this miserable penance. While he was crawling up the steps, he thought he heard a voice like thunder, saying aloud to him, "the just shall live by faith." Immediately he started from his knees, and stooped in the middle of the ascent. The words went to his soul like the voice of God reproving him for his folly. Filled with shame, he instantly left the place. He saw that it was not by his works that he was to save himself at all, far less by works such as these. "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but by his mercy he saved us."

At another time he was appointed to lecture on divinity. After explaining the Psalms, he came to the Epistle to the Romans. In studying this he took great delight. He used to sit in his quiet cell for many hours with the Bible open before him, meditating on that Epistle. The 17th verse of the first chapter fixed his eye, and filled his whole thoughts,—"The just shall live by faith." In this he saw that there was another life than that possessed by man in general, and that this life was the fruit of faith. In the midst of much darkness these simple words were "a lamp to his feet, and a light to his path." Clearer light soon dawned upon his soul, and through him the bright beams of the gospel shot forth upon the benighted nations of Europe. The conversion of Luther was the dawning of the Reformation.

3. THE ELECTOR'S DREAM. "Having gone to bed yester-evening, fatigued and depressed, I fell asleep soon after my prayer, and slept soundly for two hours and a half. Having then awoke, I had all sorts of thoughts thronging in my head till midnight. I mused about how I should like to keep the festival of all the saints; I prayed for the poor souls in purgatory, and besought God to conduct me, myself, my counsels, and my people, according to the truth. I again fell asleep; and then I dreamed that Almighty God sent me a monk who was the real son of the apostle St Paul. All the saints accompanied him, by an order from God, for the purpose of testifying before me in his favour, and declaring that he did not come to plot any deception, but that all he did was according to the will of God. They begged of me that I would be so good as graciously permit him to write something on the door of Wittemberg castle church, which I granted through the chancellor. Thereupon the monk went to the church door and began to write; he did so in letters of such size, that I could read what he wrote all the way from Schweinitz. The pen he used was so large that the end of it reached to Rome; it tickled the ear of a lion that was lying there; and shook the triple crown on the head of the Pope. All the cardinals and the princes ran up in haste and tried to keep it steady. Even I, and you too, brother, would have lent our aid; I stretched out my arm . . . but at that moment I awoke, with my arm held out, at once frightened and very angry with the monk for not being able to hold his pen better. . . . I recovered myself a little. . . . It was but a dream.

"I again shut my eyes and lay half asleep. The same dream returned. The lion, continuing to be annoyed by the pen, began to roar with all his might, so that all Rome, and all the states of the holy empire, ran to see what was the matter. The Pope besought them to oppose the monk, and addressed

himself chiefly to me, as he was in my territory. Again I awoke, repeated the Lord's prayer, besought God to preserve his holiness, and again fell asleep.

"I then dreamed that all the princes of the Empire, including ourselves, hastened to Rome, and one after another tried to break the pen; but the more we attempted this the stiffer it became; it rattled as if made of iron; at last we grew tired. I then made the monk be asked (for I was sometimes at Rome, sometimes at Wittenberg), where he got that pen, and how it was so strong. 'The pen,' he replied, 'belonged to an old Bohemian goose,' a hundred years old; I got it from one of my old schoolmasters. As for its strength, it is owing to this that no one can deprive it of its soul and marrow; I myself am astonished at it.' . . . All at once I heard a loud cry: from the monk's long pen a great many other pens had gone forth. . . . I awoke for the third time, and found it was day." . . .

4. LUTHER'S PRAYER BEFORE THE DIET AT WORMS. It was not to man that Luther looked for strength. "He who when assailed by the enemy, holds out the shield of faith," said he one day, "is like Perseus holding the Gorgon's head. Whoever looked upon it died. Thus ought we to present the Son of God to the snares of the devil." On that morning of the 17th of April, he had his moments of disquiet, in which the face of God was hidden from him. His faith failed; his foes were multiplying before him; this preyed upon his imagination. . . . His soul became like a ship driven about in a storm, labouring amid the billows, going down into the depths, and anon rising again towards heaven. In that hour of bitter grief, in which he drank of Christ's cup—that hour which was to him like the garden of Gethsemane, he cast himself on the ground and gave utterance to those cries interrupted by sobs, which none can understand but such as can represent to themselves the depth of that anguish from which they went up unto God. "Almighty, everlasting God! how terrible is this world! How it would open its jaws to devour me, and how weak is my trust in thee! . . . Oh but the flesh is weak and Satan is powerful! If my hopes are to repose in what is powerful in the eyes of the world, then it is all over with me! . . . The die is cast, the sentence is pronounced. . . . O God! O God! . . . O thou my God! . . . be helpful to me against all the wisdom of this world! Do thou it; it is for thee alone to do it . . . for the work is not mine, but thine. I have nothing to bring me here, I have no controversy to maintain, not I, with these great ones of the earth! I, too, would like that my days should glide along happily and calmly. But the cause is thine . . . and it is righteous and eternal! O Lord, be helpful to me! Thou that art faithful, thou that art unchangeable! It is not in any man that I trust! that were vain indeed! All that is in man gives way; all that comes from man faileth. O God, O God, . . . dost thou not hear me? . . . My God, art thou dead? . . . No, thou canst not die! Thou only hidest thyself. Thou hast chosen me for this work, I know it. . . . Well, then! be up and doing, O God! . . . Be thou upon my side, for the name of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ,

who is my defence, my shield, and my fortress." After a few moments of silent conflict, he continued thus: "Lord, where dost thou rest? . . . Oh my God, where art thou? . . . Come, come, I am ready? . . . I am ready to forsake life for thy truth . . . patient as a lamb. For it is a righteous cause and it is thine own! . . . I will not go away from thee, neither now, nor throughout eternity? . . . And although the world should be full of demons, although my body, which nevertheless is the work of thine hands, should be doomed to bite the dust, to be stretched upon the rack, cut into pieces . . . consumed to ashes . . . my soul is thine! Yea, for this I have the assurance of thy Word. My soul is thine. It will abide near thee throughout everlasting ages. . . . Amen! . . . O God, help thou me! . . . Amen!"

This prayer supplies a key to the understanding of Luther and the Reformation. Here history removes the veil from the sanctuary, and shows us the secret place where strength and courage were communicated to the humble and despised man who became God's instrument in giving freedom to the soul and thoughts of men, and in commencing a new era. Luther and the Reformation are here caught in the act. The secret of their power is laid bare. These utterances of a soul, while sacrificing itself in the cause of truth, are found in a collection of pieces relative to Luther's appearing at Worms, under Number XVI., in the midst of safe conducts and other such documents. Some one or other of his friends, no doubt, had overheard him, and preserved them for us. It constitutes one of the higher order of historical documents.

5. MYCONIUS' DREAM. In the life of Myconius, the friend of Luther, as given by Melchior Adam, we have the following beautiful and striking account of an event which proved the turning-point in his history, and led him to devote his energies to the cause of Christ. The first night that he entered the monastery, intending to become a monk, he dreamed;—and it seemed as if he was ranging a vast wilderness alone. Suddenly a guide appeared, and led him onwards to a most lovely vale, watered by a pleasant stream; but of that he was not permitted to taste;—then to a marble fountain of pure water. He tried to kneel and drink—when, lo, a crucified Saviour stood forth to view, from whose wounds gushed the copious stream. In a moment his guide flung him into the fountain. His mouth met the flowing wounds, and he drank most sweetly, never to thirst again! No sooner was he refreshed himself, than he was led away by his guide, to be taught what great things he was yet to do for the crucified One whose precious wounds had poured the living water into his soul. He came to a wide-stretching plain, covered with waving grain. His guide orders him to reap. He excuses himself by saying that he was wholly unskilled in such labour. "What you know not, you shall learn," was the reply. They came nearer, and saw a solitary reaper toiling at the sickle with such prodigious effort, as if he were determined to reap the whole field himself. The guide orders him to join this labourer, and seizing a sickle, showed him how to proceed. Again the guide led him to a hill. He surveys the vast plain beneath him, and wondering, asks how long it will take to reap such a field with so few labourers? "Before winter, the last sickle must be thrust in,"

1 John Huss. This circumstance may have been added afterwards, that there might be an allusion to what John Huss said.

replied his guide. "Proceed with all your might. The Lord of the harvest will send more reapers soon." Wearied with his labour, Myconius rested for a little. Again, the crucified One was at his side, wasted and inarred in form. The guide laid his hand on Myconius, saying, "You must be conformed to him." With these words the dreamer awoke. But he awoke to a life of zeal and love. He found the Saviour for his own soul, and he went forth to preach him to others. He took his place by the side of that noble reaper, Martin Luther. He was stimulated by his example, and toiled with him in the vast field, till labourers rose on every side, and the harvest was reaped before the winter came.

6. SCOTTISH REFORMATION MOVEMENT.—The book of Sir David Lindsay being printed, came privately to sundry men's hands, which, when they had read and considered, made them know the ignorance, wickedness, and profaneness that was amongst the clergy; for a craftsman in St Johnstoun¹ reading it diligently, taught his children to know the matter therein contained, and they taught their companions in the school, whereby it came to pass, that a friar teaching in that church on a Sabbath day in the time of Lent (as the use was then), he in the end of his sermon began to relate some miracles, and to inveigh against the new Hugenot preachers (as he called them, either from St Hugo's Lane in Paris, where many Protestants dwelt, or because in Tours, in France, the Protestants went out to their church in the fields at St Hugo's Port,) who then were beginning to teach God's truth in the fields, because they got not liberty to speak in the church, and people went out to them, and delighted much to hear God's truth spoken plainly: But when the friar was most vehement upon his invective, all the scholars of the grammar school, to the number of three hundred and above, gave out such an hissing and crying against the friar, that he in great fear ran out of the pulpit and went away. Before the next Sabbath, when another friar came to teach in that church, he, having been told what was done to his brother, complained to the magistrate that he was so used; whereupon the master of the school, Mr Andrew Simson (father to whom, Mr Patrick, minister at Stirling), was desired to try diligently who were the authors of that hissing, that they might be severely punished. The master, being at that time a zealous Papist, used all diligent search, and found that one of the scholars had that book penned by Sir David Lindsay, which was a book great enough then to have condemned him; but the youth being of a quick spirit, replied to the master, when he was going to punish him, that it was no heretical book, which he should let him see; then, after he had read it, if he found it an heretic's book, he should be content to be punished at his pleasure. This made the master desirous to read the book, but he, by the reading and understanding thereof, was fully persuaded that all therein contained was true; which made him declare to the council of the town, and to the friar who was to teach, that he could not get knowledge who made that hissing first in the church; yet he was persuaded, if they would leave off their invectives against their new preachers, the children would be quiet enough; which warning made the friar that preached to say, when he was concluding his sermon, "I will speak nothing against these new preachers, but I will speak against our-

selves: If we had done our duty in our calling faithfully, and made you, God's people, to know God's truth, as we should have done, these new teachers had not done as they do; for what shall poor silly sheep do that are confined in a fold where there is no meat, but break the dyke and go to their meat where they may have it? so we cannot find fault with you that are God's people to run and hear God's word taught you wherever ye can get it." Which speeches made the people glad, and confirmed the master of the school (who afterwards went to Dunbar, where he was both minister and schoolmaster, and wrote the Rudiments, *Quinn Literarum Consideratio*, which were called Dunbar's Rudiments), and all these that had any knowledge of the truth gratefully; so that by these means and the like, by the blessing of God, knowledge daily increased, and the few godly preachers that were in this kingdom were well loved, and taught God's word, sometimes in the fields, and sometimes in houses privately, and there also ministered the sacraments, by reason of the great persecution which then was, whereby the Lord made his gospel and truth to be more and more known, until the time of the Reformation, which began in the year of God 1558.

7. JOHN DURIE'S RETURN TO EDINBURGH. John Adamson, Alexander Udward, and John Wilkie, directed commissioners from Edinburgh, to understand the king's mind, if he would come to Edinburgh, and when, interceded for John Durie. They purchased licence to John Durie to return to Edinburgh. He preached before the king in Stirling, upon the Lord's day, the 2d of September. As he was coming from Leith to Edinburgh, upon Tuesday the 4th of September, there met him at the Gallow Green two hundred men of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. Their number still increased, till he came within the Nether Bow. There they began to sing the 124th Psalm, "Now Israel may say," &c., and sang in four parts, known to the most part of the people. They came up the street till they came to the Great Kirk, singing thus all the way, to the number of two thousand. They were much moved themselves, and so were all the beholders. The duke was astonished, and more affraid at that sight than at any thing that ever he had seen before in Scotland, and rave his beard for anger. After exhortation made in the reader's place, by Mr James Lawson, to thankfulness, and the singing of a Psalm, they dissolved with great joy.

8. JOHN DURIE'S DEATH. The last night of February thereafter, my father-in-law, John Durie, departed his life; who, as he lived happily, walking with God in prayer day and night, so he died, glorifying God with great joy, and assurance of everlasting life and welfare. For, after he had called for the Magistrates and Council of the borough, and exhorted them, and admonished of certain things for their welfare, both together and separately, and likewise the elders of his session, and divers of the brethren of the ministry; and at last, after he had put his house in order, and directed, instructed, and comforted his wife and children present, he betakes himself to private meditation and prayer; and thereafter inquired what day of the month it was; and being answered to him that it was the last of February and to-morrow the first of March, "O! then," said he, "the last day of my wretched pilgrimage, and to-morrow the first of my rest and glory! Not long thereafter, delivering his soul in the hands of God, through

¹ St Johnstoun was the ancient name for Perth.

Jesus Christ, leaning his head on his eldest son's breast, who held him in his arms, most quietly and sweetly gives up the ghost. He was upright, zealous, and extremely familiar with God; so that if any thing had been heavy and doubtful, he had no resolution, rest, nor relief, till he had found it in meditation apart with God. And surely, both in his particular turns and public affairs, when things seemed extremely hard and dangerous, however of nature melancholy and fearful, he would get great assurances; as, namely, of our return out of England, and of our safety from the Spaniards, he showed me often times that his God assured him night and day thereof. Whatever had come comfortable to him, incontinent apart to prayer and thanksgiving: his whole conference and speaking upon the works of God to the glory of his name; all other things was (as he used that word often, "tyntyme") but vanity and loss of time to him. So that I may say, the whole course of his life that I knew was an unwearying and constant occupation in doctrine, prayer, and praise. The more I think on him, the more I thank God that ever I knew him; praying God, that as I have seen the utterance of his conversation (as the Apostle says, Heb. xiii. 7), so I may follow the same in faith. He often regretted and inveighed upon the worldly fashions and business of the ministry, saying, he feared they should become all vile in the people's eyes as ever the priests were.

9. CITIZENS WATCHING FOR THE SAFETY OF THEIR MINISTERS. The council of Edinburgh took it very high, specially Henry Nesbit and James Adamson, that Mr James Lawson had said. The day before, there would be more to put the duke forth of the town, and let in the lords, than would be for the contrary. Some of the council said, they should dismiss their meeting; whereupon some of the best affected citizens watched, to the number of two or three hundred, in the back of the kirk, for the safety of their ministers. The provost and James Adamson, with threatenings, commanded them to go home to their houses; but they continued watching and singing Psalms all the night.

10. FRUITS OF JOHN KNOX'S MINISTRY. Mr Knox came to Scotland in the end of the harvest 1555. He lodged first in the house of that notable man of God, James Sim, where he began to exhort privately the Laird of Dun, David Forresse, Elizabeth Adamson, spouse to James Baron, burgess of Edinburgh, and some others repairing to him. Elizabeth Adamson heard Mr Knox with greediness, because she was troubled in conscience, and he opened more fully the fountain of God's mercies than did the friars or common sort of teachers which she heard before. At her death, however, she suffered grievous torments in her body, yet nothing was heard out of her mouth but praising of God. Being asked what she thought of that pain in the body, in respect of that wherewith sometime she was troubled in spirit, she answered, "A thousand years of this torment, and ten times more joined to it, are not to be compared to the quarter of an hour that I have suffered in my spirit. I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, that has delivered me from that fearful pain; and welcome be this, even so long as it pleaseth his godly majesty to exercise me therewith." A little before her departure, she desired those that were beside her to sing a Psalm. Among others she appointed the 103d Psalm. When it was ended, she said, "At the teaching of this Psalm

began my troubled soul first to taste effectually the mercy of God, which now to me is more sweet and precious than if all the kingdoms of the earth were given to me, to possess them a thousand years." The priests obtruded upon her their ceremonies and superstitions. She answered, "Depart from me, ye sergeants of Satan, for I have refused, and in your presence I do refuse, all your abominations. That which ye call your sacrament, and Christ's body, as you have deceived us, and made us believe in times past, was nothing but an idol, and hath nothing to do with the right institution of Jesus Christ; and, therefore, in God's name, I command you not to trouble me." They departed, alleging that she raved, and knew not what she said. She shortly after slept in the Lord, after a blessed departure.

11. DEATH OF THE EARL OF MORTON.—In the month of May he was brought to Edinburgh, and kept in Robert Gourlay's house, with a band of men of war: and the very days of his being put to trial and execution, I happened to be there in Edinburgh, and heard and saw the noblest example, both of God's judgment and mercy, that, to my knowledge, ever fell out in my time. For in that tolbooth, where oftentimes, during his government, he had wrested and thrown judgment, partly for gain, whereto he was given, and partly for particular favour, was his judgment overthrown; and he who, above any Scotsman, had most wealth, friendship, and clients, had none to speak a word for him that day, but the greatest part of his assizers being his known enemies, he was condemned to be beheaded on a scaffold; and that head, which was so witty in worldly affairs and policy, and had commanded with such authority and dignity within that town and judgment-seat, to be set up on a spike upon the highest stone of the gavel of the tolbooth, that is towards the public street. The which sentence, in my sight, was put in execution the following day.

But, in great mercy, when the Lord had stripped him naked and bare of all these things worldly, and of a cable made a twined thread to go in at the eye of that needle, he gave him, after unfeigned repentance, such faith and assurance of his favour in Christ, that he most magnanimously contemned insulting of enemies, bewailing of friends, all worldly dignity, riches and pleasures, and took him with his Christ, by death, to overcome and get the crown of life. The ministers were with him that night of his condemnation, and the morn before he was brought out; whom he satisfied very well, by justifying God, his word and ministry thereof, and acknowledging his sins; but no art or part of the King's father's murder wherefore he was condemned. John Durie and Mr John Davidson, whom he had hardly used, the one for his preaching, the other for his book against the four kirks, came to him, of whom he craved pardon, and who tarried with him, and was most moved for his ease. He kept the same countenance, gesture, and short sententious form of language upon the scaffold, which he used in his princely government. He spoke, led about and urged by the commanders at the four corners of the scaffold; but after that once he had very powerfully and gravely uttered, at good length, that which he had to speak, thereafter almost he altered nought these words: "It is for my sins that God has justly brought me to this place; for if I had served my God as truly as I did my king, I had not come here.

But as for that I am condemned by men, I am innocent, as God knows. Pray for me." All men and people of all ranks bewailed his death exceedingly, except only they who had particular hatred against him; for Popery durst not be heard of in his days of government, and the land never enjoyed greater peace and plenty. I could write much more of my hearing, seeing, and knowledge, anent this matter and the things that followed, if my purpose was to write the story of civil affairs in our time; but that not being the case, I content myself to have recorded the work of God which I saw with my eyes and heard with my ears; for the which I could not but at my returning to St Andrews glorify God, by rehearsal thereof in open audience from pulpit.

12. JAMES MELVILLE PREACHING IN BERWICK.—I tarried at Berwick about a month, and taught twice every week, whereby I got very great friendship, namely, of a most courteous and godly lady, my lady Widdrington, spouse to Sir Harry Widdrington, Knight, and Master-Governor of the town, under my Lord of Houndesdean, who defrayed me of all my charges during the time I was there, and offered me ten crowns of gold at my parting; but I had no need of them, and therefore refused them thankfully. I had also offered me, by divers good men and women of the town, but having of the beautiful liberality of my God enough brought with wife, I would not incur any likelihood of a mercenary nature; but truly I found such a faithful profession of true Christianity in Berwick, as I had never seen the like in Scotland.

CHAPTER V.

SOME INSTANCES OF THOSE IN ITALY, FRANCE, AND HOLLAND,
VIZ., 1. LAMBERT, FRANCIS.—2. MARTYR.—3. VERGEMUS.—
4. VIRETUS.—5. WALLAUS.—6. RIVET, ANDREW.

[1. LAMBERT, FRANCIS. He was born in 1487 at Avignon, in France. From his youth he was wrought upon by the Spirit of God, but, in his blindness, he thought to be religious by entering a monastery when he was only fifteen. He soon had his eyes opened to the hypocrisy of his fellow-monks.

During the period of his novitiate, the real state of the monastery was carefully concealed from him; but when he had professed and taken on the vows, they no longer used the same reserve or secrecy. Upon making the discovery, it is impossible (he tells us) to describe the grief and anguish of mind which he continued to feel; doomed as he was to live among men who vexed his soul with their unrighteous deeds, and then derided the concern which they had caused. Being appointed to the public ministry of the Word, as soon as they found that he preached in a way opposite to their wishes, they violently opposed him. "The people," says he, "heard the Word of God, and received it with avidity; but these, like deaf adders that stop their ears, refused to hear the word of the Highest." Yet such was his reputation, that after some years he was appointed Apostolical Preacher.¹ This, though a laborious office, as it was conscientiously and painfully discharged by him, was an unspeakable relief to him, as it gave him an opportunity of being frequently absent from the convent.

¹ An Apostolical Preacher in the Romish Church does not receive this title from the Apostolical or Papal See, but is so called, because he is appointed to go about like the apostles, and preach the Gospel every where.

After being fatigued with constant preaching during a number of months, he was accustomed to return to the monastery. "On such occasions," says he, "evil speeches, injuries, revilings, were my daily food." In the year 1518, while he preached in a certain city of France, the people were deeply impressed with his doctrine, and, as an evidence of their repentance, brought forth the pictures, charnels, and other instruments of superstition, by which they had been encouraged to continue in sin, that they might be committed to the flames. One of the preachers of Papal indulgences greatly opposed him; but he exposed so convincingly the wicked arts of this impostor, that the magistrates condemned and expelled him from the city.

Being persecuted, he fled into Switzerland, and from that to Germany. Afterwards, in 1524, he was called to Metz in France. The people of Metz received him with joy; the magistrates of the city were friendly to him; but the inquisitors and monks raged against him, excited an insurrection, and would have thrown him into prison, had not the senators interposed. He found himself obliged to leave Metz, and retired to Strasburg, where he encouraged the friends of the truth by his writings. Though disappointed of his expectations at Metz, he was not discouraged. The Word of God was not bound. After mentioning the martyrdom of John Castellan, who had been a preacher in that city, he says, "God fought with him against his enemies, and, in the place of one, has raised up a thousand. And if they shall also kill me, and Christ shall think me worthy of the glory of martyrdom, ten thousand shall rise up in my room."

Such was the fame of Lambert's piety and talents, that the Landgrave of Hesse sent for him to assist in promoting the reformation of religion within his dominions. He was present at a synod assembled by that prince at Homberg in 1526, drew up the propositions to be disputed, and was chosen to defend them in the Latin tongue, as Adam Crato did in the German, before an immense multitude of people, gathered from all parts of Hesse. Only two persons appeared to oppose them, who, immediately after the dispute, left the country. In 1527, he was made principal of the newly erected college at Marpurg, in which station he laboured with indefatigable industry until his death, forming the minds of many for the ministry, and diffusing the knowledge of the Scriptures by his writings.

In the year 1530, Lambert was seized with the plague, or, as some writers assert, with the English sweating sickness, which then raged at Marpurg, and died greatly regretted, as he had lived esteemed, both by the Saxon and Helvetian divines. He was, says Schoelhorn, "a man pious, learned, laborious, of the most ardent zeal for propagating the truth, and, while tossed from place to place by reverses of fortune, studying to do good to all by pen, lip, and life." And Wiseman, a celebrated Lutheran writer, gives him this character: "fervid, ingenious, intrepid, and ended with a deep sense of religion, as his acts and writing testify."¹

2. MARTYR. He was born at Vermile in Florence, in the year 1500. After he had given proof of his learning, diligence, and prudence, he was made governor of the college at Naples. In that city it pleased God, that he began to attain to more light

¹ See the Miscellaneous Writings of Dr Mc'Crie.

and knowledge of the truth; for by his study of the Scriptures, through the illumination of the holy Spirit, he began to take notice of the errors and abuses which were crept into the Church; whereupon (God inclining his heart thereto) he began to read some Protestant authors, and got Bucer's Commentaries upon the Evangelists, and his Annotations upon the Psalms; as also Zuinglius, *De vera et falsa religione*; and *De providentiâ Dei*, &c., by which, he confessed afterwards, that he profited very much. He daily also conferred with some friends who were addicted to the study of the reformed religion, to the mutual edification of both parties: the chief of these were Benedict Cusanus, his old friend: Anthony Flaminus, and John Valdesius, a noble Spaniard, who, after he had embraced the truth, spent his time in Italy, especially in Naples; where, by his life and doctrine, he had gained many to Christ, and amongst these, divers learned men and some of the nobility, as Galeacius Caracciolus, marquess of Vico, and the lady Isabella Mastricha, who was afterwards banished for the sake of the gospel.

A church being thus, by God's providence, gathered in Naples, Martyr joined himself to it, and being desirous to impart that light to others which God had revealed to him, he began to expound the first epistle to the Corinthians, and that with great fruit; for not only the fellows of his college resorted to it, but many bishops and noblemen. But when he came to the words of Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 13, 14,—“Every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire,” &c., and had interpreted them contrary to the received opinion, he stirred up many adversaries against himself: for it is commonly thought that these words imply a purgatory, whereas Martyr showed, out of the ancient fathers, that they could not be so understood. But such as were addicted to the Pope, and their bellies, could by no means endure this interpretation of his; knowing that if purgatory were overthrown, a great part of their profits by masses, and indulgences, would presently cease: whereupon they accused Martyr, and so far prevailed, that his lecture was put down; but Martyr refused to obey this sentence as unjust, and trusting to the goodness of his cause, appealed to the Pope, and at Rome, by the assistance of his friends he overcame his adversaries; for at that time he had there potent friends, such as Cardinal Gonzaga, Gaspar Contarene, Reinold Poole, Peter Bembus, and Frederick Fregosius, all learned men, and gracious with the Pope; who also acknowledged, that the church needed some reformation.

Not long after, in a public convention of the superiors of his order, he was made prior of a monastery at Luca. Some, out of love, preferred him to this place; others, thinking that it would be his ruin; for there was an ancient grudge between Florence and Luca: the latter, suspecting that the Florentines sought to enslave them. But Martyr, by his excellent learning and virtue, did so bind the hearts of those of Luca to him, that, contrary to the expectation of his adversaries, himself being a Florentine, was no less esteemed at Luca than if he had been born amongst them. Whereupon they earnestly desired the superiors of his order, that by no means he might be removed from them. Martyr thus continuing at Luca, had in his college many learned men, and many hopeful youths, amongst whom he settled such a discipline, as might most advance

holiness of life, religion, and learning. He took care also, that the younger sort should be instructed in the three languages: for which end, he had Paul Laciuius of Verona, to read Latin; Celsus of the noble family of the Martinengi to read Greek; and Immanuel Tremellius, to read Hebrew to them: and that the younger sort, together with the Greek, might suck in divinity, himself daily expounded Paul's epistles to them, and afterwards required them to read over the same; and every night before supper he publicly expounded one of David's psalms. Very many out of the city resorted to his lectures, of the nobility and senators. And that he might the better plant religion in that commonwealth, he preached to them every Sabbath. And what success his ministry had, may be discerned by this, that in one year's space, after his departure out of Italy eighteen fellows of that college left their places, and the papacy, betaking themselves to the reformed churches; amongst whom was Celsus, Martinengus, (afterwards pastor of the Italian Church in Geneva,) Zanchy, Tremellius, &c. Many of the citizens also of Luca, went into a voluntary exile, where they might enjoy the gospel with peace and safety. Afterwards Martyr went into England, the occasion of which was this; King Henry the Eighth being dead, and his son Edward the Sixth succeeding, by the advice of the protector Edward Duke of Somerset, and Cranmer, he abolished the Popish religion, and reformed the church according to the word of God; for which end he thought best (that a godly minister might proceed from the same) to reform the universities. And Martyr being at this time famous for his learning and skill in affairs, was judged most fit for this employment; whereupon Cranmer, by the command of the king, sent for him over; and in 1547, by the consent of the senate of Strasburg, he went into England, Bernardine Ochine accompanying him, who also was sent for by Cranmer.

At their arrival, Cranmer entertained them for a time in his house, using them with courtesy and humanity: and after a while, the king sent Martyr to Oxford, to be professor of divinity, where he first began to expound the first epistle to the Corinthians, because therein were many heads laid down which concerned the controversies of those times. He was much prized by the pious young king, highly esteemed by Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and all that loved the truth in the university. Cranmer made much use of him, and his advice about reforming the church, and settling the government of it; but when those bloody days came, under Queen Mary, wherein religion was eradicated, the Church laid waste, and holy men shut up in prisons, Martyr also was forbidden the exercise of his place; and commanded not to set a foot out of his own doors, nor to carry any thing hence: whereupon he presently wrote to his friends, showing what danger he was in, pleading the public faith given to him when he was sent for by King Edward the Sixth; and, by this means, leave being given him, he came from Oxford to London, repairing immediately to Cranmer, his entire and old friend: about which time a report was spread, that Cranmer wavered, and was ready to change his religion; which he hearing of, set forth a writing, wherein he professed himself ready to maintain the doctrine of religion which was authorized by King Edward, to be agreeable to the word of God, and the doctrine of the apostles; and herein he was encouraged by Martyr, whom Cranmer chose to join

with him in defending the same against all opposers; but this was denied, and Crammer sent to the Tower. Martyr was dismissed, and returned to Strasburg, and after some time embraced a call to Zurich, where, having worn out himself with his indefatigable labours, and having his spirits much exhausted with grief for the afflicted condition of the churches of France, he fell sick of a fever, made his will, and to his friends that visited him, he spake cheerfully and comfortably, telling them that his body was weak, but inwardly he enjoyed much peace and comfort. He made before them an excellent confession of his faith, concluding thus, "They that teach otherwise to the withdrawing men from God, God will destroy them." Then he gave them his hand, and bidd them farewell, and commending his soul to God, he slept in the Lord 1562.

2. VERGERIUS. He was long employed by the Pope, and in great favour with several princes; but, at last, he fell off from the Church of Rome by this strange providence: the Pope being to make some cardinals, intended to make Vergerius one; but some suggested, that he had been so long in Germany, that he smelt of a Lutheran, which made the Pope to alter his purpose. When Vergerius was informed of this by Cardinal Ginucius, to whom the Pope had told it, he was wonderfully astonished; and, that he might purge himself, went into his own country, purposing to write a book with this title, "Against the Apostate Germans." But it pleased God, that whilst he read over his adversaries books, with an intent to confute them, himself was converted by them; whereupon, casting off all desires of a cardinalship, he retired himself to his brother, John Baptista, bishop of Pola, and communicating his thoughts to him, asked his advice. His brother at first was much surprised, and bewailed his condition; but, after a while, was persuaded by him to read and study the Scriptures, especially in the point of justification by faith, whereby it pleased God that he also saw the Popish doctrines to be false, and so they both became zealous preachers of Christ to the people of Istria, diligently inculcating the wonderful benefits which we have by Christ, and showing what works they be that God requires of us, that hereby they might reduce the people to the pure worship of God.

In Padua, he was a spectator of the miserable condition of Francis Spira; which so wrought upon him, that he resolved to leave his country, and all his outward comforts, and go into voluntary exile into Rhetia, where he preached the Gospel sincerely, till he was called from thence to Tubing, by Christopher Duke of Wirtemberg, where he died in 1563.

3. VIRETUS. He was born in Switzerland, and there bestowed most of his labours. But he likewise assisted in the work of the reformation in France. He was very learned, of a sweet disposition, and so exceedingly eloquent, that he drew many to be his hearers who were no friends to religion; and they were so chained to his lips, that they never thought the time long wherein he preached, but always wished his sermon longer. At Lyons, which was the populous city, he preached in an open place, and turned some thousands to the truth and faith in Christ; yea, some that passed by, with no purpose to hear his sermon, yet did he so work upon them, that they neglected their other business to hearken to him. At that time France enjoyed those three excellent preachers, Calvin, Farell, and Viret. Calvin

was famous for his learning, Farell for his earnestness, and Viret for his eloquence. He died in 1571.

4. JUNIUS. He was born in France, of a noble family, in 1545. As he was reading over *Tully de legibus*, there came a certain man to him, using the words of the epicure, *Nil curare Deum, nec sui, nec alieni*; that God cared for nothing; and he so pressed it with such subtle arguments, that he prevailed with him to suck in that damnable principle, and so he gave up himself to vile pleasures for a year, and somewhat more. But the Lord suffered him not to continue longer therein; for, first in a tumult in Lyons, the Lord wonderfully delivered him from imminent death; so that he was compelled to acknowledge a Divine Providence therein: and his father hearing the dangerous ways that his son was misled, sent for him home, where he carefully and holily instructed him, and caused him to read over the New Testament, of which himself writes thus, *Novum Testamentum aperio, exhibet se mihi ad spectu primo augustissimum illud caput: in principio erat verbum, &c.* When I opened the New Testament, I first lighted upon that majestic place in John's first chapter, "In the beginning was the word," &c. I read part of the chapter and was suddenly convinced that the divinity of the argument, and the majesty and authority of the writing did exceedingly excel all the eloquence of human writings. My body trembled, my mind was astonished, and I was so affected all that day, that I knew not where nor what I was. "Thou wast mindful of me, O my God, according to the multitude of thy mercies, and calledst home thy lost sheep into thy fold!" And from that day forward he fervently bent himself to the study and practice of piety, to the great joy and comfort of his father. He died in 1602.

5. WALLAEUS.¹ He was born in Ghent 1573, and studied under Junius and Gomarus. The states of Zealand observing that their young students began to fall into some loose courses, made choice of Wallaeus for overseer of all those in Zealand, with a command, that all their youth should be wholly guided in their studies by him: whereby there was a great reformation, not one of a hundred proving wicked in his life. The East India Company also growing solicitous for the salvation of the poor Indians, and observing that they could get no ministers to go thither, but such as could get no place in the low countries, and which many times were either insufficient, or scandalous; they resolved, therefore, to erect a seminary, from whence, at their pleasure, they might draw forth pastors for these parts; for which end they consulted with the professors at Leyden, and observing that Wallaeus was more zealous than the rest in promoting it, they chose him to be overseer of that seminary. But he, judging himself unable to undergo so many offices, refused it; yet at the importunity of the curators of the University of Leyden, and by the persuasion of his colleagues, he was at last prevailed with, and undertook it: whereupon the students for India were brought into his family, where they were dieted, and directed in their studies. Besides their other studies, he caused them every day to construe to him a chapter out of the Hebrew Bible, and another out of the Greek Testament, whereby they became skilful in the languages, and familiarly acquainted with

¹ The life of Wallaeus in order of time, belongs rather to the seventeenth century, but this may be as proper a place for it in other respects.

the sacred Scriptures. Twice also in the week, he caused them to read and dispute of his Enochiridion of the reformed religion, and directed them in the making of their sermons; and the forwardest of them he directed how they might infuse the principles of the Christian religion into the Heathens, how they should instruct them, gather a Church, and govern the same. Out of this seminary, in a few years, were sent forth twelve ministers, famous for learning and piety; to whom India oweth almost all her knowledge which she hath in the reformed religion. He never hunted after the favour of great men, thereby to enrich himself: he only desired their favour so far as might be fit for him, and advantageous to the church. If any thing was spoken in his presence which he judged prejudicial to the Church, he always strongly opposed it, not fearing therein the displeasure of great men; and in the court, amongst the Prince of Orange's servants, he would not suffer the name of God to be taken in vain. He died in 1639.

[6. RIVET, ANDREW. He was born at St Maixant in France in 1579. He was much loved as a man, and much admired as one of the most learned theologians of his day. The most distinguishing trait of his character was certainly an indefatigable vigour of mind, a quality which remained to the end of his life, unbroken by age, and undiminished by labours, so great, that, to us in these degenerate times of literary exertion, they might be deemed overwhelming. To look at the three ponderous folios, each containing upwards of one thousand pages, which contain his Latin works, one cannot but be amazed at the intellectual powers which have left such a gigantic monument behind them. And our astonishment is not lessened when we learn, that these works were composed in a standing posture, for he never sat down when engaged in study. His bodily health bore pace with his mental vigour. He never used spectacles, nor put on a cloak even in the midst of winter. Temperate in his habits, and simple in his tastes, he possessed in a singular degree, that tranquil equanimity of mind, which is the best preservative of health and happiness. His strong faith enabled him to look down with contempt on "the things which are seen and temporal;" and no event, in public or in private life, however sad or unforeseen, could ruffle his temper, or even provoke his surprise. It was a common saying with him, "Nothing is impossible; I never wonder at anything." And yet this serenity of mind was far removed from stoical apathy of heart: no man could feel more deeply. Of this we have an affecting proof in his grief for the death of the young prince, whose education he had conducted; all his friends were struck with the alteration produced on his appearance. He attempted to rally his spirits, but, says Dauber, "His grief had struck its roots too deeply, and had touched the vitals; he struggled against it for a little, but carried a sorrowful and broken heart with him to the grave."

The following is an extract from a pretty long account of his dying hours, which has been preserved:—"When the day broke on Thursday, 'It shines,' said he; 'in a short time I shall not be able to distinguish between day and night. I approach to the last watch of the night which introduces the great and eternal day. I go to that place where the sun shall no more afford his light; but God shall be my eternal light.' In the evening he

felt extremely weak, and his speech failed. 'I am exhausted; I am going hence; succour me, O Lord, do not tarry.' But about midnight he recovered a little, and again addressed himself to his friends around him, mingling, as usual, prayers with his discourse.

"On Friday he was so exhausted and parched with thirst, not daring to drink, that it appeared as if every moment would be his last. Towards the evening the pains greatly increased, and the frequent returns of fainting admonished the attendants of approaching death. Yet even then his faith and patience grew stronger: 'Weep not for me,' said he, 'this last hour has no terror to me. My body, indeed, suffers, but my soul is soothed by His consolations, and I am satisfied to the full.' He then stretched out his finger to the boys, and spoke kindly to them. Having prevailed on them to go to an adjoining room and take some food, 'My meat,' said he, 'is to do the will of God, and finish my course.'

"At midnight he called his wife, and took a cheerful farewell. 'I go to my father and your father. All shall be well. Amen, amen. Farewell, my son; farewell, my son; farewell, dearest niece; fear not, I have prayed for you. I am ready. Come Lord; I pant, I hope, I knock. Open, open, Lord, to thy poor afflicted servant.' After this he was not able to speak, except a few words. At eight o'clock in the morning of Saturday the 7th of January, the change of his countenance and convulsive fits which he underwent, gave warning of a speedy dissolution. His friends, who were around his bed, continued, according to his former request, to suggest consolatory passages of Scripture, and to put up short petitions for him, to which he answered by a single word, expressive of his confidence and hope. 'O great God! send thy Spirit of consolation into his heart.'—'*He is come,*' answered he. 'Let him take the whole armour of God.'—'*I have it.*' 'Give him the crown of righteousness'—'*He will.*' After a short prayer, during which he remained with his eyes fixed, and his hands lifted up, one of the company said, 'I think he is now rejoicing in the vision of God;' to which he attempted to answer, '*Oui*'—yes, and almost at the same moment gently expired. He died in the 79th year of his age."¹

CHAPTER VI.

REMARKS UPON THE REFORMATION.—THE SUCCESS WITH WHICH IT WENT ON.—HUMAN POWER AND POLICY COULD NOT OVERTHROW IT.—MANY GAVE A REMARKABLE TESTIMONY TO IT ON THEIR DEATHBEDS, GOING OFF WITH TRIUMPHANT JOY AND FORETASTES OF HEAVEN.

From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures. Part III.

THUS these blessed instruments of the Reformation, by pureness, by long-suffering, by the word of truth, by the armour of God on the right hand and on the left, did oppose themselves to the adverse party; thence were those famous meetings for public disputation, which are recorded at large in the late histories of the church, where the truth did so convincingly justify itself with that prevalence and autho-

¹ Dr Mcrie's Miscellaneous Writings.

city on the consciences of men, not only to break the adversaries confidence and force the weapons out of their hands, but to enforce an open confession of many; yea, to a public reformation also by the magistrates in most considerable cities, and this without tumult or blood. As, 1. At Zurich in 1525, set down at length by Hottinger in his Ecclesiastical History, with that marvellous change that then followed in abolishing the mass, idolatrous images, and setting up the true worship of God. 2. At Baden in 1526, whereon followed such a public reformation through that country, that abbacies and monasteries were given up, and their revenues applied to colleges, and such public uses. 3. At Bern, December 17, 1527, where the senate and most of the neighbouring clergy were present, was that solemn public appearance for the truth by dispute, whereon followed (after by the preached Gospel, for sometime the truth had been getting ground in the consciences of many) such a total abolition of Popery, and setting forward an effectual reformation, as the day and year was by public order set in golden letters upon a pillar. 4. That memorable and solemn meeting at Geneva, May 30, 1534, where Farellus and Viret, with some others of the Protestant Church there, on the one side, and some of the most learned of the Popish doctors on the other, did in that great confluence meet; where, after much serious dispute and conference, such was the blessed power and authority of the truth upon the consciences of men, as not only tended to a more solemn and universal reformation through that city (with an inscription of the year and day, by a public decree, upon a plate of brass) but, which was most remarkable, those adversaries themselves, who most opposed in the dispute, particularly Chappusius, a learned Dominican, and others, were so overcome, that by a rare example of candour and ingenuity, they made public confession of the truth. This may be read at length in that excellent discourse of Spanhemius, called *Geneva Restituta*, and several other writers.

II. That hath been with the utmost evidence made clear (and a truth of singular use it is for the Church's support) that no human power or force could ever yet undo that blessed interest of the reformed religion, though put forth to the utmost against the same, but that it hath still in these late times gained more ground by the most formidable assaults and opposition, than by the greatest claims. About which I shall here offer a few particulars to be considered:—1. What a remarkable issue all the councils, expense, and cruelty of Philip the Second of Spain had, to bear down the rising of the Gospel in the Netherlands, which at last, by the marvellous appearance of God for his Church there, did most effectually tend to the establishment of the United Provinces; and as was then observable, the rise and onward flourish of that Commonwealth, and their owning the interest of God did most visibly go together. 2. How immediate the appearance of God was for counteracting that formidable and united confederacy of the Catholic League in France at that time in the conviction of the world, and how all their essays and councils did at last resolve in their own ruin. 3. I shall here give Erasmus's observation upon this, in one of his epistles, "At Brussels two suffered for the reformed religion; would you know," says he, "the effect thereof? That city which had been most free of those, found quickly such to spread amongst them most discernibly; yea,

what shall I say, both here, and in Holland, and every where, where violence is once exercised against those of the reformed religion, it tends but to their further increase." To which I would add some words of Farellus in a letter to Zuinglius in the year 1525, which are indeed weighty. *Si unquam sese obtulit lætitiæ et gaudii ratio propter persecutiones, ejectiones ob Christum, nunc quam maxime: nam quid quaeso intentatum relinquunt impij? scire velim vel unam rimulam superesse, qua pios aggredi possunt, quam non sunt perscrutati? verum si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?* that is, "Never was there more true cause of joy and gladness than now under the saddest sufferings for Christ, for what hath the adversary left untried? is there the least chink accessible, by which they might trouble and assault any of the saints in this time, which they have not narrowly searched? but if the Lord be for us, who can be against us?" 4. I shall but further mention for this some words of the famous historian Thuanus, in his dedication of his history to Henry the Fourth, "We are sufficiently taught by experience, that neither sword, fire, nor banishment, can in the least be effectual against the reformed religion, but tends more to put it forward. In this very kingdom we see the more they are pursued, the more their number and authority increases, and rather seems to lose ground when they have most outward peace."

III. The Lord hath so appeared in these late ages of the Church, that there is hardly any kingdom, or place, where Popery hath this day its power and advantage, but there also hath the truth had an eminent triumph, and a public witness given to it, sealed with the blood of the saints. Witness the account the Church Martyrologies give of the sore persecutions in Spain, where, at one time, in Seville, eight hundred Christians were under inquisition for the truth, and twenty burned in one fire, with a peculiar relation both of the torment and constancy of such, in many notable instances; as that of Julian, who had been most instrumental to get many Bibles (that were printed in Germany, in the Spanish language) both conveyed to, and spread through Spain; but being taken at last, was thrown into prison, where he lay three years, for the most part laden with fetters; yet neither pain, threatenings, nor extremity of the rack, did in the least cause him to faint; but when he returned from the rack, he would say to his fellow-sufferers, "they depart vanquished, and fly with shame;" and at his death, with a cheerful countenance, he exhorted those that were to suffer with him, to be of good comfort, "since now was the hour for them to witness for God, and his truth, before men; and, within a few hours, we shall have him to witness for us, and triumph with him for ever." Likewise Pontius, a learned and pious man, who with great resolution suffered for the truth there. And that excellent young man, called Ferdinando, a member of the congregation at Seville, who endured the torments of the rack so cheerfully, though in that manner shaken, that he could not go, but was dragged into the prison, and after to the fire. Besides many others, divers women, some of them of great quality, who sealed the truth there with their blood. Also, what a conspicuous victory did the truth obtain in Italy, by means of those famous witnesses, who suffered there, both in Ferrara and Venice, amongst whom was Anthony Ricetto, to whom the Venetian senators offered to free his estate of the mortgage it was under, besides his liberty, if he

would retract his confession; but he refused. Francis Segna and Spinola, also persons of note there, who resisted unto death for the truth. Yea, at Rome itself, besides others, we have these notable instances: one, of that rare gentleman Algerius, who some time lived at Padua, whose relation, given by himself, of the inexpressible comforts and joys he had in prison, is at large set down in our Martyrologies. He was carried at last to Rome, where, after many assaults and persuasions to recoil, he most steadfastly received death, and was burned. Also Johannes Mollius, an eminent preacher of the Word, whose public confession, and appearance for the truth, was at last sealed with his blood in the same place. I shall but add that passage, further, of Bartholomew Fontius, who was called from Venice to Rome, upon the Pope's public faith, given for his safety. But, after his resolute adherence to the truth there, and confession thereof, was most cruelly put to death, in the year 1538, as that account, given in a letter to Bullinger, doth at more length show; as also, that, after his death, there were many even at Rome, remarkably stirred up to appear for the truth.

IV. That swift progress and conquest, which the truth then had in that great day of the Gospel's triumph, and what interest it got for the fixing of those famous plantations of the Church through much of Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, the Low Countries, with Britain and Ireland, in less than forty years; in which these things are observable. 1. How the truth of the Gospel then came not in word only, but in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance, 1 Thess. i. 5, assurance of faith and understanding of the truth, and with that seal of the greatest enlargement of joy and comfort; so as the receiving of the word in much affliction was with joy of the Holy Ghost, verse 6. 2. That in this blessed way of the reformed religion, now owned and professed, the Church did receive the Spirit, and so innumerable a company in these last ages were sealed thereby, which is that undoubted seal and attestation from the Lord, of his own truth and doctrine, so expressly promised to his church under the New Testament. 3. That this high spring-tide of the power and efficacy of the word, was after so sad and visible a restraint for many ages, while antichristian darkness had overspread the visible church; and what of the work of the Spirit was then known, was like a private seal on the hearts of the godly, in those times of sackcloth and latent condition in the wilderness; not in any such way, as a public confirmatory witness to the truth, and with that evidence and demonstration of the Holy Ghost, before the world, as hath been now since the reformation. After this blessed day once began to dawn, that the Lord did so visibly rent the heavens, and caused the mountains flow down at his presence, with so solemn a down-pouring of the Spirit following the Gospel, as there could be no standing before it, but cities and nations were subjected to so marvellous a power, to the embracing of the truth. 4. That this great work of God was not for a short time, but for many years. Wherever the truth came, it did most discernibly accompany the same, not only to affect and convince, by some transient flash upon the spirits of men, but to that solid and effectual change, as visibly transformed them into that blessed image of Christ, by the Spirit of holiness, so as it was given, both to believe, and suffer for his name.

V. Besides that which hath been shewn, of those great confirmations given to the Protestant cause and doctrine of the reformed churches, in these latter times, yea, thus also, to the truth of Christianity, it being sure the Protestant religion is nothing else but this; it may be further strengthening, and a sweet remark, in this sad and shaking time, to consider with what brightness and lustre so many have gone off the stage, of such as have been most serious and fervent in the reformed religion in these after times, since that great fury and persecution from antichrist hath been restrained; whose inexpressible peace and joy with some extraordinary glances of that blessed estate they were entering into, could not be hid even from the more careless sort of spectators, where the following things are observable.

1. That complacency and joy their souls had in the truth they had professed, and their finding the witness of their conscience, and the approbation of God herein so sweet a feast, whilst they were turning their face to the wall, so that it might be seen that their inward joy and peace did thus far exceed their outward pain, and was more sensible to them than their sickness. 2. That surely the ground on which such a confidence and serenity of spirit was founded, must be something above nature, and such as was able to bear out under the greatest storm and assault, as all might see, here could be no shew or counterfeit. 3. That thus even here, a more near and sensible correspondence with heaven is known to some, than most seem to be aware of; yea, such as (except men shut their eyes) it might be easy to discern, how these when dying have had the veil in an extraordinary manner drawn by, and been admitted to some sight of that which themselves could not possibly express, and to know something of an actual possession, and those foretastes of the glory they were entering into, more than can be conceived at a distance. 4. How discernibly this abundant entrance, and fullness of peace, enjoyed in the dying hours of the saints hath followed their close adherence to the way of the Lord, and the Protestant doctrine now under such reproach. It is true, that not in a like manner is the Lord's dealing with the choicest of his people, but such who have shined brightly in their day, may go off the stage silent and with little appearance. I have known some, of whom I write this with the greatest certainty, how their continued walk and practice did speak to all, the truth of serious godliness, the blessed finishing of whose course hath had some discernible restraint as to any such appearance, whilst the Lord's condescending with such a visible gale of sense, and triumphing joy to others in the close of their life, may be understood more with respect to some public use, than for themselves, as a dying testimony and zeal of the saints to the truth. And I hope it may be for advantage and edification to set down here some special and weighty instances to commend the blessed way of the Lord, and for confirming others therein; whose last testament and dying breath (whilst their words are of more weight than at other times), did solemnly witness to his truth and faithfulness, by putting their seal thereto; yea, such instances as the world may see, and have the conviction hereof enforced by this short touch, what is that blessed fruit and gain, which follows upon serious godliness, when once it comes to an acting the last scene of death; what another appearance these have; and that here must be some-

thing above nature; yea, what rare endowments and parts these had, as well as piety, who, with such sweet and pleasant fragrancy, have their remembrance thus transmitted, that we may see also what choice and excellent persons have followed, and been brought forth since the reformation from Popery, of such various degrees and employments, bearing one and the same witness to the truth.

VI. The first instance I shall set down is of JOACHIMUS CURÆUS, a German physician, who died in the year 1573, a man of singular piety, and of great learning also. He had his days shortened by a burning fever, in which, as in the whole of his former life, did appear the subjectiveness of his soul to the Divine will, yet with most fervent breathings of love towards Christ; and, as 'tis usually found, there was a most sweet concord betwixt his death and his former walk and practice. Amongst many remarkable speeches he then had, which are at length recorded by Melchior Adams, I shall here mention the following: "I am oppressed, Lord; but to me it is enough that thy hand hath done it; my body now suffers because of sin, but my soul is raised and comforted with the assurance of eternal life; I will wrestle with Jacob until the brightness of thy light appear to me. Come, Lord Jesus, and let all that love thee, say, 'Come, and he that loves thee not, let him be Anathema Marautha. Thou knowest, who searchest the heart, I love thee; with thee I shall be at the beginning of this new year, and shall be satisfied with thy sight, and drink of the wine of that everlasting joy in thy Father's house, where are many mansions, and one also is for me there.' And then had these words, which I choose rather to set down in the Latin, having such a sweet emphasis in that language, *Jam meum pectus ardet conspectu vite æternæ, cuius vere sentio, in me, initia.* That is, "My breast burns now at the sight of eternal life, the beginnings of which I do really feel within me." "I have learned to know thee, and with some aim to have others know thee aright; Son of God, acknowledge me also, and take me into thy embraces. To come to thee, my soul, with desire, leaps for joy; and because it is yet withheld, I think the time long; I desire to be dissolved. O, dissolve me, that I may be with thee; I am overwearied here; I groan for that dwelling above, which thou hast revealed to me: as the travelling man in a dark night looks for the sun, so do I earnestly look after the brightness of that light which is in the sight of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Now, when my breath and spirits are to fail, let, O blessed Saviour, thy Spirit speak and intercede in my soul for me with unutterable groans! I shall see my Saviour in the flesh, who is exalted at the right hand of the Father, and there bless him for all the blessings I have had from him. Thou wilt also put a guard to this body, even thy holy angels, to keep my dust and bones, which were, and shall be for ever, the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost; for it is impossible this flesh and mass of my body, which hath been quickened by the outletting and communion of the Spirit, and thus ingrafted into the body of Christ, can be annihilate, or be for ever continued in the state of death, as a dead mass; but Thou, the fountain of life, shalt require from the earth this thine own image, even out of the smallest crumbs and atoms that are there; and, by sending forth thy Spirit again, thou wilt build this up as a glorious and living body, that it may be for a dwelling to

thy Spirit to dwell in for ever. There we shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth. O, *pulchrum Duce[m] et Divinum!* 'O, Glorious Divine Leader!' There we shall sing a new song. Let us rejoice, Hallelujah! O, come, let us go forth to meet our Redeemer! Our conversation is in Heaven; even in this life we must begin to know an eternal life, and follow in that order Christ hath appointed. We shall be clothed upon, and not found naked; and he who is the beloved Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, shall lead us to the fountains of living water, and wipe all tears from our eyes. What the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, nor hath entered into the hearts of men, is prepared for the lovers of God. This earthly life is but death; but that is life, indeed, which Christ hath begun in my soul; and now, I live, not I, but Christ liveth in me; therefore, I will praise him. O, blessed soul, where Jesus Christ hath his seat, who doth lead and rule in all our motions and actions. I see the heavens now open. 'Now, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' Thou Jesus Christ art my resurrection and life. How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Redeemer! Keep my soul, that it suffer not hurt from that horrible dragon the devil! Let it be bound up in the bundle of the living, and my journey be to those who now live an immortal and heavenly life.'" Thus is there in part a touch of the breathings of that blessed man before his close, which the witnesses thereof show was but some part of what he expressed, and this with greatest candour and fervency. And said again, a little before his death, "I die in the Lord, who is my life, and, in acknowledgment, faith and recumbency on Jesus Christ. O, sweet glory and desirable righteousness! O, pleasant change and translation from sin into a state of holiness, from darkness into light, and from death into life!" Many choice and faithful witnesses then present, declared that they were exceedingly comforted by him, but needed not comfort him, in whom so singular a desire and breathing towards eternal life, with such establishment in the faith, was discernible to all; and thus, at the close, he was heard to say, "Now I die, and have got admission, as with old Simeon; I die witnessing to the truth of the prophets and apostles, and adhering to the Augustine Confession, blessing the Lord, that, in his marvellous goodness, made the light of the Gospel to shine after such darkness."

2. SEBALDUS MUNSTERUS, one excellently versed in the laws, who made it his study to have his knowledge therein subservient to the public good, and making peace amongst others, not his own private interest. At his death he showed much patience; being seized on by the plague, and a few hours before his close, showing to some friends about him these dreadful marks of the disease, that were broke forth in his hands and legs, he said to them, "O, what precious marks are those which Christ hath put upon me, and how pleasing are they? Do not loathe at such a sight; for I am now putting on my wedding apparel, and I am going to enjoy that heavenly feast with Christ for ever, yea, even in this sad dress, I fit to that glorious assembly of the spirits of the just above." Thus, as it were, triumphing, and full of joy, he left the world, when he had got a clear sight of that which was before him. He died at Wittenberg, about the year 1540.

3. FRANCISCUS BURGARDUS, a German lawyer, a fervent Protestant, most dear to Luther and Me-

lancton, both for his singular learning and piety, of whom that account is given, that his family did represent both a church and academy, so as it may be questioned, whether serious piety, or knowledge and prudence, did most shine forth? Upon occasion of the complaints of some, what hazard then seemed to attend the truth, he was often heard to say, that he would much rather choose death, and the greatest suffering, than in the smallest point recede from that Gospel, about which he was persuaded in his heart. At his death he thus also expressed himself, when his sickness was very sore: "I esteem the afflictions of this present time not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed; and though I shall now walk in the valley of the shadow of death, I will not fear, since thou art with me, whose rod and staff have comforted me." And, with the highest assurance of eternal blessedness, did thus part with time at Wittenberg in 1560.

4. JOANNES CLOTZIUS, counsellor of law to the Landgrave of Hesse, and after by him made his chancellor, though with great aversion thereto, as reckoning that the greater dignity had the greater weight of cares following it. One seriously godly in his life, at death had these expressions: "The whole of my life is placed in God. O let thy servant depart in peace! Thou art my sure anchor, my salvation, and only refuge to me! Now the honours of the world, and all momentary things, yea, this life itself is distasteful, in respect of those eternal joys, and that kingdom above, for which I breathe, and with joyful mind hasten, even there where those many mansions are." And thus most comfortably rendered his spirit to the Lord.

5. JOACHIMUS BERGERUS, a famous lawyer and counsellor to the emperor Maximilian, by whom he was sometimes sent in embassy to other princes, whom Melancton did so much admire, as he expressed his fervent desires, that the Lord would preserve such an instrument for his Church; of whom that account is given. His religion was a soul-work and business to him; nor did he satisfy himself with a form of duty, but oft might be seen pouring out his heart unto God in prayer, with many tears, in his family; a rare instance in one of such throng of public employments. He was much in converse with the Scriptures, not to know them only for light, but to conform himself to them as the rule. He used to have these words frequently to others, "That one's time should be much employed, either in speaking with God by prayer, or in hearing him speak to us, by reading and meditation." A few weeks before his death, he declared that, besides some desire to renounce the world, he designed to die a capital enemy, above all things, to that sin of pride. And whilst on his death-bed, he looked out for his change with the greatest assurance, using the words of Job, "I will wait till my change come," as one who seemed to have no more to do but to die, having been so serious in making ready for it in his former life. This account is given of his words, "I though I be most weak and destitute of outward help, I am one of the sheep of Christ, whom Satan, by all his power, shall never be able to pluck out of his hand, and I am sure that no created thing can ever be able to pluck me out of his hands, and that nothing can ever be able to separate me from the love of Christ." That word was most comforting to him, "He is my life and the length of my days," Deut. xxx. 20. And

thereafter he said, "Farewell, farewell all earthly things, and welcome Heaven. Let none hereafter make mention of the things of this world to me." And to some of his friends who were with him he did seriously witness, that, through the blessing of God, he never was more firmly persuaded of the truth, nor had ever found the Spirit of the Lord bearing a more full and comforting testimony to his soul for his adherence to the truth than at that present time, so as now he found it easy, and was in ease, if he were called thereto, to lay down his life as a martyr upon that account, which was not easy to him before; and he witnessed his inward joy and sense of the Lord's tenderness to him at such a time, to dismiss him out of this prison, when so dreadful things seemed to threaten the country and place he lived in. Thus died that excellent man, leaving a sweet savour behind to all who knew him, in 1602.

6. FREDERICUS TAUBMANNUS, born in 1565, was a man of great learning and piety. He was much exercised for confirming himself in the way of God, not only in the public hearing of the word, but in those more secret duties, reading, meditation, and fervent prayer. When he had a view of his approaching death, he said to his friends, "This I do not fear; let my God call when he will, I desire to obey; I know he will never forsake me." And under his sickness, when his disease began to increase, to some who were exhorting him to patience, he said, "God is faithful, whom I have before now tried, and at this hour have no cause to bring his truth into question. Let his blessed will concerning me take place." In the evening before his death, being asked what he was doing, he answered, "I lie here, I am wrestling with my Lord Jesus Christ after Jacob's example, and resolve not to let him go till he give the blessing."

7. MATTHIAS VESSENBECCHIUS, famous for knowledge of the laws, which was his profession; a fervent Protestant, and remarkably called to the knowledge of the truth, when he studied at the University of Louvain, by being a witness to the sufferings of a poor godly man in that place for the truth, which put him after to a serious search of the Scriptures; had a marvellous delight to read much of the Psalms and the New Testament. He was a great opposer of the litigious wranglings of the law, and zealous to have truth and righteousness in that employment promoted. At his death he did witness much peace and comfort, having oft in his mouth these words of the Apostle, 2d Cor. i. 22.—"Who hath confirmed us, and given us the seal of the Spirit." And that in Rom. vii. 24.—"O wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from this body of death?" adding the following words as his confidence, "that this was ensured through Jesus Christ." He said also to those that were present, with great assurance, that now the Lord had given him a sight of that eternal joy in which he would be quickly, which was his greatest longing to have it hastened. And with his last breathing almost, had these words: "He was within the covenant with Jesus Christ." He died in 1556, professor of the law at Wittenberg.

8. JACOBUS ZUNIGERUS, a professor of medicine at Basil, an ornament to the University and to his profession, as a physician. He had a very Christian behaviour. He was plucked away in the time of a great pestilence, which was at Basil, whilst he made it his work to be useful at that time

to others. The first touch of his disease was quickly discerned by him, and that his change would quickly follow upon it, so that his business was wholly about his inward state; and as one panting after a better life, had once and again these words to his friends: "I rejoice, yea, my spirit leaps within me for joy, that now the time is at last come, when I shall see the glorious God face to face, whose glory, with wondering, I have oft got some glance of here, in the search of natural things, whom I have worshipped, whom I have by faith longed after, and after whom my soul hath panted." And whilst his pain through the malignity of the disease was very grievous, he did express the greatest patience and composure of spirit having these words of Job in his mouth: "Though he should kill me, I will trust in him." And did often groan forth his desire, that Jesus Christ would come and hasten his escape, so as all who looked on might see him both dying and overcoming at once. He died in 1610.

9. *OLYMPIA FULVIA MORATA*, an Italian born at Ferrara, and bred at the court there with the young princess, who was the duke's daughter, of a singular genius for learning, besides her other excellent endowments, so as she could both write and speak most elegant Latin and Greek in her very young years; but by reason of her education, and the place of her abode, she was at that time wholly Popish. At last she was bereft of her father, (who had a public charge under the duke there,) with some visible withdrawing of that wonted respect she had in that court, which was ordered in the blessed providence of God for her good. For this, with her excellent character, did occasion a learned German physician then at Ferrara, a serious Protestant, to propose marriage to her, which she accepted of, and left her country to go along with her husband, who within a little returned to Germany, where she gave herself most to the study of the Scriptures, to which she was wholly a stranger before, and had accounted it hazardous to converse with them. Afterwards, in the short time of her life, the Lord broke in upon her with the light and knowledge of the truth; and it was not only the Protestant religion she embraced, but with the greatest eagerness followed the power and truth thereof: so as her only delight and comfort was in converse with divine things. In a letter to that young princess, with whom she was bred at Ferrara, which, among other things she had writ, was after her death published, she hath these words: "So soon as by the singular goodness of the Lord to me, I had got out from the idolatry of my own country, and gone with my husband to Germany, it may seem incredible to you what a change the Lord then made upon my spirit; that the former aversion I had to read the Scripture, from which I had kept at so great a distance, was there turned to have this my greatest delight and pleasure in the world, and now my soul is most taken up therewith: and there I may say is my only comfort and pleasure, about which my study, work, and care I have placed; so as the world, the pleasure, and delights therein, which once I was wont to admire, and was too much taken with, are now become wholly contemptible to me."

That short time of her abode with her husband in Germany, before her death, was almost a continued conflict with renewed trials they met with in their private lot, being tossed from several places, by reason of the wars, her husband taken by some Popish soldiers, and in much hazard of his life, which

was one of the sharpest conflicts she had in her time, upon any outward account; there being very great love betwixt them; so as for a little she was almost crushed. But the Lord who heard her groans, by a remarkable providence, returned him safe. Thus did he graciously try, and exercise this choice person, so early after her being enlightened, with the cross; yea, and thus further, to gain her soul to himself, that her fervency in following the Lord, was no less remarkable, than these tossings of her life were. But at last a blessed period comes to all; having settled with her husband at Heidelberg, where they had some lucid and comfortable interval, she falls into sickness, which in a few days brought her to the grave, but with greatest advantage in her inward state, as is set down by her husband under his own hand, who saith, "She, with greatest desire, longed for her departure, and witnessed her comfort and joy herein, that now the time was come, to enjoy that blessedness which is above." Nothing she could worse bear, than to hear of any presages of her recovery, and said to her friends: "The Lord hath been pleased to give me a short course, but full of tossings and trouble, and now I can no more desire to return again, when so near the port." She was asked by some, if there was any hesitation in her soul about her state, and what peace she had about that, to whom she answered thus: "For these seven years past, which was since the time of my being engaged to the Lord, in embracing the truth, I had seldom any cessation from some assault or other, of the devil, to shake my faith, and weaken my hands; but now, as if he had lost all his darts, he appears no more this way; nor feel I in my soul any thing but inexpressible tranquillity, and peace with God through Jesus Christ." Nor did she doubt in the least to call herself one of the children of God. And a little before her death, having awaked out of sleep, she seemed to her husband to look in an extraordinary manner, with a cheerful countenance, which made him ask the cause; to whom she said, "I have now got a sight in my rest, of a most excellent and pleasant place, shining with an unexpressible light and brightness." But her weakness was such, as she could get no more at present spoken. Her husband being much affected, told her she had indeed cause of cheerfulness, since it was sure she should now, within a little space, dwell in that pleasant and desirable place, of which she had got such a sight. To whom, with a most sweet and comfortable smile, she could only say, "*Totu sum laeta*, I am all joy; but now I know you no more." Thus did that sweet soul render up her spirit, who had through most of her sickness oft these words: "That her sole desire was to be dissolved and to be with Christ, and so far as her weakness could permit, did express to others, her sense of the goodness of the Lord, in bringing her from her own country, his enlightning her with the knowledge of his truth, and that he had taken her heart off the world, and from all the pleasures and delights of it, and wrought in her so ardent a desire after eternal life, about which she had then no fear." These were but a few words as her husband relates of what at that time she expressed to the comfort and wondering of all about her. She died at Heidelberg in the year 1555, in the twenty-ninth year of her age. This instance, not only is at large set down by Melchior Adams, having the account thereof from her own husband, as he had writ it after her death, but I find the same particularly mentioned by Veotius.

BOOK III.

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

LABOURS AND SUCCESS OF MINISTERS IN ENGLAND.—PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN WALES.—AWAKENING IN LONDON, 1665.—LABOURS AND SUCCESS OF MINISTERS IN SCOTLAND.—RELIGIOUS CONCERN AT THE KIRK OF SHOTS.—IN STEWARTOWN.—IN IRELAND.—FLOURISHING STATE OF RELIGION AMONGST THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW ENGLAND.—ELIOT'S SUCCESS AMONGST THE INDIANS.—THE INDIANS OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD.—REVIVAL OF CHRISTIAN PIETY ABOUT HALL, IN GERMANY.—SPENER'S AND FRANK'S LABOURS.—SOCIETIES FOR ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION IN LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.—SOME PARTICULAR PERSONS OF DISTINGUISHED ZEAL AND CHARITY.

CHAPTER I.

EXTRACTS OF THE LIVES OF A NUMBER OF MINISTERS, REMARKABLE FOR THEIR ZEAL AND DILIGENCE IN THE WORK OF THE GOSPEL IN ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

SOME INSTANCES OF THOSE WHO DIED IN THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY BEFORE 1640, viz:—1. BAINES.—2. STOCK.—3. ROTHWEL.—4. BOLTON.—5. TAYLOR.—6. CLARK.—7. CARTER.—8. SIMS.—9. HERBERT.—10. BALL.

From CLARK'S Lives.

1. BAINES. He was sent to the University of Cambridge, and admitted into Christ's College, where his conversation at first, was so irregular, that it much grieved his father, who, before his death, being intimately acquainted with one Mr Wilson in Birchin Lane, left with him forty pounds a-year, desiring him, that if his son did forsake his evil courses, and become an honest man, he would give him that forty pounds a-year; if not, that he would never let him have it. But it pleased God, not long after his father's decease, to show him his sins, and to work effectual repentance in him for the evil of his ways; so that, forsaking his former evil company and practices, he became eminent for piety and holiness, and according to that of our Saviour, much being forgiven him, he loved much. After which gracious change wrought in him, it was not long before Mr Wilson fell dangerously sick, and hearing how God had dealt with Mr Baines, he sent for him, and desired him to pray with him, by which, as also by his savoury discourse, finding that what he had heard of him, rather came short of the truth than exceeded it, according to that trust reposed in him, perceiving himself to be upon his death-bed, he told Mr Baines of the forty pounds a-year which his

father left with him, and faithfully delivered up to him, those writings of the agreement which had passed between his father and him. Sometime after Mr Baines was silenced, yet preached where he might have liberty, and as the weakness of his body would suffer. The rest of his time he spent in reading, writing, meditation, and prayer, saving that upon occasion he instructed and comforted those that came to him in private, wherein he had a very happy and heavenly gift. Upon a time he went to the house of Mrs Sheave, who was his wife's sister at Cranbrook in Kent, where, observing that she and others of the family used to mispend much precious time in playing at cards; and such like games, as the custom was, and still is too much used in gentlemen's houses, he took occasion on the Sabbath-day, to speak against it; and it pleased the Lord so to work upon Mrs Sheave's heart by that sermon, that when she came home, she came crying to him, saying, "Oh! brother, why would you thus suffer me to live in sin, to the dishonour of God, and would never tell me of it before; to which he replied, that it was best of all that God had wrought on her by the public ministry. It pleased God to make him an instrument of the conversion of that holy and eminent servant of Jesus Christ, Dr Sibbs. He died in 1617.

2. STOCK. When it pleased God to call him to that employment that he had ordained him to, he proved a painful and faithful minister of Christ. Not to insist upon his constant and incessant employments, which he performed for so many years with the general approbation of those that were religious and judicious, not a Sabbath intermitted, wherein (if health served) he preached not twice, either in his own charge, or elsewhere abroad, besides his catechising of the younger sort in the week-days at certain times, and other such offices as to the pastoral function are necessarily annexed. Not to insist (I say) upon this, as the apostle saith of the Corinthians, you are the seal of my apostleship; so it may well be said of this man of God: Many

Christian souls having professed themselves to have had their first effectual calling and conversion from him as the instrument, in such manner as few others could say at that time. Besides the multitudes of those which have acknowledged themselves to have been edified and bettered by him, many faithful ministers do profess to have lighted their candle at his lamp; yea, some of them to have received their first beginnings, not of light only, but of spiritual life and grace under his ministry. 'Tis no small honour for a man to win if it were but any one soul; for to win souls, is to win more than the whole world is worth. What an honour is it then to be not only a winner of souls, but a winner of such as prove winners? how gloriously doth this blessed man of God shine now in the kingdom of God, that was an instructor of those that are instructors of others? that was a converter of those that are converters of others? for his freedom of speech in reproof of sin, and that even to the faces of the greatest, whether in public or private, when occasion required; many, even now living, are able to testify, and some accidents made it more publicly known than he intended.

He was very zealous and earnest for the reformation of some profanations of the Sabbath; wherein he prevailed also for the alteration of something offensive in that kind, as well as with the main body of the city, as with some particular societies. He persuaded also some of the companies to put off their solemn festivals from Mondays to Tuesdays, that so the Lord's-day might not be profaned by their preparations for those feasts. He died in 1626, having been preacher at All-Hallows, Bread street, for thirty-two years.

3. ROTHWEL. After many years spent in the university, he betook himself to the ministry, and was ordained presbyter by Doctor Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury. For a considerable time, all his parts and gifts were but as so many weapons in the hands of a madman. He continued some years without any change of heart or sensible work of grace upon his soul, but preached learnedly, (as they call it,) and lived vainly. He abhorred debauchery, and debauched companions through the height of his spirit; but gave himself to bunting, bowling, and shooting, more than became a minister of the Gospel; and sometimes he would swear Faith and Truth, and in his passion greater blasphemies. At length it pleased God, who separated him from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace to reveal his Son in him; which because it was famous, and he himself afterwards proved the means of the conversion of so many. I shall set it down as I remember I heard him speak it.

He was playing at bowls amongst some Papists and vain gentlemen upon a Saturday, somewhere about Rachdale in Lancashire; there comes into the green to him, one Mr Midgley, a grave and pious minister of Rachdale, whose praise is great in the Gospel, though far inferior to Rothwel in parts and learning; he took him aside, and fell into a huge commendation of him; at length told him what pity it was that such a man as he should be a companion to Papists, and that upon a Saturday, when he should be preparing for the Sabbath. Mr Rothwel slighted his words, and checked him for his meddling. The good old man left him, went home, and prayed privately for him.

Mr Rothwel, when he was retired from that company, could not rest, Mr Midgley's words struck

so deep in his thoughts. The next day he went to Rachdale Church, to hear Mr Midgley, where it pleased God to bless that ordinance so, as Mr Rothwel was by that sermon brought home to Christ. He came after sermon to Mr Midgley, thanked him for his reproof and besought his direction and prayers; for he was in a miserable condition, as being in a natural state. He lay for a time under the spirit of bondage, till afterwards, and by Mr Midgley's hands also, he received the Spirit of adoption; wherewith he was so sealed, that in the after part of his life, he never lost his assurance. Though he was a man subject to many temptations, the devil very often assaulting him, yet God was mightily with him, so that out of his own experience, he was able to comfort many. He esteemed Mr Midgley ever after as his spiritual father.

He now becomes another man, forsakes all his wonted courses and companions, preaches in another manner than formerly, opens the depths of Satan, and deceitfulness of the heart, so as he was called the rough bawler. His ministry was so accompanied with the power of God, that when he preached the law, he made men tremble, yea sometimes to cry out in the church; and when he preached the Gospel, he was another Barnabas, and had great skill in comforting afflicted consciences. At length he came to spend most part of his time in the bishopric of Durham, by means of the lady Bowes, afterwards the lady Darcy; of whom it was truly preached at her funeral, whosoever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this that this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her. She gave about one thousand pounds a-year to maintain preachers where there were none, nor any means for them; and all her preachers were silenced men, by reason of non-conformity, such as Mr Baines, Mr Dyke, &c. She would lay out all her interest to get them their liberty, and then would dispose of them where there needed, in the North, or in the Peak in Derbyshire, or other places, and allow them pensions.

Sir William Bowes, her husband dying, his funerals were kept at Bernard's Castle; Mr Dyke (father of the writers of that name,) was then her household-chaplain, and went into the North to that funeral. At his return he represented the state of the people destitute of a minister to the lady, who would have sent him thither; but he told her he durst not venture on so surly a people, but commended Mr Rothwel to her. She sent to him then at the Earl of Devonshire's house, and proffered him this employment; his answer was, He would go thither, and if the people called him, he would accept of her motion.

At his first day's labour, they all desired him. He returned to the lady, and told her he would go; she replied, Though for their sakes she was glad, yet she was afraid to send him, understanding that they were of fierce dispositions, and having never heard the Gospel, might deal unkindly with him. He answered: "Madam, if I thought I should never meet the devil there, I would never come there; he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we shall not agree there."

He desired to have me (Mr Sanley Gower of Dorchester) with him, and with much ado prevailed; and so (I bless God) he not only fitted me for the university, but was a means to bring me to the first saving knowledge of Christ. I remember, and shall

do ever, the first sermon and point which God blessed to my soul for that purpose. I was eight years his bed-fellow, and an eye-witness of the great success he had in his ministry there, and over all the country, where he was called the Apostle of the North. The lady allowed him forty pounds a-year, and such as God wrought upon by his ministry contributed to him, but he would not have a penny from any other.

There was once in his absence collected thirty pounds by Sir Talbot Bowes that lived there from the people, but when he returned and knew it, he caused it to be restored to the parties that gave it, and told them he sought not theirs but themselves. At his first entrance he had great opposition, and sometimes was way-laid to take away his life; but he overcame all that with his patience and courage, and at length his greatest enemies were afraid of him, and he preached few sermons but it was believed he gained some souls.

His manner was to spend the forenoon at his studies, and the afternoon in going through his parish and conferring with his people; in which as he excelled, so he gained much upon them, and within four years had so many judicious and experimental Christians, that people came from London, York, Richmond, Newcastle, and many other places to see the order of his congregation; and many lewd gentlemen came oft ten or twelve miles to hear him, to carp, and get somewhat to accuse him: many of which God took hold on, and they returned some convinced and some converted. He died in 1627.

(From WESLEY'S *Christian Library* Vol. vii. page 61.)

4. BOLTON.¹ He was born at Blackburn, a town in Lancashire, on Whitsunday, in the year 1572. His parents finding in him a strong propensity for learning, put him to a schoolmaster that was in the town. He plied his book so well, that in short time he became the best scholar in the school.

About the twentieth year of his age, he was placed at Oxford, in Lincoln College, under the tuition of Mr Randall, a man of no great note then; but afterwards an eminent preacher at London. In that College he kept close to the studies of logic and philosophy: and by reason of that ground-work of learning, he got at school, he quickly got the start of those of his own time, and grew into fame in that house. In the midst of these his studies, his father died, and then his means failed. But this cross, by God's providence, proved a great advantage to him for his growth in learning; for now wanting means to buy him books, he borrowed of his tutor and others, the best writers on natural and moral philosophy, read them over, abridged them in his note-books, and then returned the books to the owners. Nay, such a desire he had to attain a perfection in the things he studied, that though he was well-skilled in the Greek tongue, yet, that he might attain exactness in it, he writ out with his own hand, all Homer, in a fair Greek character; for he wrote that language better than he did either English or Latin. This brought him to such a readiness, that he could with as much facility, discourse in the public schools

(for he was a famous disputant,) in the Greek tongue, as in the Latin or English: and in them all, he wrote and spoke in a high and lofty style, which was so familiar to him, that he could not avoid it in ordinary conversation. From Lincoln College, he removed to Brazen Nose; for by the founders of that house, most of the fellowships therein were for Lancashire and Cheshire men; but having but few friends, he stayed long without a fellowship, till about the thirtieth year of his age; at which time he commenced master of arts; and then by the exercises he performed in the house and abroad, being regent-master, he grew into fame, and was successively chosen to be reader of the lectures of logic, and moral, and natural philosophy; (as by the statutes of the house they were appointed to be read,) which he performed so strictly, and with such exactness, as that he got applause with the best, though envy with his successors. Such was his esteem in the university for his public disputations, that when he was a master of arts but of small standing, he was chosen, by the then Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, vice chancellor, at King James's first coming to that university, to be one of the disputants before the king. Besides his knowledge in logic and philosophy, he was also well-studied in metaphysics and mathematics, and in all school divinity; especially in Thomas Aquinas, which he had read over once or twice, and exactly noted him throughout. But all this while, though he was very learned, he was not a scholar in the School of Christ. He loved stage plays, cards, and dice; he was a horrible swearer and Sabbath-breaker, and was ever glad (as he has been heard to say,) of Christmas holidays, and melancholy when they were ended. He loved not goodness, nor good men; and of all sorts of company could least abide such as were of a strict and holy conversation; such he would brand with the name of Puritans, thinking, thereby, he had deprived them *ipso facto* both of learning and religion. This wretched humour, Mr Bolton further discovered at Cambridge; for being there at a commencement, and induced by the fame of Mr Perkins, he went to hear him preach; whose plain preaching, meeting at once in him with a curious palate and unsanctified heart, quite turned his stomach against that good man, so he thought him, (to speak in his own phrase,) a barren empty fellow, and a passing mean scholar. But when God changed his heart, he changed his opinion of Mr Perkins, and thought him as learned a divine, for his age, as our Church hath for many years enjoyed.

The manner of his conversion was thus: When he was of Brazen Nose College, he had familiar acquaintance with one Mr Anderton, his countryman, and sometime his school-fellow, a very good scholar, but a strong Papist. This man, being become a Popish priest, well knowing the good parts that were in Mr Bolton; and perceiving that he was in some outward wants, took this advantage, and used many arguments to persuade him to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, and to go over with him to the English seminary; telling him he should be furnished with all necessities, and should have gold enough, (one of the best arguments to allure an unstable mind to Popery.) Mr Bolton, being at that time poor in mind and purse, accepted of the motion, and a day and place was appointed in Lancashire, where they should meet, and from thence take ship-ping. Mr Bolton met at the day and place, but Mr

¹ See extracts from Mr Bolton's works, and from Dr Preston's, in the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth volumes of Mr Wesley's *Christian Library*.

Anderton came not, and so he escaped that snare, and soon after returned to Brasen Nose; where falling into the acquaintance of one Mr Peacock, fellow of that house, a learned and godly man, it pleased God by his acquaintance, to work in his soul true repentance and conversion to God. The first news he heard of God, was not by a soft and still voice, but in terrible tempests and thunder; "The Lord running upon him as a giant," taking him by the neck, and shaking him to pieces; beating him to the ground, as he did Paul, by laying before him the ugly visage of his sins, which lay so heavy upon him, that he roared for grief of heart, and so affrighted him, that he rose out of his bed in the night for very anguish of spirit. And to augment his misery, he was exercised with foul temptations, *'Horribila de Deo, terribilia fide de,* which Luther called, "The buffeting of Satan," for, as he was parallel with Luther in many things, so was he in these spiritual temptations which were so vehement upon Luther, that the very venom of them drank up his spirits, and his body seemed dead, that neither speech, sense, blood, or heat appeared in him, as Justus Jonas that was by and saw it, reporteth of him. This sharp fit of Luther's lasted but for one day, but Mr Bolton's continued for many months; yet God gave him at length a blessed issue, and these grievous pangs in his spiritual birth produced two admirable effects in him, (as well as in Luther,) which many times ensue upon such hard labour: 1. An invincible courage and resolution for the cause of God, in which he feared no colours, nor the face or force of any. 2. A singular dexterity in comforting afflicted spirits.

Upon this, he resolved to enter into the ministry, and about the thirty-fifth year of his age, was ordained minister; after which he wholly applied himself to the work of the ministry, and improved all his learning and time to that excellent end. A little while after he was ordained; he was made known to Mr Justice Nichols, at that time serjeant at law, who observing the comeliness of his person and the learning that was in him, had it always in his thoughts to advance him. About the 37th year of Mr Bolton's age, the personage of Broughton, in Northamptonshire, becoming void, he sent for him from the university to his chamber at Serjeant's-inn, and presented him to that living. Then he put out his first book, "A Discourse upon true Happiness," which he dedicated to serjeant Nichols, his patron.

About the fortieth year of his age, for the better settling of himself upon his parsonage, he resolved upon marriage, and took to wife Mrs Anne Boyce, to whose care he committed the ordering of outward estate, he himself only minding the weighty affairs of his heavenly calling. Twice every Lord's day he preached, and catechised in the afternoon. In all his preaching he still aimed at the conversion of souls, the glory of a good minister; and herein God highly honoured his ministry, in making him to beget many sons and daughters unto righteousness; for many hundreds were either converted, or mightily confirmed, or singularly comforted by his ministry. He had such an art in relieving afflicted consciences that he was sought to far and near; and many from beyond the seas desired his resolution in divers cases of conscience, which was the cause that made him

put forth that learned and godly treatise: "Instructions for a Right Comforting Afflicted Consciences." And though in his manner of preaching he was a son of thunder, yet unto those that mourned in spirit, he was a son of consolation, and with a tender heart poured the oil of mercy into their bleeding wounds. He (as was said of Luther,) was a mighty opposite to the devil's kingdom, and had a singular skill to discern his slights, and that cunning craftiness whereby he lies in wait to deceive. He ever thought that there was no such way to cast down the strongholds of Satan, as to lay the axe close to the root of sin. And in all his sermons, he ever used to discover the filthiness of sin, and to press very powerfully upon the conscience the duties of sanctification, in expressing whereof, three things were remarkable in him. 1. Such courage and resolution of spirit as is scarcely to be found in any; whereby he gave such vigour unto the truth he delivered, that it pierced the very joints and marrow. 2. Impartiality; he would spare none in their sins, either great or small. He knew he was to deliver his Master's will, with whom was no respect of persons. 3. His wisdom; as he was of high courage, so was it excellently tempered with wisdom, described in these four things. 1st, In all his denunciations against sin, he never personated any man, whereby to put him to shame, unless his own inward guiltiness caused him to apply it to himself. 2dly, He would never press upon the conscience the guilt of sin, but he would fortify it by Scripture, by the ancient fathers, and the concurrence of the most renowned and Orthodox writers, to stop the mouth of all slanderers that should accuse his doctrine, either of novelty, or of too much preciseness. 3dly, When he had searched the conscience to the quick, he ever offered Christ in all his beauty and sweetness. 4thly, He would always protest to his people, that it was a trouble to him to preach against their sins; he delighted not to vex their consciences; he should be glad the case was so with them, that he might only preach the riches of God's mercies in Christ all his days; but he knew no other way to pull them out of the snare of Satan, than the way he took.

That which made his preaching more illustrious, was the burning and shining light, which appeared in his life and conversation, in these five particulars: 1. His piety, whereof I need not say much: "The Directions for Walking with God," were framed out of the meditations of his own heart, as a guide for himself, for ordering his steps in the ways of righteousness; which he strictly observed throughout the course of his life. And no marvel if he attained to such a height of holiness, when he was lifted up thither by the wings of prayer. His constant course was to pray six times a day, twice by himself, twice with his family, and twice with his wife. Besides, he observed many days of private humiliation and prayer, ever before the receiving of the communion, and many days, besides, for the miseries of the churches in France and Germany, which he performed with such ardency of spirit, that (as was said of Martin Luther,) "He used such humility, as in the presence of Almighty God; but such fervency and faith, as if he had been talking with his friend." And God heard his prayers; for to the comfort of his soul, a little before his death, he heard of the mighty victories obtained by the King of Sweden against the Emperor. 2. For his gravity; he was of a very comely presence; he had a countenance

Horrible thoughts of God, terrible thoughts of faith.

that commanded respect; inasmuch that many forbore to speak or act unseemly things in his presence, that would not have been so modest in other company. Such a majesty doth grace imprint upon the countenances of holy men, that they draw respect from the greatest. 3. He was very zealous for God, not only in his ministry, but in any public or private good, that tended to the honour of God; to whose glory he wholly sacrificed himself and all his studies; which I can the most safely affirm, that I know he hath divers times refused preferment from some of the nobility and prelates of this kingdom; and for no other cause, but that he might not be divorced from that country where his ministry wrought so good effects. 4. But the zeal of this pious man was always tempered with singular wisdom and discretion; for though in all his sermons he pressed mightily upon the conscience of his hearers; yet they were never able to resist the authority by which he spake; so that for the space of twenty-two years, the whole time that his light shined in Northamptonshire, his doctrine was never drawn into question. So studious was he ever of the unity and peace of the Church of England, which he dearly loved, that none could justly quarrel with him, but Papists and other sectaries, or men of notoriously evil life. 5. Lastly; for his charity, he was ever universally bountiful; but he exceeded in those public distresses of Germany, France, Bohemia, and to those that stood in true need. He spent every year all the revenues of his parsonage (which was of good value) in the maintenance of his family, and acts of hospitality; and also gave way yearly, in other charities, the temporal estate he had. The town of Broughton will ever have cause to bless God for his charity; for when that lamentable fire was among them, September 21st in the year 1626, besides the many pounds he spent out of his own purse, he was a chief means, that by the only supply of the country, without any letters-patent from above, their houses, which were burnt down to the ground, were all new-built, and their outward estates restored.

This inestimable treasure it pleased God to put in an earthen vessel, and, about the beginning of September last, began to break it, by visiting him with a quartan ague; a disease which brought Calvin to his end, and, by the judgment of the best physicians, is ever deemed mortal unto old men. Perceiving, after two or three fits, that it mastered his strength, he called for his will, which he had made long before, and perfecting some things in it, he caused it to be laid up, and, afterwards, wholly retired into himself, quitting the world, and solacing his soul, with the meditation of the joys of heaven, which he had provided to preach to his people: For, having compiled an elaborate discourse of the four last things,—death, judgment, hell, and heaven, and having finished the three former, he told them, that the next day he would treat of heaven; but the day before, being Saturday, he was visited with sickness, and never preached after. God then preparing him for the fruition of those inexplicable joys which he had provided for his people in contemplation. Though his sickness was long and sharp, yet he bore it with admirable patience, for he saw Him that is invisible; and his whole delight was to be with him, often breathing out such speeches as these, when his fits gave him any intermission:—"Oh! when will this good hour come? When shall I be dissolved? When shall I be with Christ?" Being told, that it was, in-

deed, better for him to be dissolved, but the Church of God could not but miss him, and the benefit of his ministry; he replied: "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again, and show me both it and His habitation; but, if otherwise, lo! here I am, let him do what seemeth good in his eyes." Being asked by another, whether he could not be content to live, if God would grant him life? he answered: "I grant that life is a great blessing of God, neither will I neglect any means that may preserve it, and do heartily desire to submit to God's will; but, of the two, I infinitely desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." In the time of his sickness there came many to visit him, but he admitted none but his intimate friends; using a speech of Augustine, who desired, ten days before he died, none might come to him, that he in that time might the better be fitted for God. But, to those that came, he gave very wise exhortations, adapted to their callings and conditions; for, although his body was wasted, yet his understanding and memory were as active and quick as in the time of his health. He encouraged the ministers that came to him to be diligent and courageous in the work of the Lord, and not to let their spirits faint or droop for any affliction that should arise thereupon. All that came to him he bade make sure of Christ before they came to die. He thanked God for His wonderful mercy in pulling him out of hell, in sealing his ministry with the conversion of many souls, which he wholly ascribed to His glory.

About a week before he died, when his silver cord began to loosen, and his golden bowl to break, he called for his wife, and desired her to bear his dissolution with a Christian fortitude, bade her make no doubt but she should meet him again in heaven. And, turning towards his children, (one son and four daughters) he told them: that they should not expect he could now say any thing to them, neither would his ability of body give him leave; he had told them enough in the time of his sickness and before, and hoped they would remember it, and verily believed, "That none of them durst think to meet him at that great tribunal, in an unregenerate state." About two days after, divers of his parish coming to watch with him, he was moved by a friend, that, as he had discovered to them, by his doctrine, the exceeding comforts that were in Christ, he would now tell them what he felt in his soul. "Alas! (said he) do they look for that of me now, that want breath and power to speak? I have told them enough in my ministry; but yet, to give you satisfaction, I am, by the wonderful mercies of God, as full of comfort as my heart can hold, and feel nothing in my soul but Christ, with whom I heartily desire to be;" and then looking upon some that were weeping, said: "O, what a deal of do there is before one can die!"

The night before he died, when the doors without began to be shut, and the daughters of music to be brought low, and he lying very low with his head, expecting every moment when the wheel should be broken at the cistern; yet being told that some of his dear friends were then about him to take their last farewell, he caused himself to be lifted up, and then, like old Jacob, bowing himself on his bed's head, after a few gaspings for breath, he spake in this manner: "I am now drawing on apace to my dissolution. Hold out faith and patience; your work will speedily be at an end." And then shaking them all by the hands, prayed heartily and parti-

quarily for them, and desired them "to make sure of heaven, and to bear in mind what he had formerly told them in his ministry, protesting to them, that the doctrine which he had preached to them for the space of twenty years, was the truth of God, as he should answer at the tribunal of Christ, before whom he should shortly appear." This he spake when the very pangs of death were upon him. Whereupon a dear friend of his, taking him by the hand, and asking him, if he felt not much pain? "Truly no, (said he,) the greatest I feel is your cold hand." And then seeking to be laid down again, he spake no more till the next morning, when he took his last leave of his wife and children, prayed for them and blessed them all; and that day in the afternoon, about five o'clock, being Saturday, the 17th day of December, 1631, in the sixtieth year of his age, he yielded up his spirit to God, and according to his own speech, celebrated the ensuing Sabbath in the kingdom of heaven.

From CLARK'S Lives.

5. TAYLOR. In the course of his ministry, he spent thirty-five years, with all diligence and painfulness, even to the very end, when, by right, he might have spared himself, living in all sincerity, with entire love of souls, and with watchfulness and meekness, wonderfully quickened with zeal. Sometimes when he was drawn forth into the country for recreation, by the solicitation of God's people, he escaped not without his usual burden; or he spent his vacant time in preparing books for the press, which were both many and very useful; and men of understanding observed several seals to his ministry; in the places to which he was called, some were converted, others confirmed in the way of God; and, in these times of division, wherein many professors had turned into by-ways, those that were his constant hearers continued steadfast and unshaken in that faith and love which is in Christ Jesus: and, at Bedding, there was a generation of young preachers, who grew up in knowledge and holiness under his ministry.

6. CLARK.¹ The first place that he was called to exercise his ministry in was about Oundle in Northamptonshire, where he met with a people, that, for the generality of them, were very ignorant and ungodly, and much addicted to the profanation of the Lord's-day; which sins Mr Clark, in his ministry, set himself against, endeavouring from God's word, to convince them of the evil, and denouncing God's judgments, in case of their obstinacy, in such provoking courses, and that the rather because they were opposed by the word of God; and, indeed, the judgment of God found them out for this their wickedness. This so terrified and wrought upon them, that they began to give better heed to the ministry of God's word, and break off their profane courses for the greatest part; so that there was an eminent reformation wrought amongst them; at least sixteen of those poor souls being effectually wrought upon, and brought home to Christ; and some others that relapsed to their former ways, God purged with his judgments, till he had brought them to beggary.

During Mr Clark's abode in this place, he had experience of God's gracious protecting him from the

rage of some desperately wicked men; and, amongst others, this is very remarkable: Mr Clark having on a day pressed God's judgments against some sins that he saw some of the people much addicted to, there came a lusty young man (a servant man,) to inquire for him, as desirous to speak with him; Mr Clark being made acquainted with it, sent for him up to his chamber, and knowing his vicious life, took occasion sharply to reprove him, and to tell him of the danger he was in, in case he persisted in his lewd courses. This round and faithful dealing, through God's mercy, wrought so effectually upon him, that, falling upon his knees, he entreated him to forgive him. Mr Clark answered, that he should beg pardon at the hands of God, against whom he had sinned; for he knew not, for his own part, wherein he had offended him. Yea, said the other, "I have not only offended God, by sinning thus and thus against him, but you also; for I came hither with a full resolution to stab you with this dagger at my back; but God hath so overawed my spirit, that I have not had power to move an hand to accomplish such a wickedness; and this resolution of mine proceeded from the sermon which you preached yesterday, which so terrified my conscience, that my whole body fell into such a trembling, that I was not able to sit, whereupon I rose up, and set my back to a pillar to stay me; yet neither would that prevent my trembling; but now, if you please to forgive me, I shall, by God's grace, never entertain such thoughts again." Mr Clark freely forgave him, and, after some wholesome and seasonable admonitions, dismissed him.

After this the bishop picked a quarrel against him, and suspended him from preaching; whereupon Mr Clark used to expound the word; then did the bishop suspend him from expounding; whereupon he catechised with exposition and application: then was he suspended from catechising also; whereupon, at the usual times, in the church, he caused an honest man, that was his neighbour, to read a chapter, and at the end of every verse, to ask him the meaning of it, and what instructions and uses might be gathered out of it. This so angered the bishop, that he proceeded to excommunicate him. But Mr Clark repaired to Mr Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, and from him procured his absolution; and as he returned homewards, about Dunstable, he met with Bishop Overton going towards London, to whom he shewed his absolution, and so went on in his ministry as before. This so irritated the bishop, that he still suborned some to watch him in all his public prayers and sermons; about which time the persecution growing hot against the non-conformists, Mr Clark, in his prayer, requested of God to forgive the Queen her sins, though in modest expressions. This the bishop being informed of, and supposing that he had now gotten that advantage which he had long waited for, he charged Mr Clark with treason, and caused him to be committed to the common jail in Warwick, where he lay (bail being refused) till the assizes; and then the bishop caused him to be arraigned at the bar, and had so exasperated the judge against him, that he would have had the jury to find the bill. But it pleased God to stir up a worthy gentleman, a justice upon the bench, from that good report which he had heard of Mr Clark, to stand up, and publicly to tell the judge, that before Mr Clark should have any wrong, he would kneel before the

¹ Father of Clark, who writes the Lives and Martyrology.

Queen for him. This so prevailed with the jury, that he was acquitted. He died in 1634.

7. CARTER. Every Lord's-day he preached twice, and catechised the younger sort. He also preached a lecture every Thursday, to which multitudes from Ipswich, and other adjacent places, did resort, and God gave such success to his ministry, that by his labours, many sons and daughters were from time to time begotten unto God. Many precious Christians that remain unto this day acknowledge that their conversion was by Mr Carter's ministry. A poor man met him by the way, and cried to him piteously, saying, "Master, what shall become of me? I work hard, and fare hard, and yet I cannot thrive; I continue here, and know not how in the world to live." He answered him, "Yet still you want one thing; and I will tell you what you shall do; work hard, and pray hard, and I shall warrant you thrive." His whole life was nothing else but a communion-day. Old Jacob seemed to live in him, and sure the Spirit of God breathed as much in him in his words and writings (holiness dropped from his pen in every ordinary letter that he wrote,) in his actions and soliloquies, as in any man's in these latter times. He was always instilling precious precepts, exhortations, instructions, or consolations, into those with whom he had occasion to converse. A godly woman told his son, that she had been servant to a religious gentleman, to whose house Mr Carter did often resort, and that she was won to Christ at first by hearing the heavenly speeches, and sweet principles that dropped from him. He died in 1634.

From WESLEY'S Christian Library, Vol. v. page 101.

8. SIBS.¹ He was born upon the borders of Suffolk, near Sudbury; and being trained up at school, when he was grown ready for the university, was sent to Cambridge, in 1595, and was admitted into St John's College; where he so profited in learning, and approved himself by his blameless conversation, that he was promoted from one degree to another in the college; being chosen first scholar, and then fellow of that house. He also took all the degrees of the university, with general approbation and applause. It pleased God to convert him by the ministry of Mr Paul Baines, whilst he was lecturer at St Andrew's in Cambridge. And when Mr Sibbs had been master of arts some while, he entered into the ministry, and shortly after was chosen lecturer himself at Trinity Church, in Cambridge; to whose ministry, besides the townsmen, many scholars resorted, so that he became a worthy instrument of begetting sons and daughters unto God; as also of edifying and building up of others.

About the year 1625, or 1626, he was chosen master of Katherine Hall in Cambridge, in the government whereof he continued until his dying day; and like a faithful governor, he was always very careful to procure and advance the good of that little house. For he procured good means and maintenance by his interest in many worthy persons, for the enlargement of the college; and was a means, of establishing learned and religious fellows there; inasmuch that in his time, it proved a very famous society for piety and learning, both as to fellows and scholars.

But before this, about the year 1618, he was

¹ See an Extract from his works in the same volume.

chosen preacher at Gray's Inn; where his ministry found such general approbation and acceptance, that besides the learned lawyers of the house, many noble personages, and many of the gentry and citizens resorted to hear him, and many had reason to bless God for the benefit, which they received by him.

His learning was mixed with much humility, whereby he was always ready to undervalue his own labours; though others judged them to breathe spirit and life, to be strong of heaven, speaking with authority and power to men's consciences. His care in the course of his ministry was to lay a good foundation in the heads and hearts of his hearers. And though he was a wise master-builder, and that in one of the most eminent auditories for learning and piety, that was in the land; yet, according to the grace which was given to him, (which was indeed like that of Elisha, in regard of the other prophets, the elder brother's privilege, a double portion,) he was still taking all occasions to preach of the fundamentals to them, and amongst the rest, of the incarnation of the Son of God; and preaching at several times, and by occasion of so many several texts of Scripture concerning this subject, there is scarce any one of those incomparable benefits, which accrue to us thereby, nor any of those holy impressions, which the meditation hereof ought to work in our hearts, which was not by him sweetly unfolded.

Indeed he was thoroughly studied in the Holy Scriptures, which made him a man of God, perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work; and as became a faithful steward of the manifold graces of God, he endeavoured to teach others the whole counsel of God, and to store them with the knowledge of God's will, in all wisdom, and spiritual understanding. He was a man that enjoyed much communion with God, walking in all the laws of God blameless; and, like John the Baptist, was a burning and shining light, wasting and spending himself to enlighten others. He was upon all occasions very charitable, drawing forth not only his purse in relieving, but his very bowels in commiserating, the wants and necessities of the poor members of Christ. He used sometimes in the summer times, to go abroad to the houses of some worthy personages, where he was an instrument of much good; not only by his private labours, but by his prudent counsel and advice, that upon every occasion he was ready to minister unto them. And thus having done his work on earth, he went to receive his wages in heaven, peaceably and comfortably resigning up his spirit unto God, in the year 1635, and in the 58th year of his age.

From WESLEY'S Christian Library, Vol. xxvii. page 158.

9. HERBERT. He was born the third day of April, 1593. He spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family, for she was then a widow, where he continued, until about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Mr Ireland, who was then chief master of Westminster school; where the beauties of his behaviour and wit were so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety. He continued

in that school, until he came to be perfect in the learned languages.

About the age of fifteen, being then a King's scholar, he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608. As he grew older, so he grew in learning, and favour with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of life, God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity; and especially to his brethren of the clergy.

He had often designed to leave the university, and decline all study, which he judged did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities which he judged were increased by his studies. But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the university, or to travel; to which, though he inclined very much, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom.

Upon King James's death, he presently betook himself to a retreat with a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged much to impair his health. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to court, or betake himself to the study of divinity. These were such conflicts as they only can know who have endured them; at last, God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

At his return to London, he acquainted a court friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it as too mean an employment, below his birth, and the excellent endowments of his mind. To which he replied, "It hath been formerly judged, that the domestic servants of the King of heaven should be of the noblest families on earth; and, though the iniquity of the late times hath made clergymen meanly valued, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I never can do too much for him that hath done so much for me. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus." Within that year he was made deacon, and prebend of Lincoln, July 15, 1626.

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and eating no meat, unless it was salted; and by such a constant diet, he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums, and other weaknesses; in the sharpest of his fits, he would often say, "Lord abate my affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not, I am dumb before thee, because thou doest it."

And now his care was to recover from his other disorders, by a change from Woodford into such an

air as was proper; and his removal was from Woodford to Dantsey in Wiltshire; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who loved Mr Herbert much, and allowed him such an apartment in that house, as might best suit his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness; and then he declared his resolution to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood.

About three months after his marriage, he was presented to the living of Bemerton, in Wiltshire, but though he had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet the apprehension of the last great account he was to make for the care of so many souls, made him fast and pray, and consider, for no less than a month. And in this time he endured, as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts, as none can think, but those that have endured them."

When, at his induction, he was shut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to toll the bell, as the law requires, he stayed so much longer than an ordinary time, before he returned to his friends that staved expecting him at the church-door, that one of them looked in at the church-window, and saw him prostrate on the ground before the altar: at which time he set some rules for himself, for the future conduct of his life. The same night he said, "I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what I so ambitiously thirsted for; and I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and empty, imaginary, painted pleasures; pleasures, that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed; but in God and his service is a fullness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve at his altar, that, as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions, so he will, by his assisting grace, enable me to bring the same to good effect; and that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my Master and Governor. And I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe and obey his will, and call him Jesus my Master; and I will condemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with serving at the altar of Jesus my Master."

That he might the better preserve those holy rules which he had set himself, he set them in that order as the world now sees them printed, in a little book, called, *The Country Parson*. And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on the holy rules set down in that useful book. A book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that the country parson that can spare twelve pence, and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he is to do, and convince him for not having done it.

The text for his first sermon was, (out of Solomon's Proverbs) "Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules, for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man. At the close, he told them, "That he would not fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but, for their sakes, his expression should be more plain and practical in his

future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, "That they would be constant to the afternoon's service, and catechizing:" and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

It was also his practice to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces, (the daughters of a deceased sister,) and his whole family, twice a-day at the church-prayers, in the chapel, which does almost join to his parsonage-house, at the hours of ten and four; and there to lift up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his Master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour, and visible adoration, he, like David, brought not only his own household thus to serve the Lord, but most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen of the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a-day. And some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr Herbert's bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him, and would then return to their plough.

His constant public prayers did never make him neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family; which he always concluded with that collect the Church hath appointed for the day or week. Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter. His recreation was music, in which he was an excellent master, and composed many anthems; and though he was a lover of retiredness, yet he went usually twice a-week to the Cathedral Church in Salisbury; and, before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing his part at an appointed private meeting.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city; and, in their walk together, Mr Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some account of his faith. Having received his answer, he gave him such rules for practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton; and still mentions the name of Mr George Herbert with veneration, and praises God that he knew him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister; and, after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolence for the wickedness of the times, and contempt of clergy, Mr Herbert took occasion to say, "One cure for these distempers would be for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and to beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayer, for a more religious clergy. And another cure would be, For them to restore the great and neglected duty of catechizing, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but, principally, that the clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably; and that the dignified clergy, especially, who preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives and actions. Till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the man-

ners of the laity; for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must do it; and, till then, the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man, with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load; which Mr Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload; and, after, to load his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man, and gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "If he loved himself he should be merciful to his beast." At his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr George Herbert, who used to be so clean, came in such a condition; but he told them the occasion. And when one of the company told him, "He had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment," his answer was, "That the thought of what he had done, would prove music to him at midnight; and the omission of it, would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by the place."

He was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hands a tenth penny of what money he received for tithes; and gave her a power to dispose of that to the poor of his parish, which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him "an account of her stewardship," and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty, for she rejoiced in the employment; and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes, for some such poor people as she knew to stand in need of them. This, as to her charity, and for his own he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours, to the meanest of whose houses he would go, and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them, and would always praise God as much, for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "Seeing all my tithes and church-dues are a gift from thee, O my God, make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and, by thy grace, I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress." Thus he continued, until a consumption so weakened him as to confine him to his house, or to his chapel; in which, he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he was very weak. In one of which times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits; he confessed it, but said, "His life could not be better spent than in the service of his Master, Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him; but (he said) I will not be wilful, for Mr Bostock shall read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a bearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr Bostock did continue this happy employment until Mr Herbert's death..... This Mr Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr Herbert's, and then his curate to the Church of Fulton, a mile from Bemerton, to which Bemerton is but a chapel of ease.

About a month before his death, his friend, Mr Farrer, sent Mr Edmund Duncan from his house of Gidden-Hall, which is near Huntingdon, to see Mr Herbert, and to assure him he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery.

Mr Nicholas Farrer was born in London, and was at a sizar made fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his temperance and learning. About the twenty-sixth year of his age, he betook himself to travel, in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion, and the manner and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel, he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that Church, which calls itself Catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, in the communion of the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr Farrer's father (who was a merchant,) allowed him a liberal maintenance: and not long after his return, he had an estate left him, that enabled him to buy land to the value of five hundred a-year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidding, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen miles from Cambridge, which place he chose for the privacy of it, and the hall which had the parish-church adjoining to it; for Mr Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the world, did so condemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortification, devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death. And his life was spent thus: He and his family were like a little college, and about thirty in number, a part of them his kindred, and the rest of a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable, quiet, and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner: He did himself use to read the common-prayers (for he was a deacon,) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the church, which was very near his house, and which he had both prepared and adorned; for it was fallen into ruin, before Mr Farrer bought the manor. And he constantly read the Matins every morning at six, either in the church, or in an oratory which was within his own house: and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns and anthems. And they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament, or to continue their praying, or reading the Psalms; and in case the Psalms were not all read in the day, then Mr Farrer and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayer, and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day; and when these, or any part of the congregation grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before, and sometimes after midnight; and then a part of the family rose and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the Psalms; and when after some hours, they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were relieved by some of the family, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the psalter, or whole book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours, sung or read over, from the first to the last verse, and this done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every

day about the world. Thus did Mr Farrer and his happy family, serve God day and night. Thus did they always behave, as in his presence. And they always eat and drank by the strictest rules of temperance; as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a bell, and perform their devotions to God. And many of the clergy did often come to Gidding-Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and join with Mr Farrer and the family, in these devotions, and assist him or them in their watch by night; and these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour fitted for that purpose; and this course of piety, and great liberality to his neighbours, Mr Farrer maintained until his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr Farrer's and Mr Herbert's lives were so noted, that the general report of their sanctity, gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was maintained without any interview, but only by endearing letters.

Mr Duncan returned the fifth day, and found Mr Herbert much weaker than he left him; and therefore their discourse could not be long; but at parting, Mr Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer an account of my decaying condition, and tell him, I beg him to continue his prayers for me; tell him also, my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and will wait my appointed change with hope and patience." And having said this, he added, "Sir, pray deliver this little book to my brother Farrer, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have past betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master, in whose service I have now found perfect freedom; desire him to read it, and then if he think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it, for I and it, are less than the least of God's mercies." Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of the Temple, or Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations; of which Mr Farrer would say, "There was the picture of a divine soul in every page; and that the whole book, was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." At the time of Mr Duncan's leaving Mr Herbert, which was about three weeks before his death, his old and dear friend Mr Woodnot, came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath. In this time of his decay, he was often visited, and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near him, especially by the Bishop and prebends of Salisbury; but by none more devotedly than his wife, three nieces, (then a part of his family,) and Mr Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay, to whom he would often speak to this purpose: "I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, how they are all past by me, as a shadow that returns not, and are become dead to me, or I to them; that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I shall now suddenly, with Job, make my bed also in the dark; and I praise God, I am prepared for it: and that I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need of it; and

that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and what will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the New Jerusalem; dwell there with men made perfect; dwell where these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour, Jesus; and with him, see my dear mother, and relations and friends, but I must die, or not come to that happy place. And this is my content, that I am going daily towards it; and that every day that I have lived, hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; and that I shall live the less time, for having lived this and the day past."

The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

"My God, my God,
My music shall find thee,
And every string
Shall have his attribute to sing."

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems, as the angels and he, and Mr Farrer now sing in heaven. He continued meditating and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death, and on that day said to Mr Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned, and a few hours will put a period to the latter." Upon which expression, Mr Woodnot took occasion to remember him of his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, "They be good works if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise."

After this discourse, he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and observing him to fall into a sudden agony, she asked him how he did? to which his answer was, That he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his Master, Jesus. After which answer, he looked up and saw his wife and nieces weeping, and charged them, If they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him, for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable. To which request, their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr Woodnot, and Mr Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr Bostock, "Pray Sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand;" which being done, he delivered it into the hand of Mr Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to shew kindness to them, as they shall need it; I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake; but I charge you by the religion of your friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die;" after which words, he said, "Lord, grant me mercy,

for the merits of my Jesus; and now, Lord, receive my soul." And with those words breathed forth his soul, without any apparent disturbance. Mr Woodnot and Mr Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes. Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better than with this borrowed observation:

— "All must to the cold grave;
But the religious actions of the just,
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust."

From CLARK'S *Lives*.

10. 'BALL. He did not read many books, but those he read, he perused with great seriousness. Calvin's life published by Beza, and his Commentary upon the Psalms, made deep impressions upon his spirit. Growing in acquaintance with the godly people in that part of the country where he lived, who much lamented the evils of the times, he often associated with them, in keeping private days of fasting and prayer. As he took not up any opinion or practice, till he had well weighed it; so was he not much moved by any trouble which assailed him in his way. When others judged him ripe for the ministry, he was not hasty in adventuring upon that calling, because he was sensible of the weight thereof. As he took extraordinary pains in public, so did he also in private; especially on the Lord's day. For having by way of preparation upon the Saturday in the afternoon, spent about two hours in his house, in praying and expounding some Scripture, (to which exercise divers did resort.) On the Sabbath morning, he expounded a portion of Scripture in his family; (whereof many neighbours were partakers,) then he preached twice in public, read divers chapters, and catechised also in the forenoon spending much time therein, (especially in the summer season.) After the evening sermon, he went into Mr Mainwaring's house, (being near at hand,) where he repeated both his sermons, and prayed; likewise, after supper, he had another exercise in his own family, equivalent to a sermon, unto which divers well-affected of the neighbourhood did repair. These, his great labours, were the more wonderful, in that they were so excellent and solid, as many ministers and scholars yet living now, who did often frequent them. Every morning he instructed his own children and scholars in the principles of religion, whereby many young ones, (of whom some are now ministers) were well seasoned and settled in the grounds of piety. Every night, likewise, he opened and applied some portion of the Scripture, for the edification of his family. And, besides his frequent preaching at lectures, at Madley especially, where he was the principal upholder of a weekly sermon, and a monthly fast, besides his helpfulness in holy fasting and prayer elsewhere, (when desired.) It was his custom to set apart days when freed from attendance upon his school, for the solemn seeking of God, with his godly neighbours, as the necessities of the time did require. And as he was very moderate in the use of meat, drink, sleep, and apparel, so he had an admirable command over his passions. For those who most conversed with him never saw inordinate outbursts of anger, or other affections in his conversation. This character was given by a friend who was much with him; viz., "That, as Mr Dod turned

earth into heaven, by a spiritual improvement of all earthly affairs, so Mr Ball did reconcile earth and heaven, because worldly occasions were no distractions unto him in his journey thither." At a marriage feast, where Christian friends were rejoicing in the good occasion of their meeting, the many good blessings provided for their comfort, and in their mutual society, this speech came from him with much gravity: "One thought of Jesus Christ reaching the heart, is more to be valued than all creature contentments whatsoever, though they should be enjoyed in their fulness for a thousand years without interruption." He was all his life-long very sensible of the weightiness of the ministers calling, saying, that no man should dream of ease in that function. A friend being weary of teaching school, and acquainting him with his purpose to enter into the ministry, Mr Ball told him that he would find it a far heavier task to teach men than boys. That he might keep God's servants of the lowest parts, always high in his own estimation, he would wisely weigh their peculiar serviceableness in some kind or other. When any mention was made before him of his great labours to do good, he would say, (and this was a speech which he much used,) "If the Lord were not a God pardoning sins, I was in a miserable condition." He died in 1640.

From NEALE'S History, in the year 1631.

About the year 1627, there was a scheme formed by several gentlemen and ministers, to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in the several market towns of England; and to support the expense, a sum of money was raised by voluntary contribution, for the purchasing such impropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were to be parcelled out into salaries of forty or fifty pounds per annum, for the subsistence of the lecturers; the money was lodged in the hands of the following ministers and gentlemen, in trust for the above said purposes, under the name and character of *frodoes*, viz. Dr William Gouge, Dr Sibs, Dr Offspring, and Mr Davenport, of the clergy; Ralph Eyre, and Simon Brown, Esqrs., of Lincoln's Inn; C. Sherman, of Gray's Inn; and John White, of the Middle Temple, lawyers; Mr John Gearing, Mr Richard Davies, Mr G. Harwood, and Mr Francis Bridges, citizens of London. There were at this time, three thousand eight hundred and forty five parish churches, appropriated to cathedrals, or to colleges, or impropriated as lay-fees to private persons, having formerly belonged to abbeys. The gentlemen above-mentioned dealt only in the latter, and had already bought thirteen impropriations, which cost between five and six thousand pounds. Most people thought this a very commendable design, and wished the *feoffees* good success.

SECTION II.

OTHER INSTANCES OF THOSE WHO DIED ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY, BETWEEN 1640 AND 1680, VIZ: 1. BEDELL.—2. REDWICK.—3. HERRING.—4. DOD.—5. BALSON.—6. PALMER.—7. COOKE.—8. BLACKBURN.—9. COTTON.—10. HILL.—11. SPOON.—12. WHITAKER.—13. USHER.—14. HARRIS.

From WESLEY'S Christian Library, Vol. XXVII. page 181.

1. BEDELL. He was born at Black-Notley in Essex, in the year 1570. He was the younger son of an ancient and good family. He was sent to Em-

manuel College in Cambridge, and put under Dr Chadderton's care, the famous head of that house; and here all those extraordinary things that rendered him afterwards so conspicuous, began to shew themselves in such a manner, that he came to have a very eminent character both for learning and piety; so that appeals were oft made to him, as differences or controversies arose in the university. From the university he was removed to St Edmundsbury in Suffolk, where he served long in the Gospel with great success; the opening dark passages, and comparing many texts of Scripture, together with a serious and practical application of them, being the chief subject of his sermons. He had an occasion not long after his settlement in this charge, to shew how little he either courted preferment, or was afraid of great men; for when the Bishop of Norwich proposed some things to his clergy, with which they were generally dissatisfied, though they had not resolution enough to oppose them; he took that hard province upon himself, and did it with so much strength of reason, as well as discretion, that many of those things were let fall; upon which when his brethren magnified him for it, he checked them and said, "He desired not the praises of men." His reputation was so well established both in the university, and in Suffolk, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador to Venice, at the time of the interdict; he was recommended as the fittest man to go chaplain in so critical a juncture, where he was very near being an instrument of a great and happy change in that republic. I need not say much of a thing so well known as were the quarrels of Pope Paul V., and that republic; especially since the history of them is written so particularly by him that knew the matter best, P. Paulo. Some laws made by the senate, restraining the excessive donations, extorted from superstitious men, and the imprisoning of two lewd friars, in order to the executing justice on them, were the grounds of the quarrel; and upon these pretences, the ecclesiastical immunity from the secular tribunals, was asserted to such a degree, that after that high-spirited Pope had tried what the spiritual sword could do, but without success, his interdict not being observed by any, but the Jesuits, the capuchines and theatines who were upon that, banished the state; he resolved to try the temporal sword next, according to the advice that Cardinal Baronius gave him; who told him in the consistory, that there were two things said to St Peter; the first was, "feed my sheep," the other was, "arise and kill;" and therefore since he had executed the first part of St Peter's duty, in feeding the flock by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without effect, he had nothing left but to arise and kill, upon this the Pope not finding any other prince that would execute his bulls, he resolved to make war upon them himself; but when he saw that his censures had not created any distractions in the Republic, and found their treasures and force like to prove a match for the apostolical chamber, and to such forces as he could levy and pay; he was at last willing to accept of a mediation, in which the senate, though they were content to deliver up the two profligate friars, yet asserted their right, and maintained their laws, notwithstanding all his threatenings; nor would they so much as ask pardon, or crave absolution. But without going further into matters so generally known, I shall only mention those things in which Mr Bedell had some share.

A passage fell out during the interdict, that made some noise. There came a Jesuit to Venice, Thomas Maria Caraffa, who printed a thousand theses of philosophy and divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope with this extravagant inscription:

PAULO V. VICE-DEO, *Christianæ reipublicæ monarchæ invictissimo, et pontificiæ omnipotentis conservatori acerrimo.*

TO PAUL V. THE VICE-GOD THE MOST INVINCIBLE MONARCH OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH, AND THE MOST ZEALOUS ASSERTOR OF THE PAPAL OMNIPOTENCY.

All people were amazed at the impudence of this title; but when Mr Bedell observed that the numeral letters of the first words, PAULO V. VICE-DEO being put together, made exactly 666, the number of the beast in the Revelation; he communicated this to P. Paulo, and the seven divines, and they carried it to the Duke and the Senate. It was entertained by them with very great approbation; and it was publicly preached over all their territories, by their clergy, as an argument that the Pope was antichrist. And it is like this was promoted by them more, because they found it took with the Italians, than that they builded much upon it. This flew so over Italy, that lest it should take too much upon the people, the Pope caused his emissaries to give it out every where, that antichrist was now born in Babylon, and was descended of the tribe of Dan; and that he was gathering a vast army, with which he intended to come and destroy Christendom; and therefore all Christian princes were exhorted to prepare all their forces for resisting so great an invasion.

P. Paulo was then the divine of the state, a man equally eminent for vast learning and prudence; and was at once one of the greatest divines, and of the wisest men of his age. It must needs raise the character of Bedell much, that such a man, who, besides the caution that is natural to the country, and the prudence that obliged one in his circumstances to a more than ordinary distrust of all the world, was tied up by the strictness of that government to a very great reservedness with all people, yet took Bedell into his very soul; and as Sir Henry Wotton assured the late King, he communicated to him the inward thoughts of his heart, and professed that he had learned more from him in all the parts of divinity, whether speculative or practical, than from any he had ever conversed with in his whole life.

The intimacy between them grew so great and so public, that when P. Paulo was wounded by those assassins that were set on by the court of Rome—upon the failing of which attempt a guard was set on him by the senate, that knew how to value and preserve so great a treasure, and much precaution was used before any were admitted to come to him. Bedell was excepted out of those rules, and had free access to him at all times. They had many and long discourses concerning religion; he found P. Paulo had read over the Greek Testament with so much exactness, that having used to mark every word when he had fully weighed the importance of it, as he went through it; he had by going often over it, and observing what he past over in a former reading, grown up to that at last, that every word was marked of the whole New Testament; and when Bedell suggested to him critical explications of some passages that he had not understood before, he received them with transports of one that leapt for joy, and

that valued the discoveries of divine truth beyond all other things.

When the reconciliation with Rome was concluded, P. Paulo wished he could have left Venice, and come over to England with Mr Bedell; but he was so much esteemed by the senate for his great wisdom, and trusted with their most important secrets, that he saw it was impossible for him to obtain his Congé; and therefore he made a shift to comply, as far as he could, with the established way of their worship; but he had in many things particular methods, by which he in a great measure rather quieted than satisfied his conscience. In saying of mass, he passed over many parts of the canon, and in particular, those prayers, in which that sacrifice was offered up to the honour of saints; he never prayed to saints, nor joined in those parts of the offices that went against his conscience; and in private confession and discourses, he took people off from those abuses, and gave them right notions of the purity of the Christian religion: so he hoped he was sowing seeds that might be fruitful in another age; and thus he believed he might live innocent in a Church that he thought so defiled. And when one pressed him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an idolatrous Church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it; all the answer he made to this, was, "That God had not given him the spirit of Luther." He expressed great tenderness and concern for Bedell, when he parted with him; and said that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it had been in their power; but that he might never be forgot by him, he gave him his picture, with an Hebrew Bible without points, and a little Hebrew psalter, in which he wrote some sentences expressing his esteem and friendship for him; and with these he gave him the invaluable manuscript of the history of the council of Trent, together with the history of the interdict, and of the inquisition; the first of these will ever be reckoned the chief pattern, after which all, that intend to succeed well in history, must copy.

When Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbishop of Spalata, and one Despotine, a physician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman worship; and so choose a freer air. The latter lived near him in Edmondsbury, and was by his means introduced into much practice, which he maintained so well, that he became eminent in his profession, and continued to his death to keep up a constant correspondence with him. Mr Bedell had now finished one of the scenes of his life with great honour. The most considerable addition he made to his learning at Venice, was in the improvements of the Hebrew, in which he made a great progress by the assistance of R. Leo; in exchange of it, he communicated to him, that which was much more valuable, the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often to be highly satisfied. And once in a solemn dispute, he pressed this Rabbi with so clear proofs of Jesus Christ being the true Messiah; that he and several others of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but to say, that their Rabbins everywhere did expound these prophecies otherwise according to the tradition of their fathers.

After eight years stay, he returned to England; and without pretending to preferment, he went immediately to his charge at Edmondsbury, and there

went on in his ministerial labours. He had a soul too generous to stoop to these servile compliances, that are expected by those that have the distribution of preferments. He thought that was an abjectness of spirit that became not a Christian philosopher, much less a churchman, who ought to express a contempt of the world, and a resignation to divine providence. He was content to deserve preferment, and did not envy others who arrived at it. But though he was forgot at court, yet Sir Thomas Jermyn, who was a privy-counsellor, and vice-chamberlain to King Charles I. and a great patron of virtue and piety, took such a liking to him, that a considerable living, in his gift, falling void, he presented him to it in the year 1615. When he came to the Bishop of Norwich to take out his title to it, he demanded large fees for his institution and induction: but Bedell would give no more than sufficient gratification for the writing, wax, and parchment; and refused to pay the rest. He looked on it as simony in the bishop to demand more, and contrary to the command of Christ, who said, "Freely ye have received, freely give." He watched over his flock, like one that knew he was to answer to God for those souls committed to his charge: he preached to the understandings and consciences of his parish, and catechised constantly. And, as the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued sermon, so he was very exact in the more private affairs of his function, visiting the sick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a deep sense of religion. This he made his work, and he followed it so close, lived so much at home, and was so little known, that when Diodati came over to England, many years after, he could hear of him from no person that he met with, though he was acquainted with many of the clergy. He was much amazed to find that so extraordinary a man, that was so much admired at Venice by so good judges, was not so much as known in his own country; and so he was out of all hope of finding him out, but, by a mere accident, he met him on the streets of London, at which there was a great deal of joy on both sides. And upon that Diodati presented him to Morton, the learned and ancient Bishop of Duresme, and told how great a value P. Paolo set on him; upon which that Bishop treated him in a particular manner. It is true Sir Henry Wotton was always his faithful friend, but his credit at court had sunk. While he was thus neglected at home, his fame spread into Ireland, and though he was not known either to Bishop Usher, or to any of the fellows of Trinity-college in Dublin, yet he was chosen, by their unanimous consent, to be the head of their college in the year 1627; and, as that worthy primate of Ireland, together with the fellows of the college, wrote him inviting him to come and accept of that mastership, so an address was also made to the king, praying that he would command him to go over.

As he was prevailed on to resign his benefice, and carry his family to Ireland, and then he applied himself with that vigour of mind, that was peculiar to him, to the government of the college. He corrected such abuses as he found among them; he set new rules, and saw these so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made; and, as he was a great promoter of learning, so he thought it his particular province to instruct the house in the principles of religion. In order to this

he catechised the youth in the college once a week, and preached once a Sunday, though he was not obliged to it; and, that he might acquaint them with a plain body of divinity, he divided the Church catechism into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a way so mixed with speculative and practical matters, that his sermons were both learned lectures of divinity, and excellent exhortations to piety. He had not stayed there above two years, when, by means of his friend, Sir Thomas Jermyn, a patent was sent him to be Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

And now, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, he entered upon a different course of life and employment, when it might have been thought that the vigour of his spirits was much broken and spent. But by his administration of his diocese, it appeared that there remained yet a vast force of spirit to carry him through those difficult undertakings to which he found himself obliged by this office; he found his diocese under so many disorders, that there was scarce a sound part remaining. The first he rectified was pluralities, by which one man had a care of souls in so many different places, that it was not possible to discharge his duty to them, nor to perform the vows made at his ordination, of feeding and instructing the flock committed to his care. And though most of the pluralists did mind all their parishes alike, that is, neglected all equally, yet he thought this an abuse contrary both to the nature of ecclesiastical functions, to the obligations the care of souls imported, and to those solemn vows churchmen made when ordained; and he knew well that this corruption was no sooner observed to have crept into the Christian Church, than it was condemned by the fourth general council of Chalcedon. Therefore the Bishop gathered a meeting of his clergy, and laid before them, both out of scripture and antiquity, the institution, nature, and duties of the ministerial employment, and exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse, which as it brought a heavy scandal on the church, and gave their adversaries great advantages, so it must very much endanger both their own souls and the souls of their flocks; and, to let them see that he would not lay a heavy burden on them, in which he would not bear his own share, he resolved to part with one of his bishopricks, for, though Ardagh was considered as a ruined see, and had long gone as an accessory to Kilmore, yet since they were really two different sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his clergy to renounce their pluralities, unless he set them an example, and renounced his own; even after he had been at a considerable charge in recovering the patrimony of Ardagh, and though he was sufficiently able to discharge the duty of both sees, they being contiguous and small, and though the revenue of both did not exceed a competency, yet he would not seem to be guilty of that which he so severely condemned in others, and therefore he resigned Ardagh to Dr. Richardson. The authority of this example, and the efficacy of his discourse, made such an impression on his clergy, that they all renounced their pluralities.

The condemning pluralities was but half of his project. The next part was to oblige his clergy to reside in their parishes; but in this he met with a great difficulty.

King James, upon the last reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's rebellion, had ordered Glebe Lands to

be assigned to all the clergy, and they were obliged to build houses upon them within a limited time. But, in assigning these Glebe Lands, the Commissioners had taken no care of the conveniences of the clergy, for in many places these lands were not in the parish, and often they lay not all together, but were divided in parcels. So he found his clergy were in a strait. For if they built houses upon these Glebe Lands, they would be thereby forced to live out of their parishes, and it was very inconvenient for them to have their houses remote from their lands.

In order to remedy this, the Bishop, having lands in every parish assigned him, resolved to make an exchange with them for more convenient portions of equal value; and, that the exchange might be made upon a just estimate, so that neither the Bishop nor the inferior clergy might suffer, he procured a commission from the lord-lieutenant for some to examine and settle that matter, which was at last brought to a conclusion with so universal a satisfaction to his whole diocese, that, since the thing could not be finally determined without a great seal from the king, confirming all that was done, there was one sent over in all their names to obtain it.

By his cutting off pluralities there fell to be many vacancies in his diocese, so the care he took to fill these, comes to be considered in the next place. He was very strict in his examinations before he gave orders to any. He went over the articles of the Church of Ireland so particularly and exactly, that one who was present at the ordination of him that was afterwards his Arch-deacon, Mr Thomas Price, reported that though he was one of the senior fellows of the college of Dublin, when the Bishop was provost, yet his examination held two full hours; and, when he had ended any examination, which was always done in the presence of his clergy, he desired every clergyman present to examine the person further, if they thought any material thing was omitted by him, by which a fuller discovery of his temper and sufficiency might be made.

When all was ended, he made all his clergy give their approbation before he would proceed to ordination, for he would never assume that singly to himself, nor take the load of it wholly on his own soul.

He took also great care to be well informed of the religious qualities of those he ordained, as well as he satisfied himself by his examination of their capacity and knowledge. He had always a considerable number of his clergy assisting him at his ordinations, and he always preached and administered the sacrament on those occasions himself, and he never ordained one a Presbyter till he had been at least a year a Deacon, that so he might have a good account of his behaviour in that lower degree before he raised him higher.

He remembered well the grounds he went on when he refused to pay fees for the title to his benefice in Suffolk, and therefore took care that those who were ordained by him, or had titles to benefices from him, might be put to no charge, for he wrote all the instruments himself, and delivered them to the persons to whom they belonged out of his own hands, and adjured them, in a very solemn manner, to give nothing to any of his servants; and, that he might hinder it all that was possible, he waited on them always on those occasions to the gate of his house, that so he might be sure that they should not give any gratification to his servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them such convenient wages as became

them, and not to let his clergy be burdened with his servants. And, indeed, the abuses in that were grown to such a pitch that it was necessary thus to correct them.

There was another abuse he was much troubled at, which was, that when the metropolitical and regal visitations went round, a writ was served on the Bishops suspending their jurisdiction for that year; and, when this was first brought to him, he received it with great indignation, which was increased by two clauses in the writ. By the one it was asserted, That in the year of the metropolitical's visitation, the whole and entire jurisdiction of the diocese belonged to him. The other was the reason given for it, Because of the great danger of the souls of the people: whereas the danger of souls arises from that suspension of the Bishop's pastoral power, since during that year he either could not do the duty of a Bishop, or, if he would exercise it, he must either purchase a delegation to act as the Archbishop's deputy, and that could not be had without paying for it, or be liable to a suit in the prerogative court.

He laid those things often before Archbishop Usher, and pressed him earnestly to set himself to the reforming them, since they were acted in his name, and by virtue of his authority deputed to his chancellor, and to the other officers of the court called the Spiritual Court. No man was more sensible of those abuses than Usher was, no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them, and, together with his vast learning, no man had a better soul and a more apostolical mind. Archbishop Usher was a man who, in his conversation, expressed the true simplicity of a Christian, for passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature, so that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts and of touching their consciences that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived. He spent much of his time in those two best exercises, secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses, and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him showed a most amazing diligence and exactness, so that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. But he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses, and, therefore, he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon our Church that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily, yet he did not beat himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on; and, it is very likely, that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to die, for he prayed often, and with great humility, That God would forgive him his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty. Those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him, which was the only alloy that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration.

tion than was fitting. His physician, Dr. Bootius, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him, "If our primate of Armagh was as exact a disciplinarian as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth, and preaching the gospel, he might, without doubt, deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom." Yet, though Bishop Usher did not much himself, he had a singular esteem for that vigour of mind which our Bishop expressed in the reforming these matters.

In censuring offenders, he considered that church censures ought not to be like the acts of tyrants, that punish out of revenge, but like the discipline of parents, that correct in order to the amendment of their children, so he studied chiefly to beget in all offenders a true sense of their sins. Many of the Irish priests were brought oft into his courts for their lewdness, and upon that he took occasion, with great mildness, and without scoffing or insultings, to make them sensible of that tyrannical imposition in their church in denying their priests leave to marry, which occasioned so much impurity among them; and this caused a good effect on some.

This leads me to another part of his character,—the care he took of the natives. He observed, with much regret, that the English had all along neglected the Irish as a nation not only conquered but undisciplinable, and that the clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their charge, but had left them wholly in the hands of their own priests, without taking any other care of them but making them pay their tithes. And, indeed, their priests were a strange sort of people that knew generally nothing but the reading their offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them, so that the state both of the clergy and laity was such that it could not but raise great compassion in a man that had so tender a sense of the value of those souls that Christ had purchased with his blood. therefore he resolved to set about that apostolical work of converting the natives with the zeal and care that so great an undertaking required. He knew the gaining of some of the more knowing of their priests was like to be the quickest way, for, by their means, he hoped to spread the knowledge of the reformed religion among the natives, or rather, of the Christian religion, to speak more strictly, for they had no sort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their priests, and were to confess such of their actions, as they called sins, to them, and were to pay them tithes. The Bishop prevailed on several priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them ecclesiastical benefices.

There was a convent of friars very near him, on whom he took much pains with very good success. That he might furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short catechism to be printed in one sheet, being English on the one page and Irish on the other, which contained the elements and most necessary things of the Christian religion, together with some forms of prayer and some of the most instructing passages of scripture. This he sent about all over his diocese, and it was received with great joy by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and received this beginning of knowledge so well that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours.

The Bishop did also set himself to learn the Irish

tongue, and though it was too late for a man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree as to compose a complete Grammar of it (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been told) and to be a critic in it. He also had Common Prayer read in Irish every Sunday in his cathedral for the benefit of the converts he had made, and was always present at it himself, and he engaged all his clergy to set up schools in their parishes, for there were so few bred to read or write that this obstructed the conversion of the nation very much. The New Testament and the book of Common Prayer were already put in the Irish tongue, but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, put also into the hands of the Irish, and, therefore, he laboured much to find out one that understood the language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a work, and, by the advice of the primate and several other eminent persons, he pitched upon one King, that had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the elegantest writer of the Irish tongue then alive, both for prose and poetry. He was then about seventy, but, notwithstanding his age, the Bishop thought him not only capable of this employment but qualified for a higher character; therefore he put him in orders and gave him a benefice in his diocese, and set him to work in translating the Bible, which he was to do from the English translation, since there were none of the nation to be found that knew anything of the originals. The bishop set himself so much to the revising this work, that always after dinner or supper he read over a chapter, and, as he compared the Irish translation with the English, so he compared the English with the Hebrew and the seventy interpreters, and he corrected the Irish where he found the English translators had failed. He thought the use of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of religion in among the Irish, as it had first let the reformation into the other parts of Europe, and he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard Fulgentio preach at Venice. It was on these words of Christ, "Have ye not read;" and so he took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ were now to ask this question, "Have ye not read?" all the answer they could make to it was, "No, for they were not suffered to do it." This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another sermon preaching upon Pilate's question, "What is truth?" He told them at last, after many searches, he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, and said "There it was in his hand," but then he put it into his pocket, and said coldly, "But the book is prohibited." The Bishop had observed, that, in the primitive times, as soon as nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar tongues, and that all people were exhorted to study them; therefore he not only undertook and began this work, but followed it with so much industry, that in a very few years he finished the translation, and resolved to set about the printing of it, and as he had been at the great trouble of examining the translation, so he resolved to run the venture of the impression, and took that expense upon himself. He lived not to finish this great design; yet, notwithstanding the rebellion and confusion that followed in Ireland the manuscript of the translation of the Bible escaped the storm, and, falling into good hands, it is at this time under the press, and it is carried on chiefly by

the zeal, and at the charge of that noble Christian philosopher, Mr Boyle.

But here I must open one of the bloodiest scenes that the sun ever shone upon, and represent a nation all covered with blood, that was in full peace, under no fears or apprehensions, enjoying great plenty, under no oppression in civil matters, nor persecution upon the account of religion, for the Bishops and priests of the Roman communion enjoyed not only an impunity, but were almost as public in the use of their religion as others were in that which was established by law, so that they wanted nothing but empire and a power to destroy all that differed from them. And yet on a sudden this happy land was turned to a field of blood. Their Bishops resolved in one particular to fulfil the obligation of the oath they took at their consecration, of persecuting all heretics to the utmost of their power, and their priests, that had their breeding from Spain, had brought over from thence the true spirit of their religion, which is ever breathing cruelty, together with a tincture of the Spanish temper that had appeared in the conquest of the West Indies, and so they thought a massacre was the surest way to work, and intended that the natives of Ireland should vie with the Spaniards for what they had done in America.

The conjuncture seemed favourable, for the whole isle of Britain was so embroiled that they reckoned they should be able to master Ireland before any forces could be sent over to check the progress of their butchery. The Earl of Strafford had left Ireland some considerable time before this. The parliament of England was rising very high against the king, and, though the king was then gone to Scotland, it was rather for a present quieting of things than that he gained them to his service. So they laid hold of this conjuncture, to infuse it into the people, that this was a proper time for them to recover their ancient liberty, shake off the English yoke, and possess themselves of those estates that had belonged to their ancestors, and, to such as had some duty to the king, it was given out that what they were about was warranted by his authority. A seal was cut from another charter, and put to a forged commission, giving warrant to what they were going about; and, because the king was then in Scotland, they made use of a Scotch seal. They also pretended that, the parliaments of both kingdoms being in rebellion against the king, the English of Ireland would be generally in the interest of the English parliament, so that it was said they could not serve the king better than by making themselves masters in Ireland, and then declaring for the king against his other rebellious subjects.

These things took universally with the whole nation, and the conspiracy was cemented by many oaths and sacraments, and, in conclusion, all things were found so ripe that the day was set in which they should everywhere break out, and the castle of Dublin being then a great magazine, it was resolved that they should seize on it, which would have furnished them with arms and ammunition, and have put the metropolis and probably the whole island into their hands. But, though this was so well laid that the execution could not have missed in all human appearance, and, though it was kept so secret that there was not the least suspicion of any design on foot till the night before, yet then one that was among the chief of the managers of it, out of kindness to an Irishman that was become a Protestant,

communicated the project to him. The other went and discovered it to the lords justices, and, by this means, not only the castle of Dublin was preserved, but, in effect, Ireland was saved; for in Dublin there was both a shelter for such as were stripped and turned out of all they had, and a place of rendezvous where they that escaped before the storm had reached them met to consult about their preservation. But, though Dublin was thus secured, the rest of the English and Scotch in Ireland fell into the hands of those merciless men who reckoned it no small mercy, when they stripped people naked, and let them go with their lives. But the vast numbers that were butchered by them, which one of their own writers, in a discourse that he printed some years after in order to the animating them to go on, boasts to have exceeded two hundred thousand, and the barbarous cruelties they used in murdering them are things of so dreadful a nature that I cannot go on with so dismal a narrative, but must leave it to the historians. I shall say no more of it than what concerns our Bishop. It may be easily imagined how much he was struck with that fearful storm that was breaking on every hand of him, though it did not yet break in upon himself. There seemed to be a secret guard about his house, for, though there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation round about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks. His house was in no condition to make any resistance, so that it was not any apprehension of the opposition that might be made them, that bound them up. Great numbers of his neighbours had also fled to him for shelter. He received all that came, and shared everything he had with them, and now, that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day, so that they spent their time in prayer and fasting, which last was now like to be imposed on them by necessity.

The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that over-ruling power that stills the raging of the seas and the tumult of the people. They seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them, and they often said he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance. Not only his house and all the out-buildings, but the church and church-yard were full of people, and many, that a few days before lived in great ease and plenty, were now glad of a heap of straw or hay to lie upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature, and were every day expecting when those swords, that had, according to the prophetic phrase, drunk up so much blood, should likewise be satisfied with theirs. They did now eat the bread of sorrow, and mingled their cups with their tears. The Bishop continued to encourage them to trust in God, and, in order to that, he preached to them the first Lord's day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the third Psalm, which was penned by David when there was a general insurrection of the people against him, under his unnatural son Absalom, and he applied it all to their condition. He had a doleful assembly before him, an auditory all

in tears. It requires a soul of an equal elevation to his to imagine how he raised up their spirits when he spake on these words, "But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head; I laid me down and slept, I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people that have set themselves against me round about." And on the conclusion of the Psalms, "Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: thy blessing is upon thy people." The next Lord's day, hearing of the scoffings, as well as the cruelty, of the Irish, he preached on these words in Micah, "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will hear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, where is the Lord thy God?" By these means, and through the blessing of God upon them, they encouraged themselves in God, and were prepared for the worst that their enemies could do to them.

While this good man was now every day waiting for his crown, the rebels sent to him desiring him to dismiss the company that was about him, but he refused to obey their cruel order, and resolved to live and die with them, and would much more willingly have offered himself to have died for them than have accepted of any favour for himself from which they would be shut out. And when they sent him word, that though they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any but good to many, yet they had received orders from the council of state at Kilkenny, that had assumed the government of the rebels, that if he would not put away the people who had gathered about him, they should take him from them, he said no more but in the words of David and St. Paul, "Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seems good to him, the will of the Lord be done."

So on the eighteenth of December they came and seized on him and on all that belonged to him, and carried him and his two sons and Mr Clogy, prisoners to the castle of Lochwater, the only place of strength in the whole country. Here the Bishop spent the few remaining days of his pilgrimage, having his latter end so full in view that he seemed dead to the world and everything in it, and to be hasting for the coming of the day of God. During the last sabbaths of his life, though there were three ministers present, he read all the prayers and lessons himself, and likewise preached on all those days.

The Irish did him unusual honours at his burial, for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr Sheridan's house to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great solemnity, and discharged a volley of shot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, "May the last of the English rest in peace." For they had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of the English Bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

Thus lived and died this excellent Bishop, in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical Bishop did show themselves so

eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world though dead. He died in the year 1642.

2. SEDGWICK. He had an uncle living in Yorkshire, who was very rich, and of large yearly revenues, having no children. Whereupon he took this his nephew, in his tender years, home to himself, and put him to school with an intent to make him his heir, but God had laid up a better portion for him.

His uncle and family were profane, hating the power of godliness, and wedded to games and sports, yet, even in such a family, God visited him in mercy, and awakened his soul by working in him hearty desires after himself. Whilst the rest of the family were at their games and dancings, he would be in a corner mourning. His uncle at first thought his tiredness to have been his bookishness, and therefore rebuked him gently, and called upon him to take more liberty; but, at last, perceiving the truth of the thing, he began to hate him and to deal roughly with him, and, not being able to bring him to his will, cast him out of his family, saying, that a Puritan should never inherit his land. Before this his father had died. But his mother, being industrious and sparing out of the little means she had left her, maintained him at Cambridge, where he profited greatly in all kind of learning. He began the exercise of his ministry in Kent, where, being called to preach at Canterbury, in his sermon he touched the corruption of the prebends and their cathedral service, which so far displeased them, as that by threats they brought him to condescend, through weakness, to promise to recant, and a day for this was appointed. Upon his return home, and his second thoughts, he became very sad, and, in his perplexity, he took his Bible and read that encouraging word of God to Jeremiah, Jer. i. 7, 8, "Whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak; and be not afraid of their faces, for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord." By this he was so strengthened, that he resolved to stand to what he had formerly delivered, whatsoever danger did attend him. At the time appointed he preached again in the cathedral, having a very large auditory both of country and city, in which sermon he confirmed what he had before delivered, earnestly pressing the prebends to reform the abuses amongst them. By this they were so offended, that they complained of him to the Bishop and so persecuted him that he was forced to forsake his place, and to retire himself into private, and was entertained for a time by Sir Edward Bois the elder, a man eminent for piety in those days.

During this his retirement, he came upon occasion to London, and, by the means of Mr Egerton, pastor at Blackfriars, was received into the family of Sir Edward Anslow, who lived in the city during the winter, and in summer at Crawly in Surrey, a place destitute of a preaching minister. In this family his labours were abundant. Every day his usual course was to pray in the morning at six of the clock with the husbandmen, and at ten to pray with the rest of the family, and expound a chapter. His course at night was, after prayer, to catechise the family by turns, wherein he used no respect of persons, the meanest not being left out, and the chiefest not foreborne. On the Lord's day, during his abode at Crawly, he preached twice constantly, and, after public exercises, called the whole family in private to render an account of what was delivered in public. After this he was called by the

merchant adventurers to be minister to their company beyond sea, whither, breaking through all discouragements, he went. During his abode beyond the sea at Stade and Hamburg (which was about the space of eleven years and a half) he, by the advice of the godly learned, erected and established discipline in that church. God did greatly bless his ministry, and he begat among that little company many sons and daughters unto God. He had communion with the Netherland Dutch Church at Stade and Altona near Hamburg, and with the godly that came out of England. In his ministry he was very searching, many coming and confessing those things which he had never heard of till it came out of their own mouths. In his carriage he was affable and courteous, yet grave and awful, so that many durst not, for fear, do those things that otherwise they were disposed to. The merchants here found the benefit by the orderly carriage of their factors there. Yet here the devil was not quiet, for one of the prime merchants taking exceptions against his impartial dealing in his ministry and the order in the church, threatened by such a day, naming it, to have him over into England, but before that day came, himself was summoned by death into another place. Upon the dissolving of that company of merchants, he came over into England, and, being disappointed of a place in London, intended for him by Mr Jones, he went to Monmouth in Wales, and for some time held the lecture settled there. Afterwards a chapel being erected at Wapping, he was called to that place. Here he abode till his death, being holy and exemplary in his life and conversation and abundant in labours, preaching constantly thrice a week, and catechising on the Lord's day besides. The tenderness of his fatherly care and love of this people he expressed all the time of his living with them, but especially in the time of the great sicknesses, when, remaining with them, he preached constantly every Lord's day and the fast days notwithstanding all the danger he was in, the infection in that place being much spread and very violent. The providence of God over him at that time was very remarkable, for, although all the families round about him were infected, and his house adjoined to the place of burial, yet neither himself nor any of his family were any ways smitten with it. Many were his labours in private, being much sought unto both for counsel and for comfort. What success God gave unto his ministry was evident by the many souls won and built by him. He was very studious and wrote much, yet was always averse from publishing anything, though often requested, saying, that the many books that were daily set forth hindered the study and reading of the holy scriptures. He died in 1643.

The hatred of some at serious religion, under the name of Puritanism, in those days, appears from the following passage in Turner's Remarkable Providences, Part I. ch. 18:—"Old Mr Studly was a lawyer in Kent, of about £400 a year. He was a great enemy to the power of religion, and a biter of those that were then called Puritans. His son, in his youth, seemed to follow in the same steps till the Lord, that had separated him from the womb, called him home, which was as follows:—The young man was at London, and being drunk in some company, and going in the night towards his lodgings, fell into a cellar, and in the fall was seized with horror, and thought he fell into hell at that time. It pleased God he took little harm by the fall, but lay

there some hours in a drunken drowse, his body being heated with what he drank, and his soul awakened, he thought he was actually in hell. After that he was come to himself, and was got home into Kent, he fell into melancholy, betook himself to read and study the scriptures and to much prayer, which at length his father perceived, and, fearing he would turn Puritan, was troubled and dealt roughly with him, and made him dress his horses, which he humbly and willingly submitted to. And when, at that time, his father perceived he sat up late at night reading his Bible, he denied him candle-light, but, being allowed a fire in his chamber, he told Mr Knight that he was wont to lie along and read by the fire light, and said, that, while he was dressing his father's horses in his frock, and in that time of reading by the fire, he had those comforts from the Lord and joys that he had scarce experienced since. His father, seeing these means ineffectual, resolved to send him to France, that, by the airiness of that country, his melancholy temper might be cured. He went, and, being at his own disposal, by the Lord's guiding him, he placed himself in the house of a godly Protestant minister, and, between them, after they were acquainted, (and such is the cognition of saving grace in divers subjects, that a little time will serve for Christians to be acquainted) there grew a great endearment. Great progress he made in speaking the language, and his father expecting an account from the gentleman with whom he sojourned of his proficiency in speaking French, he sent it to him, but soon after, he had orders to return home. And the father directing it, or he entreating it, the landlord, with whom he had sojourned, came into England with him, and both were made very welcome at his father's house, he not knowing that he was a minister. At last the father took the French gentleman and his son at prayers together, and was angry, paid him what was due to him, and sent him away. Then his father, having an interest in a person of honour, a great lady at Whitehall, and his son, by his now past education, accomplished for such an employ, prevailed with that lady to take his son for her gentleman, to wait upon her in her coach. He thought, by a court life, to drive away his melancholy, (as he called his son's seriousness in religion.) The lady had many servants, some given to swearing and rudeness, whom this young gentleman would take upon him to reprove with that prudence and gravity, that sin fell down before him. And if any of the servants had been ill employed and heard him coming, they would say, let us cease or begone, Mr Studly is coming. After a year's time, his father waits upon the lady to enquire of his son's carriage. She answered as it was, that she was glad she had seen his son's face, he had wrought a mighty reformation in her family. She, that had formerly been troubled with unruly servants, by his prudent carriage was now as quiet in her house as if she had lived in a private family in the country. After this the father stormed, what, will he make Puritans in Whitehall? Told the lady that was no situation for him, and he would take him with him, which to her trouble he did. When he had him at home in Kent, as his last refuge, he thought of marrying him, and, to that end, found out a match which he thought fit for his ends to stifle that work of religion in his son. He bade him one night put on his clothes in the morning, and ordered his servant to make ready their horses in the morning, and

himself to wait on them. When they were riding on the way, he bade the man ride before, and spake to his son to this purpose. "Son, you have been matter of great grief to me, and, having used much means to reclaim you from this way you are in to no purpose, I have one more remedy to apply in which if you comply, I shall settle my estate upon you, otherwise you shall never inherit a groat of it. I am riding to such a gentleman's house, to whose daughter I intend to marry you." The son said little, knowing that family to be profane, but went with his father who before had made way there. They were entertained nobly, he had a sight of the young lady, a great beauty, and the young man fell much in love with her. When they had taken their leaves, on their way home, his father asked him, "What he thought of her?" He answered, "No man living but must be taken with such a one, but he feared she would not like him." The father was glad it had taken, and bid him take no care for that. The wooing was not long, for at three weeks' end they both came to London to buy things for the wedding. The father had charged, that, in the time of wooing in that gentleman's house, there should be no swearing nor debauchery, lest his son should be discouraged. Wedding clothes were bought, and the day came in which the young couple were married. At the wedding dinner, at her father's house, the mask was taken off, they fell to drinking healths, and swearing among their cups, and, amongst others, the bride swore an oath. At which the bridegroom, as a man amazed, took occasion to rise from the table, stepped forth, and went to the stable, took a horse, none observing, all were within busy, he mounted and rode away, not knowing what to do. He bewailed himself as undone and deservedly, for that he had been so taken in love, and the business so hurried on in design, he said he had at that time restrained prayer and slackened his communion with God, when, as in that grand affair of his life, he ought to have been doubly and trebly serious, and so might thank himself that he was utterly undone. He sometimes thought of riding quite away. At last, being among the woods, he led his horse into a solitary place, tied him to a tree, in his distress, and betook himself to his prayers and tears, in which he spent the afternoon. The providence of God had altered his argument of prayer, which was now for the conversion of his new married wife, or he was undone. This he pressed with prayers and tears a great part of the afternoon, and did not rise from prayer without good hope of being heard. At the bride-house was hurry enough, horse and man (after they missed the bridegroom) sent every way. No news of him. He was wrestling as Jacob once at Peniel. In the evening he returned home, and, enquiring where his bride was, went up to her and found her in her chamber pensive enough. She asked him, "If he had done well to expose her to scorn and derision all the day." He entreated her to sit down upon a couch there by him and he would give her an account of his doing what he had then done and tell her the story of his whole life and what the Lord, through grace, had done for him. He went over the story here above-mentioned, with many beautiful particulars (no question here omitted) not without great affection and tears, the flood-gates of which had been opened in the wood, and ever and anon, in the discourse, would say, through grace God did so and so for me. When he had told

her his story over, (and, by the way, this was the Apostle Paul's method by which many were converted, to tell over the story of his conversion,) she asked him what he meant by that word, so often used in the relation of his life, "through grace," so ignorantly had she been educated, and asked him if he thought there were no grace in God for her, who was so wretched a stranger to God. Yes, my dear, said he, there is grace for thee, and that I have been praying for this day in the wood, and God hath heard my prayer and seen my tears, and let us now go together to him about it. Then did they kneel down by the couch-side and he prayed, and such weeping and supplication there was on both sides, that, when they were called down to supper, they had hardly eyes to see with, so swelled were they with weeping. At supper, the bride's father, according to his custom, swore. The bride immediately said, Father, I beseech you, swear not, at which the bridegroom's father, in a great rage, rose from table. What, (says he) is the devil in him! has he made his wife a Puritan already, and swore bitterly that he would rather set fire, with his own hands, to the four corners of his fair-built house than ever he should enjoy it. And accordingly he acted, made his will, gave his son, when he should die, ten pounds to cut off his claim, and gave the estate to some others, of whom Dr Reeves was one, and, not long after, died. Dr Reeves sent for the gentleman, paid him his ten pounds, told him he had been a rebellious son and disobliged his father, and might thank himself. He received the ten pounds and meekly departed.

His wife, the match was so huddled up, had no portion promised, at least that he knew of, who relied on his father, so that she was also deserted by her friends, and, having two hundred pounds in her own hand that had been given her by a grandmother, with that they took and stocked a farm in Sussex, where Mr Knight has often been, and seen her, who had been highly bred, in her red waistcoat and milking the cows, and was now become the great comfort of her husband, and exceedingly cheerful. God, says she, hath had mercy on me, and any pains-taking is pleasant to me. There they lived some years with much comfort, and had the blessing of marriage, divers children. After some three years he was met in Kent, on the road, by one of the tenants of the estate, and saluted by the name of landlord. Alas, said he, I am none of your landlord. Yes you are, said he, I know more than you do of the settlement. Your father, though a cunning lawyer, with all his wit, could not alienate the estate from you, whom he had made joint purchaser. Myself and some other tenants know it and have refused to pay any money to Dr Reeves. I have sixteen pounds ready for you in my hands, which I will pay to your acquaintance, and that will serve you to wage law with them. He was amazed at this wonderful providence, received the money, sued for his estate, and, in a term or two, recovered it. "He that loseth his life for my sake and the gospel's shall find it." His blessed wife, in the midst of blessings enjoying a loving husband, divers fine children, and a plentiful estate, in the midst of these outward blessings, fell into a way of questioning the truth of her grace, because of outward prosperity. This was her sin, without doubt, for which Mr Knight rebuked her, but it was a severe rebuke that the Lord gave her for her unthankfulness. A fine boy, about three

years' old, fell into a kettle of scalding wort, and was taken out by his mother and died. This she looked on as the Lord's discipline for her unthankfulness, and was instructed. This relation was sent me, says Mr Turner, by the Rev. Mr Singleton, now living in Hogsdon-square, near the city of London, and he received it from Mr Knight, who was intimately acquainted with Mr Studly, as was hinted before.

3. HERRING. The first place of his settled ministry was Cawk in Derbyshire, a small village, whither he was called by means of his friend Mr Hildersam. In this place his peace and liberty was the better preserved, because it was a peculiar, and so not subject to Episcopal visitation. Here God was pleased to set a remarkable seal to his ministry, making him a happy instrument to build up many who were brought to Christ by Mr Hildersam's labours, and also to turn many others. At this time there was great scarcity of good preachers in those parts, whereupon people from many towns and villages flocked into Cawk chapel every sabbath day, where more congregated than the chapel would contain, yet, standing at the windows without, they could hear the sermons preached and scriptures read. Hither great companies came in the morning with joyful expectation, here they continued all day with cheerfulness, and they went from hence in the evening in companies, repeating the sermons, and singing Psalms in their return home. Here, amongst many others, Mr Simeon Ashe received some of his first impressions, whom Mr Herring loved from his childhood, and who lived in his heart and prayers unto his death. And this is a matter considerable, that few, if any, in those parts, who were hopefully brought to God, by the ministry of Mr Hildersam and Mr Herring, have been turned aside into the by-paths of error and separation in these broken dividing times, but they continue sound in their judgments and holy in their conversations, well remembering the principles wherein they were instructed by these two worthies, their fathers in Christ. He took great delight in his studies, (having a very good library) and was often willing to miss a meal that he might the more satisfy himself in conversing with his books, and it was his meat and drink to converse with his God, and yet such were his compassions towards afflicted consciences that he gave charge unto his whole family to send none such away till they had spoken with him, his manner was to give full liberty of speech, that they might not go away without some clearing and satisfaction. His experience, humility, and sweetness of disposition, was such that seldom any one who was troubled in spirit departed from him without some relief and comfort, whereto may be added his great faithfulness towards them in perplexed cases, who opened their hearts into his bosom for spiritual satisfaction. When he was not allowed liberty to preach in public at home, he was willing to bestow his pains abroad, and everywhere in his ministry proved himself a solid, well-studied divine, a workman who needed not to be ashamed. It may truly be affirmed, concerning him, that, when he was in journeys, he imitated the Lord Christ, his master, who went about doing good, for, in the families whither he came, (if there was not opportunity of more public employments wherein he might appear with safety in those times,) he was always ready, by prayer and exposition of scripture, to be serviceable unto the souls of such who desired

to improve by him. He was a man of an ingenuous and cheerful spirit, yet very grave and inoffensive, yea, the cheerfulness of his behaviour, being accompanied with holiness and humility, did make his serious services the more acceptable, and more taking upon the hearts of those who conversed with him. In performing family duties, whether in his own house or elsewhere, he would always most aptly and affectionately enlarge upon the sermon lately heard, or the chapter read, by confession, complaint, thanksgiving, &c., unto the great advantage of them who joined with him in that exercise. He died in 1644.

4. DOD. The occasion of his conversion was very extraordinary. The steward of the college accused him to the master for the non-payment of a considerable sum of money due for one of his pupils, which Mr Dod had truly paid, but he forgot to set it down. Hereupon there was a vehement contest betwixt them about this business, and the vexation of mind, that he should be accounted a defrauder, did so trouble Mr Dod, that he fell into a fever and was dangerously sick, yet all the while he was but in a natural estate, for though he had good skill in the speculative part of divinity, yet he was without any application. His affliction was this, that he should be blamed for that which he from the light of nature hated.

All his sorrow as yet was but worldly sorrow, and, as himself says, he neither did nor could tell how to pray. At length the Lord put into his heart that Scripture, Rom. vii. "The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, and sold under sin," and presently his sins came upon him like armed men. The tide of his thoughts was turned, he left musing how he was wronged, and seriously considered how he had offended God. He betook himself to great humiliation, and earnestly besought the Lord for pardon and peace in Jesus Christ; yet for some time he could find no comfort, but, going to seek the Lord, there follows after much humiliation, much consolation, and the Lord sealed to him that his sins were washed away with the blood of Christ. Then did he desire his accuser to come to him, and told him, that though he had accounted him to be his great enemy, yet now he acknowledged him to be his good friend, for that he was a means to bring him unto God. And afterwards it so fell out, (by God's good providence) that it came to this man's remembrance that Mr Dod had paid him the money, and he was very sorrowful for the wrong which he had done him, and did him all the right he could for the healing of his name; and Mr Dod said, that he had not a more faithful friend in all the college during his abode there than this man proved.

While he was at Hanwell, he preached twice every Sabbath, catechising also in the afternoon, and kept a lecture on Wednesday constantly, and, besides this, he was one of the five ministers who held up the lecture at Banbury. He gave himself much to fasting and prayer, and, as his seed-time was painful, so his harvest was gainful, hundreds of souls being converted by his ministry. He was silenced from preaching at Ashby, upon a complaint made against him by Bishop Neal to King James, then he ceased for some time to preach publicly, yet, in regard of his heavenly gift in conference, he might have been said daily to preach privately. He was in his element when he was discoursing of heavenly things, and God in his goodness so ordered it, that when he was restrained from public preaching, yet himself

conceived that at that time his life was no less profitable than it had been in former times. He had much employment in comforting such as were wounded in their spirits, being sent for not only nigh at hand, but also into remote counties.

There was a gentlewoman who had a great worldly estate and a loving husband, but she was so sadly assaulted with temptations, that she often attempted to make away with herself. Mr Dod was sent for to come to her, and the Lord so blessed his counsels, exhortations, and prayers, that she did not only recover out of her anguish of spirit, but she was afterwards taken notice of for her singular piety, and the Lord so ordered it that this affliction was not only the means of her conversion, but also of her husband's, so that both of them were a great mercy in the country where they lived for promoting religion according to their power, and for entertaining and cherishing godly people. She lived divers years quieted in her heart and was rich in good works, and, when she lay on her death-bed, Mr Dod was sent for to her again, who spake of heaven, and to fit her for that glory. She told him that she felt the comforts of God, and that she could as hardly at that time forbear singing as formerly in child-bearing she could forbear crying, and, shortly after, she died.

It would be long to insist on all particulars of this nature, the Lord having made him a happy instrument for the good of many. He took all occasions of doing good, when he was in company, by godly speeches, seasoning those who came to him, that, unless it were their own faults, they might be better of him. Being invited to a great feast where there were sundry gentlemen, and some of them began to swear, he stopped them by discoursing of the greatness of that sin, and, that he might not burthen their memories, he quoted three chapters, every one was the first, as the first of Zechariah, the first of Matthew, and the first of James, and he opened those scriptures in such a method that they were all hushed and did not again offend in that kind while he was present amongst them.

The word was his great delight, his meditation was of it in the night and his discourse in the day. When those that were with him were speaking of earthly things, he would find out some way to bring in heavenly, and, when he could not sleep in the night, he would say, that the meditation of the word was sweeter to him than sleep. When he had preached twice on the Sabbath, and was a-weary, yet, to those that came to him, he would go on afresh in holy discourses, and the comforts which he found in his soul made him sometimes forget his body that he hath been speaking till he was ready to faint. His eminency was in frequency, aptness, freeness, and largeness of godly discourse, in which respect it may be said of him, that, in the country where he lived, none were known who therein were equal to him. His preaching was searching, and, when some did suppose that he had informers and spies because he came so close to them, he answered, that the word of God was searching, and that if he was shut up in a dark vault where none could come at him, yet allow him but a Bible and a candle, and he should preach as he used to do.

Upon a time when he had preached so long that it was somewhat late before he went to dinner, he said, you shall have some gentlemen will follow hounds from seven in the morning till four or five in the afternoon because they love the cry of dogs, which to

me was unpleasant hearing, so, if we love the word, we should be content though the minister stood above his hour. Speaking to a minister who was to go to a place where there was but small means, he told him, that his care should be to preach and to do God service, and then God would provide for him. When he preached at Fausley, and was much resorted unto, as it was with him in other places, he told a godly man of his acquaintance, that, if the country knew so much by him as he knew by himself, they would not have him in so much admiration.

When he had been long speaking to those that came to him and used to ask him questions, and hath been persuaded to spare himself, he would say, "Hear but this one thing more, it may be I shall never speak to you again, but, if it should be so, blessed is the servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Harken to a few words more, God hath heard all the words we have spoken and considered with what hearts and affections we have spoken them." He was very plain and familiar, both in preaching and conference, yet very spiritual, and performed all with much gravity. The chief things he sought God for in his frequent secret fastings and prayers, as himself said, were the knowledge of the scriptures and a blessing upon his ministry, in both which God answered him abundantly. As for the Scriptures, God had so enlightened him that he was able to give account of the drift and scope of the greatest part of them with great clearness, and to open them in such sort as proved very effectual for the bringing of Scripture-light into simple men's understandings who were not able to reach the obscure and scholastic interpretations of many. In preaching, he usually took some portion of Scripture in order before him, opening a verse or two or more at a time, first clearing the connection, then giving the sense and interpretation briefly, but very plainly, not leaving the text till he had made it plain to the meanest capacity, then raising those doctrines that were most agreeable to the mind and Spirit of God in that text, clearing and exemplifying his points excellently out of the word. He spake most largely and very home in application, mightily convincing and diving into men's hearts and consciences, and leaving them little or nothing to object against it. He took great care to speak to the meanest capacity and to feed the lambs, saying, he must stoop to the lowest capacity, and, if he could reach them, others might help themselves. He could not endure that ministers should use hard and unusual English. He said that most ministers usually shoot over the heads of their hearers. He did not strive to speak all that might be said to a point, nor to show variety or please curiosity, but to speak to the heart. He would say that there were many tricks and devices that some men used in preaching, but they seldom did good. The pure gospel, and that preaching which the world counts foolishness, was that that works most good. He was very evangelical, striving first to make men see their lost condition clearly, and to be convinced of it, saying, sense of misery was a good step to the remedy, and then largely and excellently opening the promises and the grace of God in Christ according to the gospel, looking on that as the most effectual preaching. Some, says he, labour still to keep men under terrors, and load them with threatenings, &c., lest they should not be humbled enough, but the gospel works true humiliation, not the law, it arises from sense of sin and mi-

very joined with the hope of mercy. He desired to speak distinctly, not giving the children's bread to dogs, but to discover hypocrisy and sincerity by lively characters and signs, but yet with great tenderness to babes in Christ, striving to distinguish a babe from an hypocrite. Being eighty years old his pains were very great yet not painful to him. He preached almost all day long on the Lord's-day, yet said it was no great matter to pay money when one had it, all the labour was to get it. He opened a chapter and prayed in his family, afterwards preached in public, and, in the interim, discoursed all dinner-time, but ate very little. At first sitting down he would bid them help themselves and one another, and see that none want. Let me, said he, bid you but once, for I would not speak a vain word to-day. After both sermons the house would be filled, and he, being set in his chair, used to say, if any have a good question or a hard place of Scripture to open, let them say on; and, when he was faint, he would call for a small glass of wine and beer mixed, and then to it again till night. He was excellent in preaching occasionally from the creatures as he walked or rode. His ministry was so spiritual, and yet so plain, that poor simple people that never knew what religion meant, when they had gone to hear him, could not chuse but talk of his sermon. It mightily affected poor creatures to hear the mysteries of God (by his excellent skill that way) brought down to their own language and dialect. He was so holy and spiritual, both in life and doctrine, that he silenced even desperate and devilish opposers of religion. It was a discredit for any to speak evil of him, because it must needs express much malice, and all men most generally (in his latter time at least) honoured him. He was very successful in making peace, though between desperate and almost implacable adversaries and some of them wicked, mightily convincing them with gospel arguments to the overcoming and quieting of their spirits. When inferior people came to speak with him, if he was walking in the church where he used most to study that he might have room to walk in (being troubled with the stone) or elsewhere, if he thought them bashful he would meet them and say, "would you speak with me;" and, when he found them unable to state their question, he would help them out with it, taking care to find the sore, but would answer and deal so compassionately and tenderly as not to discourage the poorest soul from coming again to him. In his last sickness his faith and patience were increased and persisted by his sufferings, he longed and thirsted to be with Christ, which words he often uttered. One of his last speeches was this, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he sighed and said, "I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ." He died in 1645.

5. BALSOM. Having spent some years at New-inn-hall in Oxford, upon his removal thence he was entertained by Mr Bernard of Batcomb, under whom he greatly improved his abilities for preaching. Upon the death of Mr Bernard, preaching occasionally at a neighbouring village called Stoke, among a company of poor untaught people, one that lived thereabouts told him, that if such a minister should come and preach among that people, where there was so small encouragement, he should think that God had a great work to do upon them. Hereupon Mr Balsom promised to be their minister, where he enjoyed about forty pounds a-year. The success of

his ministry there was very great, insomuch that he hath been heard say, "that there were but few sermons that he preached there but he had intelligence that some one or other were converted by them."

Then he went to Berwick, where he was received with great affection of the people, and saw, in a short time, great success of his labours in the ministry. After some time, he was earnestly entreated to return into his own country, to which, for some important reasons, he was inclined, but was earnestly importuned, by many of the inhabitants of Berwick, either to abide with them or to return again to them. And, after many other arguments, as he was just parting with them, as their last argument to persuade him to stay with them, they presented him with a list of about threescore that had been (as they were verily persuaded) savingly wrought on by his ministry during his abode there. He left them, but with a mind of returning to them again if providence crossed it not; but his return was prevented by his death, which happened about two years after, as he was endeavouring to get himself free from the place where he then was, to return to them. In which space of time he did much good, as in converting many, so in reducing many that were drawn away by the sectaries. He died in 1647.

6. PALMER. The symptoms of grace and piety began very early to appear in him, as soon almost as the exercise of reason, so that we may, not without good ground, esteem him as sanctified from the womb. When he was about the age of four or five years, he would cry to go to his mother that he might hear somewhat of God, and the older he grew, religious desires grew stronger in him. He was early acquainted with the Book of God, which he much delighted in and read with great affection.

While he was fellow of Queen's College, about the year 1624, he was solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry, whereunto, from a child, he had devoted himself. And, about the year 1626, he was called to the public exercise of it, as a lecturer in the city of Canterbury, where, for divers years, (notwithstanding the great oppositions he there met with from such as were enemies to the power of godliness) he did, with much diligence and very great success, discharge that great work to the spiritual edification and comfort of many yet alive, to whom his memory to this day is precious. He sometimes preached in the French congregation at Canterbury, at the request of their eldership, being master of that language, to the great edification of his hearers. An ancient French gentlewoman, when she saw him the first time coming into the pulpit (being startled at the smallness of his personal appearance and the weakness of his look) cried out in the hearing of those that sat by her, *Helas! que nous dira cet infant ici?* Alas! what should this child say to us? But, having heard him pray and preach with so much spiritual strength and vigour, she lifted her hands to heaven with admiration and joy, blessing God for what she had heard. After some years he was removed from Canterbury to the vicarage of Ashwel in Hertfordshire, where he continued the same zeal, diligence, and care, which he had before discovered, in seeking the good of those souls that were committed to his charge.

Besides his constant preaching twice every Lord's day, he did also very frequently preach to them occasionally, not willing to let pass any opportunity of doing them good; wherein, notwithstanding the ex-

cellency of his learning, whereby, if he had sought it, he might have attained great applause, (even from knowing men), yet he chose always to condescend to the capacities of his hearers with so much plainness as that, if possible, he might be understood by the meanest, as being most studious both for the matter and manner of his preaching, how he might be able, most of all, to profit those that heard him. And on this ground, upon any emergent occasions, he endeavoured as much as might be to suit his matter thereto, that so the word of God and the providence of God might the one give an edge unto the other, and both jointly become the more effectual. On the same ground also, was he careful to observe the advantages of sickness, or any other considerable afflictions, because his admonitions and christian advice were like to be, at such a time, the more effectual, when God had, as it were, softened their hearts and opened their ears to hear. He was also careful by catechising, both in public and at his own house, to instruct, in the principles of religion, not only the children and youth but even those that were more aged, in case he discerned them ignorant and such as stood in need thereof, and yet not so as might expose them to scorn and reproach, but so as might most conduce to their edification in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. To which end he had prevailed with those of his parish, at least the far greater number of them and those the most considerable persons, to concur with him in it, by sending their children and servants constantly to be catechised on the Lord's day before the afternoon sermon, (some of whom he catechised publicly in the congregation, and others, more privately, in his own house, either by himself or his assistant,) that so the public catechising might neither be too tedious nor entrench upon the time allotted for other exercises, as praying, reading, expounding, preaching, &c., nor yet the examination of others, for want of time, be wholly omitted, as also by their own endeavours at home to help on this work, and likewise to contribute their assistance in persuading others to the same willingness. As for those who were more eminent, but yet needed instruction, he laboured both by his own persuasion and the persuasion of others to work in them a willingness to repair to him in private at convenient times, that, by conferences with them, and friendly discourse in a familiar and gentle manner, he might bring them to such a sufficiency of knowledge as was necessary for their own salvation. As he was careful to instruct his flock, so was he also vigilant to prevent disorders and misdemeanours amongst them in point of practice, wherein he was not contented to use his own personal endeavours, but did also engage his parishioners to contribute their best assistance, to which they did oblige themselves in divers excellent resolutions and agreements, concluded by common consent amongst them, and subscribed by their hands, viz., for the preventing and punishing of drunkenness and tippling, of profaning the Lord's day and of disorderly behaviour during the exercise of divine worship, by sleeping, talking, playing, &c., as likewise of stealing and pilfering, of profane swearing and cursing, of railing, slandering, whoredom, fighting and quarreling, disobedience to parents and governors, and of other misdemeanours in whomsoever. In the religious ordering of his own family he was extraordinarily vigilant and painful that it might be, so much as in him lay, a garden without weeds, and that those who were under his roof might either

not perish, or at least not through his default; indeed his house was a school of religion, such as there are very few to be found, insomuch that it was counted a great happiness to live under his roof, in the constant enjoyment of so many means for the soul's good. Beside great care of his family jointly, he was also frequent in giving them personal counsel and direction in the ways of God, exhorting them to a daily constancy in the performance of secret duties between God and their own souls, so that scarce any family enjoyed the like measure of helps and encouragements in the ways of holiness.

In the year 1643, he was called to be a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster, and, after some time, he was chosen one of the assessors appointed to assist the prolocutor in case of absence or infirmity. He was, in that assembly, an eminent and very useful member, exceeding diligent and industrious, being very rarely absent and that not but upon urgent unavoidable occasions. For as he accounted it an honour to be employed by God, in so public a service for the good of his church, so he did conscientiously attend upon it. But, unwilling to intermit the exercise of his ministerial function, he did at first preach occasionally, as he was requested, in divers churches in and about London, resolving, notwithstanding, within himself, to accept of the first invitation for the constant exercise thereof. And accordingly, being soon after requested by the inhabitants of Duke's palace in London, (who were then destitute of a minister), to preach amongst them, he did, notwithstanding their inability to raise any considerable maintenance which might invite him, willingly accept of that employment. This work he performed amongst them with much faithfulness and diligence, by public reading, praying, and preaching amongst them twice every Lord's day, and at other times as there was occasion, as also by administering the sacrament, public catechising, and exposition of such portions of scripture as were read amongst them; and likewise, as his custom had been elsewhere, by more private converse with them in their families, whereby he might be the better able to afford personal directions and other ministerial helps to them, as their several conditions might require. All which was performed with so much meekness, wisdom, and piety, and accompanied with such a blessing from God, as that it made a very great impression on them for their good, and was entertained by them with much approbation and affection, they being ambitious who should enjoy most of his heavenly conversation and christian counsel. Hereby, in a short time, he did much good, and stirred up in them a greater affection and zeal for the power of godliness. And, during his abode amongst them, they were much preserved both from errors and divisions, whereunto the great unsettledness of the times did much expose them, when his friends had persuaded him to favour himself, judging his fatigue to be more than his body could endure, his answer hath been, that his strength would spend of itself though he did nothing, and it could not be better spent than in God's service; yea, so far was he from favouring himself in this kind, that it was a rule with him, which he constantly observed, never to favour himself by declining any ministerial exercise which he was requested to perform, whether in public or private, if he were possibly able to perform it.

On the 11th of April, in the year 1644, he was constituted master of Queen's College in Cambridge.

His first and main care was the advancement of religion and practical piety, knowing that where this took place a considerable improvement of time in other things could not well be wanting. This made him extraordinarily solicitous for the constant presence of the whole society at the public worship of God, which he did carefully look to when he was present amongst them, and usually it was one of the last things he gave in charge to all the students when his more public employments at the assembly called him away, and he was very inquisitive about it in his absence. He took care also for the constant instruction not only of the young scholars, but likewise of all the college servants in the principles of religion. The exercises of common places or sermons in the chapel, which had formerly been in use only in term time, he caused to be continued weekly all the year. Besides which, when he was present in the college, he did frequently himself either preach or expound scripture to them. He also took special notice of the several conversations of the particular persons in the college, as well by his own inspection and observation while he was present, as by faithful informations in his absence; and was frequent in giving them personal counsel and direction in private. Agreeable hereto was also the care of the particular fellows, who besides the instruction of their pupils in learning, caused them to come to their chambers to prayers every night, and to repetition of sermons on the Lord's day. By all which the practice of religion was much promoted. He was a man indeed of a very public spirit, and wholly laid himself out for God; and therefore, though he were ready to deny himself, and condescend freely where his own interest was only concerned, yet was he zealous and tenacious in things that concerned God's glory, reserving his heat to encounter sin. Hence was it, that, notwithstanding his natural meekness, he acted in the things of God with much courage and resolution. As in those free and resolute expressions of himself (yet with humility, meekness, and sobriety) in preaching at the Cathedral Church at Canterbury, in presence of the Dean and Prebends, wherein he spared not to set before them such things as were notoriously amiss, (yet for the most part expressing in Latin what did chiefly concern them, that they might take notice of it, not the people) which, though it procured him some trouble and opposition, yet he did not for that abate of his courage and resolution. In like manner, when he was to preach at the Bishop of Lincoln's visitation at Hitchin, he went thither with resolution to speak fully and freely against the corrupt innovations then in practice, whatever might be the issue, and did accordingly perform it though he was sensible of the great danger of so doing. It is well known also what freedom and faithfulness he hath used in reference to the public affairs, as well in his ordinary sermons at the New Church, the Abbey, and Margaret's in Westminster, (to which places the greatest number of Parliament men did usually resort) as in those by special order, preached to one or both Houses of Parliament, some of which are to be seen in print, where he spared not to declare, fully and plainly, what God expected from them, and freely to reprove what was amiss; for, as he was wont to say, he did not in that place preach BEFORE them (*ut coram iudice*) but TO them (*authoritative*) as by commission from God, and how much soever they might be superior to him in other regards, yet he was in that place superior to them as acting in

God's name, and, therefore, would not be afraid to speak whatever was the will of God, that he should tell them notwithstanding any displeasure or danger which might by this means befall him. He died in 1647.

7. CROOK. His heart even in his youth was drawn Heaven-ward; he translated divers of the Psalms, and composed several hymns of his own, some of which, in his last sickness, he sung with tears of joy. In September 1603, he was called to the pastoral charge of a great flock at Wrington, a market-town in the county of Somerset. There did he forthwith set upon the work for which he was sent, viz. to instruct and turn unto righteousness that great people who had never before enjoyed the blessing of a preaching minister, which therefore required the greater skill; so that he was, in some sense, to them (if not to the whole country adjacent) the first that, by preaching the gospel, brought religion into credit, and discovered to them the heavenly Canaan, which before was to the most of them as an unknown land. He constantly preached, if in health, thrice a week, besides his extraordinary labours on many emergent occasions, which he cheerfully embraced, as rejoicing in all opportunities of doing good, and that abroad as well as at home. In all his sermons, which were many thousands, his expressions were weighty, savoury, and seasonable; his applications home and pertinent, strongly enforced and set on from divine authority, by a sweet and moving elocution, fervent zeal, and strength of love to the souls of the hearers. He knew very well how to set forth abstruse points plainly, and how to manage plain truths elegantly, not in the words of man's wisdom, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, always speaking in Christ as of God, in the sight of God. His motto was *Impendat et expendar*, "I will spend and be spent," which he cheerfully verified, for he counted not his life dear in comparison of preaching the gospel, and of finishing his course with joy, and the ministry he had received from the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the grace of God. When he was told by his physician, who was very careful to preserve his life, that he might live longer if he would preach seldomer. Alas! said he, if I may not labour I cannot live. What good will life do me if I be hindered from the end of living? *Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*. He died in 1649.

From WEELEY'S CHRISTIAN LIBRARY, Vol. xvi. Page 201.

8. BLACKERBY. He was born in the year 1574, at Worlington Suffolk. He was second son of Thomas Blackerby, a person of good estate and quality, who had nine sons and one daughter, and designed him, from the first, for the ministry. At the age of fifteen, he was admitted a student in Trinity College in Cambridge, where he lived nine years, and became an eminent scholar in all parts of learning, especially in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues. While he was in the university, Mr Perkins was a preacher and lecturer in the town of Cambridge, upon whose ministry he diligently attended, whereby his soul was deeply wrought upon; but he lay some years in great distress of conscience, when his father took him home to Worlington, to see if change of air might relieve his melancholy, which his friends thought proceeded from temper of body, though it had another cause which neither air

nor company could remove. After a short time, he desired to return again to Mr Perkins, and it pleased God, as he was returning to Cambridge, and riding alone upon Newmarket heath, bemoaning his sad condition before the Lord, to reveal his reconciled face in Christ Jesus to him, and to give him that peace of conscience, so well grounded and so clearly evinced, which he never lost to his dying day. From the university, he went as a chaplain to the house of Sir Thomas Jermin of Rushbrook in Suffolk, in which family he, both morning and evening, not only prayed, but opened some passage of Scripture during the whole time of his abode there. From thence he removed to Sir Edward Lewknor of Denham in Suffolk, with whom he lived till he married Sarah, the eldest daughter of Mr Timothy Oldham.

Mr Blackerby lived two years with his father-in-law, minister of Denham, and from thence was called to be minister at Feltwell in Norfolk, where he continued for some time, but then, by reason of his non-conformity, he was forced to remove to Ashen, a village in Essex near Clare. Here, not being capable to receive any ecclesiastical preferment on the account aforesaid, he betook himself to boarding young men and educating of youth, spending three and twenty years in that employment, but, during the whole time, he always kept lectures in some neighbouring town, preaching weekly in one place or other; and, for the last ten years of the time, he preached stately either at Castle Henningham, Stoke by Clare, or Hunden in Suffolk.

He seemed never to lose one moment of time in idleness or non-improvement thereof, and herein is wrapt up all the practical wisdom of mortal man, viz. to improve time for immortality. He rose early in the morning, summer and winter, and spent the whole day in reading, meditation, and prayer, and teaching others. After a competent time spent in his study in the morning, he would early call his family, or any other family in which he was, and wherein he had any influence, together, and, as constantly as the sun rose and set, he failed not (morning and evening) to spend some time in reading and expounding the Scriptures, and in prayer, unless in very extraordinary cases. He spent much of his time in teaching young scholars, (boarding in his house always a great number of youths, the sons of pious gentry, tradesmen, and yeomen in the country,) whom he daily instructed both in religion and learning. They sat round about the table at his expositions, and, if he saw any behaving themselves as not minding, he would call out to that youth by name, and ask him what he said last, by which means he made them continually attentive.

He was a great walker, and would oft call forth his scholars abroad and teach them both natural and divine knowledge, fitting some for the university, and others for other callings. He walked continually before them, as the picture of Jesus among his disciples, abounding in wisdom, heavenliness, and love. Many grew to be excellent persons in church and state, and, indeed, his example was enough to commend religion to the head and heart of every spectator. Likewise, divers young students, after they came from the university, betook themselves to him to prepare them for the ministry, to whom he opened the Scriptures and read divinity, and gave them excellent advice for learning, doctrine, and life. And many eminent persons proceeded from this Gamaliel, as Dr Bernard, afterwards Dean and Bishop in Ire-

land, whom he commended to Archbishop Usher, with whom he had great acquaintance; Mr Prose, minister of two Dutch congregations, first in Colchester, then in London; Mr Stone, afterwards famous in New-England; holy Mr Fairclough, and many others. He was a man much in prayer, much in closet prayer, much in walking prayer, much in solitary prayer, much in conjugal prayer—for he daily prayed with his wife alone—much in family prayer, daily with his own family, and almost daily with some other family, very much in fasting and prayer, for which he took all occasions that seemed in any measure to require it. He used much to ride about from family to family, when he possibly could be spared from his scholars, and only alight and pray with them and give them some heavenly exhortation, and then away to another family. And in the neighbourhood to his house, where he would walk, he would frequently visit the inhabitants, especially the poor, painfully instructing them and fervently praying with them, and would give them catechisms and Bibles, and money, if he had it, and they had need of it. By his going about and doing good, many praised God in time, and more will to all eternity.

His preaching was not altogether in the usual manner, but much in making excellent, spiritual, short observations, and brief and close applications. He had a great skill in the original tongues, spent much study to understand the Scriptures, and lived much in divine converse, by all which he became a singular textuary, and famous divines would send to him for his opinion in Scripture difficulties. He was a mighty man in wounding consciences by the sword of the Spirit, and in healing them by the blood of Jesus. His voice used not to be very loud, but his preaching was accompanied with such an authority of the divine presence and power of the Spirit, that souls fell exceedingly under the yoke of Christ by his ministry, so that he has been constrained to acknowledge to some intimate friends, though far from boasting, that he had reason to believe God had made him a spiritual father to above two thousand persons. Indeed the word of God in his lips was so unmixed with any appearance of any by-respects, and came so pure, and with such demonstration of the Spirit, that, as is said of the word, Heb. iv. "It was very quick and powerful," and men soon became converts to it, or flyers from it, or, with all their might fighters against it. The direct rays of divine light, falling on the conscience, will have a speedy and great effect; when it is mingled and diluted with a carnal spirit, or not directly levelled at the heart, it may fall many years upon the outward ear, but never a piercing drop doth enter the soul, or if it does, it is quickly choaked there, with the body of death and power of darkness; but his preaching was such as must be yielded to, fled from or fought against. Many profane persons that could both hear other pious ministers and would curse them bitterly when they had done, yet dared neither to hear him, or speak against him if they did. There was so much of God in him, and with him, that he left a perpetual dread upon many souls that would play with other sermons, and with their names and persons. Multitudes of very profane persons did fall under the power of the word preached by him. A particular instance whereof happened in or near Castle Henningham in Essex, where a society or club of young persons, who used to have their set

times to meet and dance, and frolic it in their youthful sports, sins and vanities, were, by his preaching there, all, or most of them, converted, and became a company of gracious Christians, and used afterwards to join in prayer as before they had done in sin and folly. Some, whose consciences were seared, would sometimes rise up against his preaching with rage and violence, but the wrath of God did often most eminently take hold of such. As in Hunden in Suffolk, where sometime he had a lecture, he met with great opposition; divers persons, of considerable estate in the town, joined together and procured his suspension, but all of them were afterwards notoriously blasted in their outward estates, some brought to beggary, and all but one died miserably.

There was yet never any person, who had the happiness to converse with him, who did not behold both his heart and life so greatly sanctified and so generally raised to such an universality and height of true Christian godliness as cannot be equalled. Few persons have ever been acquainted with, or scarce ever read or heard of, any man that did exceed him. Though others might equal him in some corporal severities, and seem more heated in some particular parts of religion, yet for the impartiality, constancy, and sweetness of holiness, very few have come near him, and none, since the primitive times, did excel him. He made it his business to live with God and to his glory, not as too many that satisfy themselves in the frequent motions of their affections in some pangs of indigested resolutions, or some fits of pious conversation, as if these were the life and power of godliness, all which are very good and desirable, but yet, at best, they are but seeds and blossoms of the divine nature, which is first conceived by the Holy Ghost in the soul, in a real absolute consecration of the whole man to God, and grows in a diligent endeavour of perfect conformity to this consecration. He, the business of whose heart and life is not in all things, fetching strength from Christ by faith, to live to God, is yet no living child of God, what preparatories soever there may be in him towards it. It would make one's heart tremble to think what multitudes of half Christians drop daily down into everlasting destruction, cheating themselves with pious sentiments as if they were the life of godliness, which cannot be but in an absolute union with Christ, and living in the virtue of him, and faithful obedience to him, as this saint did. He lived not without infirmities, but, in the eye of all knowing, impartial, daily spectators, he was sanctified to such a degree as to be kept free from speaking an idle or an angry word, or losing any moment of time that he could redeem, or that he was sensible he might better spend, and this, by the space of above forty years, as by diligent enquiry and personal acquaintance of many years, will be justified. His deportment was always such, as if at that moment he saw God and had God's law, his own covenant with God and the day of account just then before his eye, so that whenever the Lord should come and call him, he would ever have been found so doing. To any understanding converser with him, there always appeared, wrote in his face and demeanour, a sense of the divine majesty and holiness, a most pleasing, conscientious, and full dedication of himself to God, a watchfulness upon his own heart and life lest he should offend, a great mortification of heart to all the world, a wonderful purity from sinful pollution, and an admirable transformation of spirit

unto the divine similitude. Indeed, constant holiness seemed perfectly natural to him, when it seems but endeavoured after by others. With this height of holiness was joined the depth of humility. He has sometimes, walking with his eldest grandchild, then but a youth, took occasion to say, after other serious discourse, "Oh lad! thou little thinkest what a vile heart I have, how I am plagued with proud thoughts. Child, if thou hast acquaintance with God in prayer, pray for me, that God would purify this filthy heart. Oh, if God did not enable me, in some measure, to keep a watch over it, I should act to the shame of my face." Which expressions did greatly affect the heart of this young person, to hear one so like an incarnate angel speak at such a rate of his heart.

And such discourses as these were frequently with him to other persons when a fitting season offered. He seemed to have a small sense of any self-excellency, though Satan would fain have defiled him with it, but walked in continual admiration of the vouchsafements of free grace unto him. From his humility came that readiness in him to be persuaded or disposed of by others, much inferior to him, in any thing—so religion and duty suffered not by it—little valuing in what place he was put, or what account was had of him, so he might keep close to his duty, and enjoy the light of the Divine countenance.

And that which did set him most high above all others who lived in these latter days, was the impartial universality of his obedience, joined with the greatest charity and candour to all others, wherein was the least appearance of good. No hopes of preferment, or smart of suffering, could prevail with him to depart from his light; he could not so conform to the Church of England, as the law required, to make him capable of a living, yet, wherein he thought it his duty to conform, no man was more exact than he. And, therefore, being no enemy to the Common-prayer, he would all days, Lord's-days, and week-days, when divine service was read in the parish-church, go with his family to the very beginning, and there behave himself with that reverence and heavenliness, as I never saw any like him therein.

He was as far from countenancing any known evil in any. I believe none that ever conversed with him but will bear him witness that he never suffered what he thought sin in them, without admonition and reproof; as sure as he observed the evil, they should hear of it from him, but ever with so much evident love as well as seriousness, that, at the same time, both their consciences were awed by the gravity of his advice, and their affections inflamed with the sweetness of his spirit. His reproofs were truly, as one well expresses, nails dipt in oil, driven with power into the inmost of the heart, and received with all acceptance because of the overcoming kindness they were accompanied with. When he has been in company, and heard great persons swear or speak profanely, he would, with a sad countenance (leaving the table or departing the room) rebuke, and, afterwards privately address the great person with so much seriousness and respect that they would be much taken with his dealing with them, thank him for his reproof, and the manner of it, and one told him, "Had you spoke to me at table, I had stabbed you, but now I heartily thank you." He would neither suffer sin in men unproved, nor provoke to sin by his rebuke.

He was very zealous for the holy observation of the Lord's-day. On Saturday, at four in the after-

noon, he constantly preached in his family, (to which divers neighbours would resort) preparatory to the next day. Of all mornings he would rise on the Lord's-day mornings, and, wherever he was and had any power, would call up all the family (but especially his own) to prayer and reading. He usually prayed six times every Lord's-day in the family. 1st. As soon as he had got them up in the morning, expounding some part of the Scripture to them. 2d. When he was going to the public congregation he carried his family with him, and, before they went out of door, would pour out some petitions for God's assistance and blessing in the public worship of the day. 3d. When he returned again from church in the morning, he constantly prayed for a blessing on what they had heard. 4th. He led them out again in the afternoon with prayer. 5th. After supper, when the family was ready to go to bed, he commended them again to God by prayer. But this must be observed, he prayed oft, but never (unless upon an extraordinary occasion) very long, neither Lord's-days nor week-days, at home or abroad, in family or congregation, nor in preaching would he ever be over-long, so that his exercises, though frequent, were never burdensome. On the Lord's day he was impatient to hear any idle word, or see any idle action, nor could he endure any worldly word or act but what was of charity or necessity; but, after dinner, he would call upon all, especially those that were apt to sleep at church, to go and take a nap, as he himself usually did, lest they should profane God's public worship, or should hazard the salvation of or edification of their immortal souls, by sleeping in the congregation; and therefore, also, he frequently inveighed against great dinners on the Lord's-day, as apt to make them heavy and dull on those glorious days set apart for celebration of divine praises and edification of men's precious souls.

At a place called Linton in Cambridgeshire, there was a fair usually kept on the Lord's-day once a-year, at which time he was once invited to preach; and he then so plainly convinced the town of the greatness of the sin that they would never more keep the fair on the Lord's-day. Though he lived every day as sinless and as heavenly as if it had been a Sabbath, yet he was very sensible that our time is then much more to be spent in outward religious exercises, than on other days. The business of his life was all the week to obey, glorify, and have communion with God, but, on the Lord's-day the object of his acts was all religious and charitable performances.

He was a man of a most tender and contrite spirit. Any (greater than common) sins or providences, made deep impressions on him; if any such sin were committed in a neighbour town, or any judgment fell out in the nation, he would be sure to get divers ministers and Christians together, and keep a day of fasting and prayer. In nights of great thunder and unusual tempest, he would call up all his family to prayer, and expound some part of the Scripture to them, to affect their hearts with greater reverence towards God. Any notable Scripture, any eminent providence deeply entered his soul, and raised up his graces.

As his life was ever led as in the Divine Presence, so his heart and tongue were ever ready for prayer or any holy duty, and he so enjoyed God in every religious exercise, that he would almost constantly say, when he rose up from prayer, or came from a

sermon or any holy converse, or any religious exercise, (especially a day of fasting and prayer) that he must bless God forever for such an ordinance, and would not for many worlds but have been in it—a frequent expression with him, and, if an hyperbole, the only one that he was observed to use.

When he awaked in the night, he was ever in meditation and prayer. He would oft, at midnight, make Greek, Latin, or English verses, exalting the praise of God, his attributes, the acts of Christ, or the graces of his spirit, or the like, and give them in the morning to his scholars. His dreams were usually such as showed a heart that lived with God, full of gracious communications from God to him, and of faith, love, and obedience to God, and abhorrence of sin, and he would, in the evening, usually pray that his dreams might be holy, and usually holy dreams are certain signs of much love from God, or gracious habits in the man. He oft received immediate answers of prayer. God seemed also to make a covenant for him with the beasts of the field. His daughter Burrel was much affected with a remarkable providence which happened to him when she was waiting on him one day to visit one afflicted in conscience. Their way lay through a field where was a raging bull, that used to do much mischief, which beast, seeing them, made towards them with great fury, and, being come very near them, he put off his hat and prayed in these words, "Lord, if our way be of thee, stay the fury of this beast," which immediately stopped, and turned from them.

He kept three diaries of his life, one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English, where he set down all the remarkable acts of God towards him, and of himself towards God; these he would oft read over to affect his soul and improve them to divine glory. He was so crucified to the world, and the world to him, that all worldly concerns seemed a perfect nothing to him—the world seemed to have no temptation to him, and he no taste for the world. His passions were so subdued, that, though he was one that was most tenderly affected to his relations, yet their loss discomposed not his mind, interrupted not his communion with God. His eldest daughter was a most excellent person, and one in whom he took great delight, who died a few hours after her last child was born, and he, being present at her death, commended her spirit to God more affectionately, but as undisturbedly, as when he gave her person to her husband in marriage. He desired to preach her funeral sermon, which he did, and therein gave her this testimony, that he believed she had feared the Lord in sincerity, from three years old, yet preached so as shewed he had not lost his God, though he had lost his dearest child. Nothing of creatures could in the least draw him from his life with God. Living much in divine communion, he had great insight into scripture prophecies, and had many future events deeply impressed on his mind. Men know but little of God's mind, because they live but little in his presence and converse. He was one of the first that convinced men, in those parts, of God's intent to convert the nation of the Jews. Mr Rogers of Dedham, and Mr Stephen Marshall, and divers others, much opposed that opinion at first, but were at last, by his discourses, fully satisfied and really persuaded of the truth of it. He lived much in the foresight of the glory of God and peace of the churches in the last ages. He oft said, many years before it came to

pass, to divers of his friends, that they would live to see never a persecuting Bishop in power of England.

The first time when the Scots army came into England, he said to some who were much troubled for it, that the army should go back without a stroke struck, and so they did. He said, after the battle of Naseby, that many strict professors of religion should have rest for a little time, but, afterwards, a blacker time would come unto them than ever they had which was in part fulfilled; but he used to add, the storm would not last very long. And these were his very last words which he spake at his death, "There is a sharp storm coming, but it will be but short," the former part is already proved true, God grant the other part may also be accomplished. He used to say, God had two sieves for the professors in England, one of a coarser make, and that he had used; but there would come a finer one, which all should stand ready for, and this, it is doubted, is in a great degree to come. He used to say, it was very probable this nation would be punished by the French, after whose fancies they went so much a whoring. And he much believed Popery would come in, but it would not last, for it could not recover its first strength in England. There were some particularities in him that may seem of lesser moment. He could not endure to see any Bible lie contemptuously about the house, but would have them carefully and cleanly used or laid up; he thought there ought a reverence to be given to the very outsides of such sacred oracles. He was exceeding careful to have none of God's creatures lost, he would always have a fowl or two allowed to come familiarly into his eating-room to pick up the crumbs that would fall from the table.

His conversation was so in Heaven, and the majesty of holiness did so shine in him, that that famous divine, for learning and piety, Mr Rogers of Wethersfield in Essex, told another divine, he could never come into the presence of Mr Blackerby without some kind of trembling upon him, because of the majesty and holiness which seemed to shine in him. The height and constancy of his holy and heavenly converse was accompanied with a settled peace of conscience, and good assurance of eternal life, for, some years before his death, he would oft (upon reasonable occasions) declare, that, for more than forty years, he never had a doubting thought of his salvation. It is our low, loose, unequal walking in religion, that makes the sense of God's love, peace with God, and evidence for eternal life, so rare a thing among us.

This holy man was, indeed, an instance sent by God into the world to show to what life of holiness and peace Christians may on earth certainly arrive, if hearty sincerity, deep mortification, diligent watchfulness, love of divine communion, and an humble and active faith meet in the heart of any man.

When he was about the age of fifty-five, his son-in-law, Mr Christopher Burrel, was presented to the rectory of Great Wrattling in Suffolk; Mr Burrel had lived some years as a boarder to Mr Blackerby; Mr Blackerby now removes and continues a boarder with him for divers years, in all which time he continued preaching the gospel only occasionally (except at Gerdingtherp in Essex, where he maintained a constant lecture) until towards the close of his life.

Then providence so ordered, that he took upon upon him a pastoral charge over the congregation at Great Thurlow, and here his master found him so

doing, to wit, very busy in his master's service, for, as he was preaching on one Lord's day, he was took with a great weakness and fainting while he was in the pulpit, so that, being carried home, he continued very weak six weeks, but kept his bed only two days before he died, which was in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

He had seven children who lived to be men and women, (two sons and five daughters), his eldest son was a gracious young man and lived some time a student in Katherine Hall in Cambridge, but died of a consumption before he took any degree. His other son was also a good man and an excellent preacher, and died, lately, minister of Stow-market in Suffolk. And now all his sons and daughters, except one, and all his sons-in-law and daughters-in-law are gone with him to everlasting rest. It is most fitting that the world should know and remember that there was a man so sanctified by Divine grace as to be enabled to live fifty years after his conversion, doing good, and walking with God, without being left (in the eyes of the most strict observers) to utter an idle or angry word. His countenance and speech, his deportment and behaviour, was perpetually as before the eye of God, in the conscientious observance of all his precepts, with a heart full of love to him, having his face awing with a majesty, and shining with a sweetness and beauty of holiness, who, to all appearance, spent every moment of his time in his believed duty and in zealous doing of good, always ready for, and having spiritual communion with God in all his ordinances, and all carried on with a deep and contrite sense of the natural corruption of his heart, in the lowest humility and condescension (with most transcendent charity to all men, yet not suffering sin in his brother unreprieved,) one that kept peace of conscience and assurance of eternal life inviolate for forty years together, one who convinced all men, both good and bad, that knew him, that the power of God and religion dwelt assuredly in him, the Divine Spirit and power beautifying and adorning him, and assuring both himself and others that he was born of God. He died in 1651.

From CLARE'S Lives.

9. COTTON. The manner of his conversion was thus: During his residence in the university of Cambridge, God began to work upon him by the ministry of Mr William Perkins, of blessed memory, but the motions and stirrings which then were in his heart, he suppressed, thinking that if he should trouble himself with matters of religion according to the light he had then received, it would be an hindrance to him in his studies, which he then had much addicted himself to. Therefore he was willing to silence those suggestions and inward callings which he had from God's spirit, and did willingly defer the prosecution of that work till afterwards.

At length, as he was walking in the fields, he heard the bell tolling for Mr Perkins, who lay a-dying, whereupon he was secretly glad in heart that he should now be rid of him, who had, as he said, laid siege to and beleaguered his heart. This became matter of much affliction to him afterwards, God keeping it upon his spirit with the aggravation of it, and making it an effectual means of convincing and humbling him in the sight and sense of the natu-

ral enmity that is in man against God. Afterwards bearing Dr. Sibbs preaching a sermon about regeneration, wherein he showed, first, what regeneration was not, and so opened the state of a mere civil man. Mr Cotton saw his own condition fully discovered, which, through God's mercy, put him to a stand, as plainly seeing himself destitute of true grace. All his false hopes now failing him, he lay for a long time in an uncomfortable despairing way, and, of all other things, this was his heaviest burden, that he had wittingly withstood the means of grace and offers of mercy which he found had been tendered to him. Thus he continued till it pleased God to let in a word of faith into his heart, and to cause him to look unto Christ for his healing, which word also was dispensed unto him by the same Dr Sibbs, which begat in him a singular and constant love to him, of whom he was also answerably beloved.

He had been, some time before, called to preach an university sermon at St. Mary's, which he did with high applause from the academical wits, inasmuch as the fame of his learning grew greater and greater. And being now again called to preach in the same place, the memory of his former accurate exercises filled the colleges, especially the young students, with a fresh expectation of such elegancies of learning as made them flock to the sermon with an Athenian itch after some new thing, but, his spirit now savouring of the cross of Christ more than of human literature, his speech and preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom. The disappointed expectation of the auditory soon appeared in their countenances, and the discouragement of their non-acceptance made him return to his chamber not without some sad thoughts of heart, where yet he had not been long before Dr Preston knocks at his chamber-door, and, coming in, acquainted him with his spiritual condition, and tells him how it had pleased God to work effectually upon his heart by that sermon, after which, Dr Preston ever highly prized him, which real seal of God unto his ministry much comforted his soul far above what the present less acceptance of the auditory had dejected him, or their former acceptance had encouraged him.

About the 28th year of his age, he was settled at Boston in Lincolnshire, and, at that time, he was exercised with some inward troubles, which much dejected him, but this dispensation of the All-wise God, he afterwards found not only to be beneficial unto him in preparing his heart for his work, but also that it became an effectual means of his more peaceable and comfortable settlement in that place, where the people were divided amongst themselves by reason of a potent man in the town who adhered to another Cambridge man, whom he would fain have brought in. But when he saw Mr Cotton wholly taken up with his own exercises of spirit, he was free from all suspicion of his being pragmatical or addicted to siding with this or that party, and so both he and his party began to close more fully with him. And so, for three or four years, he preached amongst them without opposition; they accounted themselves happy (as well they might) in the enjoyment of him, both the town and country thereabouts being much bettered and reformed by his labours. But after, he was not able to bear the ceremonies imposed, his non-conformity occasioned his trouble in the Bishop's court at Lincoln; however, he was advised to appeal to an higher court, which he did, and gained his cause, and so was restored unto Boston.

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After this time he was blessed with a successful ministry unto the end of twenty years. He took much pains in private, and read to several young scholars that were in his house, and to some that came out of Germany, and had his house full of auditors. Afterwards, seeing some inconvenience in the people's flocking to his house, (besides his ordinary lecture on the Thursdays) he preached thrice more in public on the week days, viz., on Wednesdays and Thursdays early in the morning, and on Saturdays at three o'clock in the afternoon. He was frequent in duties of humiliation and thanksgiving. Sometimes he continued five or six hours in prayer and opening the word, so indefatigable was he in the Lord's work, so willing to spend and be spent therein. Besides, he answered many letters that were sent him far and near, wherein were handled many difficult cases of conscience, and many doubts cleared to great satisfaction.

The times being now such that he could not continue in the public exercise of his ministry with a good conscience, and the envy of his maligners having now procured letters missive to convent him before the high-commission-court, Mr Cotton having intelligence thereof, and well knowing that scorn and imprisonment were to be expected from them, according to the advice of many, (amongst whom Mr Dod, of blessed memory, had a singular influence) he kept himself close, for a time, in and about London, and, when he went into New-England, it was not a flight from duty, nor from the profession of the truth, but unto a more opportune place for professing it.

When Mr Cotton arrived at New-England, his manner of entrance unto them was a great blessing, for, at his first coming, he found them not free from troubles about settling the matters both of church and commonwealth, at which time, being requested, he preached before the general court. His text was Haggai ii. 4. "Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, the son of Josedech, the high-priest: and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work, for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts." And the Lord working mightily by this sermon, all obstructions were presently removed, and the spirits of all sorts, as one man, were excited unanimously and vigorously in the work of the Lord from that very day. In order to which, the court, considering that all the members of the Republic were also church-members, and therefore, to be governed according to the law of God, they desired Mr Cotton to draw an abstract of the judicial laws delivered from God to Moses so far forth as they were of perpetual and universal obligation, which accordingly he did. From this time it was an usual thing for the magistrates to consult with the ministers in hard and difficult cases, especially about matters of religion, yet so as religious care was had of avoiding confusion of councils. After which time how useful Mr Cotton was to Old England, to New England, to magistrates, to ministers, to people in public, in private, by preaching, by counsel, and by resolving difficult questions, all know that knew him. In the course of his ministry in New Boston, the presence of the Lord being with him and crowning his labours with the conversion of many souls, and the edification of thousands. Some years after, there was brought into Boston a report of the necessitous condition of the poor saints at Sigaatae, a little church whereof Mr White was a

faithful pastor, which suffered much extremity by reason of the persecution of their then prevailing adversaries, forcing them from Bermudas into the desert continent. The sound of whose distress was no sooner heard of, but you might have heard the sounding of his bowels, with many others, applying themselves to a speedy collection, and sending it to them for their seasonable relief; the sum was about seven hundred pounds, two hundred whereof he gathered in the church of Boston, no man in the contribution exceeding, and but one equalling his bounty. And it was remarkable that his contribution arrived there the very day after those poor people were brought to a personal division of that little meal then remaining in the barrel, and, not seeing (according to man) but that, after the eating thereof, they must die a lingering death for want of food, and, upon the same day, their pastor had preached unto them (it being the Lord's day) upon that text, *Psalm* xxiii. "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want." At such a time the good hand of the Lord brought this succour to them from afar. Mr Cotton, being now advanced in years and sickly, did, according to that of James, send for the elders of the church to pray over him, which last solemn duty was performed not without much affection and many tears. Then (as Polycarp, a little before his death, said, that he had served Christ fourscore and six years, and had always found him merciful and kind to him) so Mr Cotton told them, that, through grace, he had now served God forty years, (it being so long time since his conversion) throughout which time he had ever found him a faithful God, and thereupon he took occasion to exhort them to the like effect that Paul sometime did the elders of Ephesus a little before they were to see his face no more. "Take heed, therefore, to yourselves and to all the flock over which he hath made you overseers, to feed the church which he hath purchased with his own blood." Particularly he lamented, that the love of many, yes, and of some of their own congregation, was grown cold towards the public ordinances, calling upon them so much the more for their watchfulness in that respect, which done, he thanked them for their loving and brotherly assistance to him in their holy fellowship, and commended them to the blessing of God. Then, that godly man, Mr Wilson, the faithful pastor of the church of Boston, taking his last leave of him, and most ardently praying unto God, "That he would lift up the light of his countenance upon him, and shed his love into his soul," he presently answered, "He hath done it already, brother. He died in 1652.

[10. THOMAS SHEPARD. Born 1605, died 1649. He was born at Northampton, educated at Cambridge, and, in 1634, left England for America, where he spent the rest of his life.

"He was assigned to the work of the ministry at a solemn meeting and conference of sundry godly ministers about it. There were to the number of twelve at the meeting, whose solemn advice was that he should serve the Lord in the gospel of his Son, wherein they have been the salvation of many a soul. For upon this he addressed himself to the work with that reality and seriousness in wooing and winning souls, that his word made deep impressions, and seldom or never fell to the ground.

"He was lecturer a while at Earle-cone in Essex, which we take it was the first place of his ministry, where he did much good, and the people

there, though now it is long since and many are gone, yet have a very precious and deep remembrance of him, of the mighty power of God by him to this day, (i. e. 1657.) But Dr W. Laud, then Bishop of London, soon stopped his mouth and drove him away as he did many other godly ministers from Essex at the same time. After this he lived at Butterchome in Yorkshire, at Sir Richard Darley's house, till the iniquity of those times hunted him thence also. Then he went to Northumberland, till silenced there also.

"And, being thus molested and chased up and down at home, he fled to New England, and, after some difficulties and delays by great storms and disasters at sea, upon the sands and coasts of Yarmouth, which retarded his voyage till another year, he arrived there at last, where he was pastor to a precious flock at Cambridge about fourteen years.

"His manner of preaching was close and searching, and with abundance of affection and compassion to his hearers. He took great pains in his preparations for his public labours, accounting it a cursed thing to do the work of the Lord negligently; and, therefore, spending usually two or three whole days in preparing for the work of the Sabbath, had his sermons finished usually on Saturday by two of the clock. He hath sometime expressed himself thus in public:—"God will curse that man's labours that lingers up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday in the afternoon goes to his study, when, as God knows, that time were little enough to pray and weep in, and to get his heart in frame," &c. He affected plainness together with power in preaching, not seeking abstrusities, nor liking to hover and soar aloft in dark expressions, and so shoot his arrows, as many preachers do, over the heads of his hearers.

"It is a wretched stumbling-block to some, that his sermons are somewhat strict, and, as they term it, legal. Some souls can relish none but meal-mouthed preachers, who come with soft and smooth and toothless words, (*Byssina verba byssinis viris*;) But these times need humbling ministries, and, blessed be God that there are any, for where there are no law-sermons there will be few gospel-lives, and were there more law-preaching by the men of gifts, there would be more gospel-walking both by themselves and the people. To preach the law, not in a forced affected manner, but wisely and powerfully, together with the gospel, as Christ himself was wont to do, (*Matt. v.*) and elsewhere, is the way to carry on all three together, viz. sense of misery, the application of the remedy, and the returns of thankfulness and duty. Nor is any doctrine more comforting than this humbling way of God, if rightly managed.

"His sickness began with a sore throat, and then a quinsy, and then a fever, whereof he died Aug. 25, 1649. This was one thing he said upon his death-bed, "Lord, I am vile, but thou art righteous;" and to those that were about him, he bid them "Love Jesus Christ dearly, that little part that I have in him is no small comfort to me now."

"Thus far those reverend and eminent men, Mr William Greenhill and Mr Samuel Mather in 1657. By mistake, indeed, they suppose Mr Shepard was 46 or 47 years' old when he died, for precisely speaking, he was but 43 years, 8 months, and 20 days. So great a progress did he make in sanctity and divine knowledge, and, in the midst of many molestations and abundant ministerial labours, he composed

and did so much, and grew in such esteem and pious fame, in so short a time, that I cannot but reckon him one of the admirable men of his age.

On this occasion I would recite a paragraph in the life of the very Rev. Mr James Fraser of Brea, in Scotland, published at Edinburgh in 1738, as follows:—"The Lord hath blessed the reading of Practical Writings to me, and thereby my heart hath been put into frame and much strength and light gotten, such as Isaac Ambrose, Goodwin, Mr Gray, and very much by Mr Rutherford's, above others; but, most of all, by Mr Thomas Shepard of New England, his works. He hath, by the Lord, been made the interpreter one of a thousand, so that, under Christ, I have been obliged to his writings as much and more than to any mean whatever for awakening, strengthening, and enlightening my soul, the Lord made him a well of water to me in all my wilderness straits."]

11. HILL. In his preaching, he was plain, powerful, spiritual, frequent, and laborious; for, besides what of that kind he did in the university of Cambridge in St. Mary's, and in the College Chapel, who were very happy in his frequent labours, in the town he set up a lecture every Sabbath morning in the parish church of St. Michael, performed only by himself, and cheerfully frequented by a great confluence both of scholars and townsmen, and another in the church of All-hallows every Sabbath afternoon, in which he did bear at least the fourth part of the burden, and both of them gratis. And there were many more such lectures there at that time by other pious learned men, more indeed than are in any town or city, upon those terms, in all England, or are like to be there again, which is mentioned, that God may have the glory in the first place, and then for the honour of that reformation, which so many do traduce, as also of those more noble-spirited preachers, who so freely offered their labour unto God.

But Cambridge did not bound the course of our laborious preacher's ministry, but, as it is said of our Saviour, Matth. ix. 35, "That he went about all cities and villages teaching and preaching," and of St. Paul, Rom. xv. 19, "That from Jerusalem and round about to Illyricum, he did fully preach the gospel of Christ," so our brother endeavoured to tread in these blessed steps, diligently preaching when he had occasion to be abroad in remoter parts, but especially in many towns and villages nearer hand. And, as our Saviour is observed, by some divines, to have preached more frequently the nearer he was to his departure, so this, his faithful servant, made the more haste in his journey towards his end. He was active for good, going up and down doing good, and, though otherwise modest, yet, when the case required it, bold in a good cause. He was spiritual in communion, and a quickener of those with whom he conversed, of a very public spirit, and much affected with the various conditions of the state, but especially of the church and people of God. He died in 1663.

12. GOUGE. He was minister at Blackfriars in London about forty-five years, where his ministry was, by the divine blessing, very successful. He had a high esteem of the pastoral office, and it was his earnest desire and daily prayer to God for his sons that they might be preachers of the gospel, for he himself found such comfort and content in his calling, that he thought no greater could be found in any other, and he often professed, for his own part, that the greatest pleasure he took in the world was

in the employments about the work of the ministry, insomuch as he was wont to say to divers honourable persons of his acquaintance, and particularly to the Lord Coventry, keeper of the great seal of England, that he envied not his great place and employment.

At his first coming to Blackfriars, being in the thirty-third year of his age, he preached constantly besides twice every Lord's-day, a weekly lecture, viz., on the Wednesdays in the forenoon, which, for the space of about twenty-five years, was very much frequented, and that not only by his parishioners, but by divers city members and by sundry pious and judicious gentlemen of the Inns of Court, besides many other well-disposed citizens, who, in multitudes, flocked to hear his heavenly doctrine; yea, such was the fame of Dr Gouge's ministry, that, when any country ministers and godly Christians came to London about their affairs, they thought not their business fully ended unless they had been at Blackfriars's lecture. And it pleased God to give such a blessing to his ministry, that many of his auditors, though living in other parishes, have confessed that the first seeds of grace were sown in their hearts by a blessing upon Dr Gouge's ministry; and, indeed, God wonderfully honoured his labours, many having been converted and built up by him. He used also to preach a preparation sermon before the communion, on the eve before each monthly sacrament. He was eminently laborious and faithful in his work even to his dying day, preaching so long as he was able to creep up into the pulpit. He was chosen, amongst others, to write large annotations upon the Bible, being well known to be a judicious interpreter of Scripture, and how well he performed that task may be evident to all that read his part, which was from the beginning of the first book of the Kings to Job. Such was his conversation, that there was scarce a lord or lady, or citizen of quality, in or about the city, that were piously affected, but they sought his acquaintance and were ambitious to enjoy his company, wherein they took much content and found much benefit to their souls thereby. And whereas many persons of quality, out of their great respect to him, came to visit him, he would so endeavour to order their conference as might tend most to their edification, and, if their visits were merely complimentary, he soon grew weary and accounted it a burden to him. He was very inquisitive after the state and condition of the church of Christ both at home and abroad, that he might, accordingly, order his prayers in their behalf, of whom he was never unmindful in his addresses unto God. It was a frequent saying of his, "When I look upon myself, I see nothing but emptiness and weakness, but in Christ I see nothing but fulness and sufficiency." He died in 1663.

The following note, from Neal's History in the year 1657, may be inserted here:—"About the beginning of this year, Dr Bryan Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, published the *Biblia Polyglotta*, in six volumes in folio, wherein the sacred text is printed in the vulgar Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Persian languages, each having its peculiar Latin translation, with an apparatus for the better understanding those tongues. This laborious performance, by the assistance of several that engaged in it, was completed in about four years, and was reckoned the most absolute edition of the Bible that the world had ever seen. Several learned persons, both Puritans and others,

assisted in correcting the prees and in collecting the copies. Many noblemen and gentlemen of quality contributed to the expense of printing this work, without which it could not have seen the light."

12. **JER. WHITAKER.** He was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, in the year 1599. Even whilst he was a school-boy his affections did flow out towards those who were most religiously disposed, in whose company he used frequently to go eight or ten miles to hear an awakening soul-warming sermon. He used also to join with them in prayers and other holy exercises, and, being able to take sermon notes both understandingly and largely, he was very helpful to those private Christians in repeating what they had publicly heard, being, from his childhood, full of affections in whatsoever business he undertook.

Whilst he was at the grammar-school, though his father endeavoured often and earnestly to divert his thoughts from the office of the ministry, yet was he unmoveable in his desires to be a minister, and he never after repented of this his choice, but would all his life-long, upon all occasions, magnify that office, inasmuch as he hath often been heard to utter this speech, "I had much rather be a preacher of the gospel than an emperor." And when a motion was once made to him to be the head of a college in the university, he readily returned this answer, "My heart doth more desire to be a constant preacher than to be the master of any college in the world." Whilst he continued school-master at Okeham, he undertook and preached a weekly lecture there, besides many sermons which he preached occasionally in neighbouring congregations; and, during his abode at Stretton, besides his pastoral employment wherein he preached twice every Lord's-day, he also constantly preached his weekly lecture at Okeham, and was a principal supporter of some other lectures in the neighbourhood.

Not long after his coming to London, for the most part his task was to preach constantly four sermons every week, two in his own charge, one at Westminster, and at one at Christ-church. And after he had laid down his Christ-church lecture, at the importunity of the inhabitants, he took up one at Stepney, besides his preaching two lectures quarterly at Michael's, Corn-hill: add to these his preaching monthly at the morning exercises, or else he assisted on the fast days, besides his many occasional sermons, as for preparation to the sacrament, in his own church, and at funerals, both at home and abroad. Yes, it is truly reported of him, that he would never deny any request for preaching and prayers, if God gave him bodily ability, or other unavoidable occasions did not necessarily hinder him. Many weeks he preached twice, even then when he attended the work of the assembly of divines, viz. the morning exercise; and, upon some other occasion, in the afternoon of the same day.

As he was riding with one of his intimate friends by Tyburn (which he had not seen, or not observed before) he asked what that was? and, being answered that it was Tyburn where so many malefactors had been executed, he stopped his horse, and uttered these words with much affection, "Oh, what a shame is it that so many thousands should die for the satisfaction of their lusts, and so few be found willing to lay down their lives for Christ?" Why should not we, in a good cause and upon a good call, be ready to die for Jesus Christ? It would be an everlasting honour, and it is a thousand times better

to die for Christ, to be hanged or to be burnt for Christ, than to die in our beds.

In his addresses unto God, he constantly claimed propriety in God, calling him, my God and my Father. His inward peace and joy were the support of his heart under all his grievous and grinding pains of the stone. He was confident of mercy mixed with all his greatest distempers; not at all doubting of the sanctification of them to him through grace. Thus he spake many times in his applications to God, "Consider and save me, for I am thine. How long, how long, Lord, shall I not be remembered? Yea, I am remembered, blessed be thy name. God that hath supported me hitherto, and he that hath delivered me, will yet deliver. Thon, Lord, never forgettest them that put their trust in thee." Always when the extremity of pain was over, he would with smiles speak of God's mercies. Though trembling took hold on him when his violent pains began, yet would he, with confidence, say, "Now, in the strength of the mighty God, I will undergo these pains; O my God, put under thine everlasting arms and strengthen me." Many times he told a bosom friend of his, that, notwithstanding all his rentings and roarings, (from which he expected no deliverance but by death) he would not, for a thousand worlds, change estates with the greatest man on earth, whom he looked upon as in a way of sin, and enthralled thereto. And this much bespeaks God's fatherly indulgence towards him, that Satan could never shake his confidence, nor assault his hopes all the time of his irksome distemper. And when he was, by extremity of pains, taken off from his ministry, he would sometimes profess to some of his special friends, that the pain he felt was not so grievous to his spirit, as his inability, by reason thereof, to manage his wonted work; indeed, it was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father. Many times these were his words, "If I could but preach, I should be much better." The Sabbath se'ennight before God released him, though his pains were very sharp, yet he bestowed most part of the time of public ordinances in prayer with those that were about him, and his petitions were mostly in the behalf of ministers, that God would clothe his ordinances with his own power, and enable his ministers to speak to the souls of his people. Then did he also with many tears bewail his detainment from the sanctuary, and Sabbath opportunities of doing and receiving good, which had been his delight, and because this apprehension of his present unserviceableness did much afflict him; this was often suggested to him, (which the Lord was pleased to make a release to his spirit) viz., that now, by the practice of faith, patience, contentment, and spiritualness, (which he had formerly preached and pressed upon others) he was very profitable unto them who visited him, and might also prove advantageous to others, who might be acquainted therewith, through God's grace. He died in 1654.

From WESLEY'S CHRISTIAN LIBRARY, Vol. xviii. Page 201.

13. **USHER.** He was born in Dublin, in St. Nicholas parish, in the year 1580. Two of his aunts, who, by reason of their blindness, never saw letters, taught him first to read. Their readiness in the Scripture was marvellous, being able suddenly to repeat any part of the Bible. At eight years' old he

was sent to the grammar-school; Sir James Fullerton (who was afterwards ambassador in France, and died in a great office at court) was his schoolmaster. He, with Sir James Hamilton (afterwards Lord Viscount Clancabois) who was usher of the school, were sent then out of Scotland by King James upon another design, only disguised in that employment: they came very opportunely for his founding in learning, which he often acknowledged the providence of God in.

At ten years old he found in him the true sense of religion, by a sermon he heard preached upon Rom. xii. 1. His reading then of some notes, taken in writing from Mr Perkins, concerning the sanctifying of the Lord's day, took so with him, that he was ever after careful to keep it. He then read, in Latin, St. Augustin's Meditations, which so moved him that he wept often in the reading of them. Upon the accustoming himself thus to good duties in his tender years, the devil endeavoured to nip him in the bud by divers sorts of terrors and affrightments, sleeping and waking, tending to the discouraging of him in the way of godliness. But he constantly applied himself to prayer, and at length was heard in that he feared, by some unusual way of support and comfort, which took that impression in him that it was fresh in his memory in his elder years. When he could not be frightened out of that course, the devil laid a bait of pleasure to withdraw him, by some of his friends teaching him to play at cards, which he found himself so delighted with, that it not only took place of the love of his book, but began to be a rival with that spiritual part in him, upon the apprehension of which, he gave it over, and never played after.

At twelve years' old he was so affected with chronology and antiquity, that, reading Sleidan of the four empires and other authors, he drew out an exact series of times when each eminent person lived. In the space of five years he was perfectly instructed in grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. He excelled in poetry, which he found himself so delighted with that he took himself off, lest it should have taken him off from more serious studies. At thirteen he was admitted into the College of Dublin, being the first scholar that was entered into it. And now Sir James Hamilton, hitherto usher of the school, was chosen fellow of the College, and so became his tutor, whom I have often heard admiring his quickness and proficiency.

At fourteen years' old he was called to receiving the communion. The afternoon before, his usual custom was to sequester himself and spend it in strict examination and penitential humiliation of himself for his sins, which was so operative that streams of tears ran from him, which he often reflected upon, as an exemplary provocation, and censure of himself, when he was of elder years. I have often heard him speak of a certain place, by a water-side, whither he frequently resorted, sorrowfully to recount his sins, and, with floods of tears, to pour them out in the confession of them; the fruit of which he found to be so sweet to his soul that he thirsted for all occasions of such a sequestration, and so usually on Saturdays in the afternoon it was his custom. One sin he lamented was his too much love of human learning, that he should be as glad of Monday to go to that, as of the Lord's day for his service; it cost him many a tear that he could not be more heavenly-minded at that age. At fifteen he had made such a

proficiency in chronology, that, in Latin, he drew up an exact chronicle of the Bible as far as the book of Kings. About that time he had a strong temptation that God did not love him, because he had no outward afflictions or troubles of conscience occasioned by some expressions he read in some writers. Before he was bachelor of arts, he had read Stapleton's *Fortress of the Faith*, and finding his confidence in asserting antiquity for the tenets of Popery, he was put to a plunge within himself; this he took for a truth, that the most ancient church must be the best. His suspicion was, that Stapleton might misquote the fathers or wrest them to his own sense; hence he then took up a resolution, that if God gave him life and health, he would read the fathers all over, and so, as I take it, he began that work at twenty years of age and finished it at thirty-eight, strictly observing his proportion each day, what occasions soever diverted him.

But now his father's intention to send him over hither to the Inns of Court for the study of the common law, much disturbed him, yet, in obedience to his father, he assented and resolved it. But not long after his father died, and being then at liberty to make choice of his studies, he devoted himself to divinity, and was chosen fellow of the College, before which he was incapable of taking the oath then given at the admission of them, viz., "That the present intent of their studies should be for the profession or divinity, unless God should afterwards otherways dispose their minds." Here was given another occasion of disturbance, his father left him a very good estate in land, but, finding he must have involved himself in many suits in law before it could have been settled, to the withdrawing him from his studies, he gave it up to his brother and sisters, and suffered his uncle to take letters of administration for that end, being in those years resolved to put himself upon the providence of God, to whose service in the ministry he had devoted himself, and did not doubt but he would provide for him. When he was nineteen years' old he disputed with Henry Fitz Symonds, the Jesuit, in the castle of Dublin. He offered to dispute with him through the controversies of Bellarmine. The first subject was *de Anti-christo*: twice or thrice they had solemn disputations. He was ready to have proceeded, but the Jesuit was weary of it, yet gives him a tolerable commendation and much admires the forwardness of him at such young years. Some of his words are, "There came once to me a youth of about eighteen years of age, one of a too soon ripe wit, scarce, as you would think, gone through his course of philosophy, or got out of his childhood, yet ready to dispute of the most abstruse points in divinity." And, afterwards, the same Jesuit, living to understand more of him, saith, he was *A catholicorum doctissimus*, as an unusual, so a tender expression, loathe to call him an heretic, but of such as are not catholics, the most learned. About twenty years of age he commenced master of arts, and was chosen catechist of the College, when he went through a great part of the body of divinity in the chapel.

And now, by reason of the scarcity of preachers, (it being then there as in Samuel's time, "The word of God was precious") three young men of the College were appointed to preach in Christ-church before the State, one of whom was this most learned primate, and his part was to handle the controversies for the satisfaction of the Papists on the Lord's-day

in the afternoon, which he did so perspicuously, ever concluding with matter of exhortation, that it was much for the confirmation and edification of the Protestants. But, after a little space, he refused to continue it, because he had not yet received ordination, and that he also made a scruple of taking yet, by his defect of years, (the constitutions of England requiring twenty-four, and he not yet being twenty-one,) but, by some of the most grave and learned men, he was told the Lord had need of him. Upon their urging him, and his age being dispensed with, he was ordained by his uncle, Henry Usher, Archbishop of Armagh.

The first text he preached on publicly, after his ordination, was Rev. iii. 1, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." It fell out to be the same day with the battle of Kinsale, the Friday before Christmas day 1601, and, it being a day specially set apart for prayer, for a good success upon that engagement, and being his first fruits in that office, might possibly be the more efficacious. He began that epistle to the Church of Sardis then, and finished it afterwards. The design was then known, that, if the Spaniards had got the better, most of the Protestants had been slain by the Irish Papists, both in Dublin and elsewhere, but especially the ministers, without any distinction; hence arose a temptation in him to have deferred ordination till the event of that battle were known, whereby he should not have been in such imminent danger, but he repelled that motion and resolved the rather upon it, conceiving he should, in that office of the ministry, and for that cause, die the next door to martyrdom. After the Spaniards' overthrow at Kinsale, the hopes of the Irish being lost, they began to subject themselves to the statute now put in execution, in coming to church; and, for their further information, in point of religion, the lord-lieutenant and council desired the ministers so to divide themselves that, in each church on the Lord's-day in the afternoon, in imitation of what he had already begun at Christ Church, there might be a sermon for that end. A convenient church (St. Catherine's) was assigned for this reverend person, who removed accordingly, and duly observed it. His custom was to draw up the sum of what he had delivered into questions and answers, and, the next Sunday, persons of good esteem voluntarily offered themselves to repeat the answers before the whole congregation, which occasioned them to be the more taken notice of by the Papists. By this his labour, and others of his brethren, not only in Dublin, but in other parts of the kingdom, the Papists came to church so diligently, that, if they had occasion to absent themselves, they would send their excuse to the church wardens. But, notwithstanding these good beginnings, suddenly the statute was again suspended, the power of the high commission was withdrawn, at which the Papists presently withdrew themselves again, and Popery, from that time, returned to a higher tide than before, and overflowed its former banks in a general deluge over the whole nation. Upon this, the spirit of this holy and eminent person, like Paul's at Athens, was stirred within him, and, preaching before the State at Christ Church in Dublin, upon a special solemnity, did, with as much prudence and fortitude as might become those younger years, give them his sense of that their toleration of idolatry, and made full and bold application of that passage in the vision of Ezekiel, chap. iv. 6, where the prophet,

"by lying on his side, was to bear the iniquity of Judah forty days, I have appointed thee a day for a year, even a day for a year," as the old translation of the Bible he then used reads it. This, by consent of interpreters, signifies the time of forty years to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that nation for their idolatry. He made then his direct application in relation to that connivance of Popery, viz., "From this year will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear this iniquity." Having since occasion further to consider it, we found there were from the year 1601, forty years to the late rebellion and destruction of Ireland, in the year 1641, done by those Papists, and Popish priests connived at. He had reserved the notes of that sermon, with the year and day he preached it; and, it in the more observable, it was one of the last he wrote throughout word for word, but afterwards, without writing anything but the heads, put his meditations wholly upon the strength of his memory and God's assistance. This is a very observable passage, and, if it may be conceived to be a prophetic impulse in those years, he was the liker Samuel, who, in his youth, was sent with the like message to Eli, relating the ruin of his native country, "That the Lord would do such a thing in Israel, that whosoever hears it both his ears should tingle." And what a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon his native country. I can witness from the year 1624, when I had the happiness first to be known to him, and, the nearer the time every year, the more confident he was to my admiration, there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it.

After this, he constantly came over to England once in three years, and thus he spent the summer: one month at Oxford, another at Cambridge, searching the books, but especially the manuscripts, of each university; the third month at London, attending chiefly Sir Thomas Cotton's library, and conversing with learned men, with whom, in those younger years, he was in great esteem; and, in after years, scarce a choice book in any eminent person's library in France, Italy, Germany, or Rome, but he had his way to have it, or what he desired transcribed; and he was better acquainted with the Pope's Vatican than some that daily visited it. The first church preferment he had was the chancellorship of St. Patrick's, Dublin, unto which he took no other benefice. In this dignity the law might have excused him from preaching, but only sometimes in his course before the State, yet he would not omit it to the place from whence he received the profits, but went thither in person, viz., to Finglas, a mile from Dublin, and preached there every Lord's-day, unless upon extraordinary occasions he were detained; and, in having been a constant preacher, he took in his elder years more comfort than in all his other labours and writings. His experiences in prayer were many, and very observable in the return of his desires in kind, and that immediately, when he had been in some distresses, and the providence of God in taking care of him in his younger years, as he did often recount, confirmed his dependence upon him in these his elder.

When he was twenty-seven years' old, in the year 1607, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and, immediately after, was chosen professor of divinity in that University of Dublin. In the year 1613, he proceeded doctor of divinity. One of his lectures, *pro gradu*, was of "the seventy weeks, to the slay-

ing of the Messiah," Dan. ix. 24. The other out of Rev. xx. 4, concerning the sense of that, viz., "The saints reigning with Christ a thousand years." In the year 1613, he published that book *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione et statu*, magnified by Casaubon and Scultetus, in their Greek and Latin verses before it; it was solemnly presented by Archbishop Abbot to King James, as the eminent first-fruits of that College of Dublin. In the year 1616, there was a Parliament in Dublin, and a convocation of the clergy; then those learned articles of Ireland were composed and published, he, being a member of the Synod, was appointed to draw them up, highly approved by the most orthodox divines. I know no cause of some men's speaking against them, unless for that they determine according to Augustine's doctrine against the Pelagians, "the Man of Sin," 2 Thess. ii., to be the Bishop of Rome, and the "Morality of the Sabbath;" of both which, this most learned primate was very confident, and wished some learned men of late had spared their pens to the contrary. And now he wanted not enemies in scandalizing him to King James, under the title of a Puritan, to prevent any further promotion of him, but it so fell out that was the occasion of his advancement, for King James, being in some fear of him upon that score, by the eminency of his learning, fell into some full discourses with him, and received such abundant satisfaction of the soundness of his judgment and piety, that, notwithstanding the opposition of great ones, without his seeking, he made him Bishop of Meath in Ireland, and, as I have often heard, did often boast, that "he was a Bishop of his own making;" but the misinterpretations which some enemies had raised and spread of him, moved him voluntarily to declare his judgment as to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, which was to all good men's satisfactions. He did not now slack in his constancy of preaching, but bound himself the rather to it, by the motto of his episcopal seal, *Vae mihi si non evangelizavero*, which he continued in the seal of his primacy also.

While he was in England, Primate Hampton dying, he was made, in the year 1624, Primate of Ireland, the hundredth Bishop of that see, from the first, supposed to be Patricius, who lived in Augustine's time, four hundred years after Christ, whom we read much of in divers ancient writers; and this reverend Primate, in his book, called the *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, hath made it appear very probable, that the doctrine St. Patrick planted, and preached among them at first, was the same now professed by us. When he was thus promoted to the highest step his profession was capable of, in his native country, he was the more humble and laborious in preaching, and it so fell out, that, for some weeks together, preaching beyond his strength, to the over-much wasting of his spirits, at the request of some ministers in Essex to have him preach upon the week days, he fell into a quartan ague, which held him three quarters of a year.

After his recovery, the lord Mordant (afterwards earl of Peterburgh) being a Papist, and desirous to draw his lady to the same religion, was willing there should be a meeting of two prime men of each to dispute what might be in controversy between them. The lady made choice of the lord Primate, and prevailed with him, though newly recovered, and scarce able to take that journey. The Jesuit, chosen by the earl, went under the name of Beaumont, but his

right name was Rookwood, brother to Ambrose Rookwood, one of the conspirators of the gunpowder treason, and executed. The place of meeting was at Drayton, in Northamptonshire, where there was a great library, that no books of the ancient fathers were wanting for their view. The points proposed, were concerning transubstantiation, invocation of saints, images, visibility of the Church. Three days were spent in disputations, but the conclusion was this: After the third day, the Lord Primate, hitherto being opponent, and now the Jesuit taking that part upon him, and my lord to be respondent, that morning about the time he was expected, excused his coming to the earl, saying, "That all the arguments he had framed in his own head, and thought he had them as perfect as his *Pater Noster*, he had forgotten, and could not recover them again. That he believed it was the just judgment of God upon him, thus to desert him in the defence of his cause, for the undertaking of himself to dispute with a man of that eminency and learning, without the license of his superior." Whereupon the earl, upon some further discourse with this lord primate, was converted and became a Protestant, and so continued to his last. Upon this, the countess of Peterburgh owed him a great respect, and, upon his losses in Ireland and other distresses here, she took him to her own house, with whom he lived about nine or ten years, and died there.

In the year 1626, in August, he returned into Ireland, where he was received with all the expressions of joy that could be given. The discourses which daily fell from him at his table in the clearing of difficulties in the Scripture and other subjects, was of great advantage to such as were capable of them. It put me often in mind of that speech of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, "Happy are these thy servants that continually stand about thee, and hear thy wisdom." The order in his family as to prayer, was four times a day; in the morning at six, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in the chapel, at all of which he was always present. On Friday, in the afternoon, constantly an hour in the chapel was spent in going through the principles of religion, for the instruction of the family, and every Sunday evening we had a repetition of his sermon.

In Michaelmas term, in the year 1626, propositions were made by the Papiets for a more full toleration of their religion, viz. the maintaining 500 horse and 5000 foot, wherein the Protestants must have borne some share also; for the consideration of which a great assembly of the whole nation, Papiets and Protestants, was called in the Lord-deputy Falkland's time. The bishops, by this lord primate's invitation met at his house, and he and they unanimously subscribed a protestation against the toleration of Popery, which is as followeth: "The religion of the Papiets is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical, their church in respect to both, apostatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects; for, 1st. It is to make ourselves necessary not only to their superstitious, idolatries, heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of Popery, but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholic apostasy. 2d. To grant them tolera-

tion, in respect of any money or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And, as it is a great sin, so also a matter of dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof, we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the zealous God of truth to make them who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous against all superstition and idolatry. Amen.

And here let me give some of his exemplary injunctions. Every Lord's-day he preached in the forenoon, in which he spent himself much. In the afternoon this was his order to me, that, besides the catechising of the youth before public prayers, I should, after the first and second lesson, spend about half an hour in a brief and plain opening the principles of religion in the public catechism, and after that I was to preach. First, He directed me to go through the creed at once, giving but the sum of each article; the next time at thrice, and, afterwards, each time an article as they might be more able to bear it, and so proportionably the ten commandments, Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments. The good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar, upon their approach to the communion, when, as by the then order, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it. His order, throughout his diocese, to the ministers, was to go through the body of divinity once a year. When a public fast was enjoined, he kept it very strictly, preached always first himself, at least continuing two hours, and more than ordinarily extending himself in prayer. His expenses were much in books; he first procured the Samaritan Bible, which is only the Pentateuch, to the view of these western parts.

It would seem incredible to relate how many years ago he did confidently foretell the changes that have come to pass in these dominions, and of the poverty he expected himself, which he said often, in the midst of his plenty. Some have much observed that text he took at St. Mary's in Cambridge, in the year 1625, on the late king's day, and the first annual solemnity of it, 1 Sam. xii. 26, "But if ye still do wickedly, you shall be consumed, both you and your king." Others, the last text he preached at court immediately before his return into Ireland, 1 Cor. xiv. 33, "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints." His application to the confusions and divisions, he was confident, were at the doors, was then observed. He hath often acknowledged that sometimes that which he hath resolved in his sermon not to utter, was, like Jeremiah's fire, shut up in his bones, that he could not forbear the reproving the greatest, even before kings he was not ashamed, and his preaching was with authority; he withstood to the face any toleration of Popery and superstition, by whomsoever attempted. At hearing him I have thought of that speech in the Psalms, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up." I remember a speech of his in the year 1624, which he hath often confirmed, "That he was persuaded the greatest stroke to the reformed church was to come yet, that the time of the utter ruin of the see of Rome should be when she thought herself most secure, according to that of Babylon at her destruction, Rev. xviii. 7, which he thought to be meant of the same, "She shall say,

I sit as a queen, and shall see no more sorrow." His farewell sermon, in or very near the place where he lived and preached in England, was much observed, James i. 15, "Sin, when it is finished, brings forth death." His full application of it to the fulness of the sins of this nation, which certainly would bring forth destruction, that the "harvest of the earth was ripe, and the angel putting in his sickle," applying that of the Ephah in the vision of Zech. v., when it was filled with wickedness, and that of the Amorites, when their iniquities were full they were destroyed, affected much the auditory. The last time he was in London, he did much lament the deadly hatred kindling in the hearts of men, one against another, by the several opinions in matters of religion, some of them in opposition to a ministry, contemning the sacraments, others spreading damnable doctrines, heresies, and blasphemies; he was confident that the enemy which had sown those up and down the nation were priests, friars, and Jesuits, sent out of their seminaries, from beyond seas, in other disguises, who, by their numbers multiplying in London and elsewhere, expect a great harvest; and, he was persuaded, if not timely weeded out, would tend to Popery, or massacres, or both, adding therewith, bow willing he was, if God so pleased, to be taken away before that evil to come. Now, it is not improbable, that one so sanctified from his youth, so knowing and eminent, might have, at some special times, more than ordinary impulses in doing the watchman's part, of giving warning of judgments approaching. In the year 1640, he came out of Ireland hither, being invited by some eminent persons, upon occasion of the difference between the king and parliament, and this I take notice of, it was God's special providence for his preservation, it being the year before the rebellion of Ireland. At taking leave of him, I cannot forget the serious preparative against the heavy sorrows and miseries I should see before I saw him again, and, with that confidence, as if it had been within view; it put me in mind of that in Amos iii. 7, "Surely the Lord will do nothing, but he will reveal it to his servants the prophets."

His library, the first year of the rebellion of Ireland, 1641, was with us at Drogheda, when besieged four months by those Irish rebels, and when they made no question of devouring us; the priests and friars without talked much of the prize they should have of it, but the barbarous multitude of burning it and me by the flame of the books instead of faggots. But it pleased God, in answer of our prayers and fasting, wonderfully to deliver us and it out of their hands, and so the whole, with all his manuscripts, were sent him that summer to Chester. The sufferings he now lay under were many. All his personal estate, and what else belonged to his primacy in Ireland, was destroyed, only at present he was preacher at Covent-Garden church. Upon his losses in Ireland and straights here, two offers were made him from foreign nations, one from Cardinal Richelieu, only in relation to his eminent learning, with a large maintenance, and liberty to have lived where he pleased in France with the Protestants. The other from the Hollanders, offering him the place of being Professor at Leyden, which had an ample stipend, but he refused both. And now he was, by the disturbance of the times, perpetually removing, having, with St. Paul, no certain dwelling-place. The saying of David was often in his thoughts,

"Thou tellest my wanderings; put thou my tears into thy bottle." Some of those evidences St Paul produceth, to approve himself to be the minister of Christ, 2 Cor. vi., were applicable to him; which, by learned men of other churches, he was often put in mind of. In 1642, he obtained leave of both houses of Parliament to go to Oxford for his study. In the year 1644, the king coming thither, he preached before him, November 5. The text was Nehem. iv. 11. "And our adversaries said, they shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst among them, and slay them, and cause their works to cease." A most apt text for the day; but this passage in his sermon against the Papists, advising not to repose any trust in them, that upon the first opportunity they will serve us here, as they did the poor Protestants in Ireland, offended some persons there attending. In March following, he went from thence into Wales, to Cardiff in Glamorganshire, and abode with his daughter. In 1645, September 16, he removed thence to St Donnets (the lady Siradling's) when by the way he was barbarously used by some soldiers; and plucked off his horse; they broke open two of his trunks full of books, and took all away, amongst which he lost two manuscripts of the History of the Waldenses, which he never got again: most of the other books were restored, by the preachers exhorting all sorts in their sermons to that end.

Not long after he fell into a painful sickness, and bled four days together, so that all hope of life was past; but he recovered, and in 1646, he came to London. After some space he was chosen preacher to that honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, where he continued divers years with great honour and respect, until having lost his sight and strength, he was advised to forbear, and reserve the remainder of his spirits, like aged Paul, to the writing of his books. No spectacles could help him; only when the sun shined, he could see at a window, which he hourly followed from room to room. In winter, the window was often open for him to write at. The next winter he intended to have an amanuensis; but God was pleased to prevent it, by taking him to the sight of himself. After he left Lincoln's Inn, he was prevailed with to preach in several places; Gray's Inn in Nov. 5, 1654, at the Temple at Mr Selden's funeral, and two other places in the city: both which latter were very effectual in the conversion of divers that came unto him: and, indeed, seldom did that sword drawn by him return empty. The last sermon he preached, was about Michaelmas, at Hammersmith. He told me how much he was troubled, that he found himself unable to continue it; his dreams were on it: and though he had been about 55 years a preacher, and so, like the Levites, might well be excused from the service of the sanctuary, only employing himself for the directing of others; yet he had resolved that summer to have returned to it again. He sought no great things for himself. In his distress, by his losses in Ireland, the Parliament for some years had been bountiful to him in an annual stipend; but the last two years of their sitting suspended it. After their dissolving, the care of him was renewed by the Lord Protector; by whose order a competent allowance was given him. All that knew him, found him very communicative, not only of his studies, but of what he had out of his stipend, to persons in want. He was not wanting with St Paul to magnify his office, which may be seen and read of all men; but he did it with-

out partiality. He was not so severe as to disown the ministry of other reformed churches; but declared, he did love and honour them as true members of the church universal; and was ready, both for the ministers of Holland and France, to testify his communion with them. He was a man of most exemplary moderation, meekness, humility, and ingenuity. He had, in 1641, drawn up an expedient, by way of accommodation in some ecclesiastical affairs, which some moderate persons of each party were ready to subscribe. In matters of doctrine, for substantial, it was often his charge not to preach anything "as pleasing men, but God, who hath put us in trust;" that in so "seeking to please men, we should not be the servants of Christ." In the defence of which truths of doctrine, no man was more resolute and constant, not "giving place by way of subjection, no, not for an hour;" but he thought the case was altered in circumstantial: that it was our duty, with St Paul, "to please all men, and not ourselves, in all such things," to edification and concord. In a word, he was "without wavering, always one and the same, holding fast the form of sound words," and walked in the "old paths and good way; and there is none that hath drunk the old wine, straightway desires new; for, he saith, the old is better."

The night before he left London, oh! the humble expressions of his own unworthiness, and the demeaning of himself, as if he had been the least of saints; which he uttered with many tears: it wrought much upon us who found ourselves so far beneath him. He did then, as he had often before, wish us to prepare for affliction, and trials; which he was persuaded were not far from us. And the next morning, being February 13, 1655, I took my last leave of him; and he returned to Ryegate to the Countess of Peterborough's. The day he first sickened, being March 20, he had been most part of it at his study; he went from thence to visit a gentlewoman sick in the house, gave her most holy advices for three quarters of an hour, in such an heavenly manner, as if, like Moses upon Mount Nebo, his eyes had been then strengthened to the sight of that celestial Canaan; or with St Paul in his rapture, had been within the gate of heaven, to which he was now nearer than he was aware. That night about eight, he first complained of his hip, judging it to be a touch of the Sciatica, which about thirty-five years before he had by sitting up late in the College Library of Dublin. That, by an ointment, he was eased of, and got some rest that night. In the morning he complained of a great pain in his side. A physician was sent for; but it continuing, and his spirits decaying, he applied himself to prayer, and upon the abatement of the torture, to advising those about him to provide in their health for death; that then they might have nothing else to do but to die, which he took a great content to find the approach of. In prayer he had the assistance of a minister, but afterwards desired to be left alone. The last words he was heard to utter, in praying for forgiveness of sins, were these, viz. "But, Lord, in special, forgive my sins of omission." In general, he had his wish, which I have often heard him make, that he might die like Mr Perkins, who expired with crying for mercy and forgiveness. With this humble expression, this holy man of God expired.

The Lord was pleased to make his labours very successful, some few instances whereof, I shall here set down, some of which I had from my reverend

friend, Mr Stanley Gower; the last from my own knowledge. A lord's eldest son, who from his cradle had been trained up to Popery, but was of excellent parts, and learning, was at last prevailed with by his father, to sojourn a while with Usher at Drogheda. The prudent man studied nothing more than how he could take him by craft, (as the Apostle did the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xii. 16), and, therefore, did not presently fall into discourse with him about his religion, but recreated himself for a time in discoursing with him about some philosophical questions, and school points, in which studies he perceived the gentleman was well versed, and took much delight in them: this he continued, till at last he gained so far upon his affections, that, of his own accord, he moved some discourse about matters of religion; and then finding him studious, he did not presently go about to instruct him in the truth, but sought to puzzle him with doubts about his own religion; by this means, the gentleman's conscience began to be awakened; nor were his scruples removed, though he had recourse to a monastery hard by, where they were debated; so that at last he came with tears to Usher for satisfaction, and he promised to deal faithfully with him; but (saith he) those whom you trust do not so, for they will not suffer you to see with your own eyes, nor to understand the Scriptures, but according to their own church's commentaries. Then did he advise him to go amongst them, and to ask them, whether he that understood the originals, might examine their interpretations; and to bring him word what they said. Accordingly he did so, and brought him word, that they were divided in their judgments. Then did the learned Bishop wish him no longer to give them implicit faith, and he would demonstrate to him how much they perverted the sense of the Scriptures, and abused the writings of the ancient fathers; whilst they sought to make the world believe that the fathers and councils were wholly for them, and against us. And if (saith he), you distrust your own learning and reading, and will make choice of any other, who you think can say more, I will make this good, which I have said, before the best of them all. This was an introduction to much confidence, which he had in him; and it pleased God, after much temptation which he had to the contrary (as he confessed), to direct him to be-take himself to prayer; after which time, he acknowledged that he understood more of the way of truth, both when he conferred with the primate, and when he meditated apart, than ever he could attain to before; and the issue was, that he came into the church unlooked for by the primate, and after sermon, made a confession of his faith, offering to seal the truth of it (if they pleased to admit him) by receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which was then to be administered. The last instance I shall give of the successfulness of his labours, is this: we had an ordination of ministers in our seventh class; at which time (according to our custom) we called in the young men that were to be ordained, one after another, and examining them about the work of God's grace in their hearts, three of them acknowledged, that they were converted by God's blessing upon the labours of Archbishop Usher whilst he preached at Oxford, where they then were students. He died in 1655.

When, by reason of that bloody rebellion in Ireland, he was forced from his station there, it pleased the Lord to fix him, as a burning and shining light

for some time in Oxford. Whilst here he constantly spent himself and was spent in preaching Christ crucified. This he did like himself, with that soundness, diligence, evidence, faithfulness, and zeal, that he seemed not only willing to impart the Gospel, but his own soul to us. A film of superstition and profaneness was then grown over our University. Our pulpit turned, as it were, into stages, and sadly prostituted to froth and jests at godliness. At that time was the Lord pleased to cause this star to shine in our horizon. An accepted time it was,—a time never to be forgotten, especially by those who, through grace, can from thence date their conversion. His learning, piety, and gravity, were so remarkable, that the students flocked to hear him. It rejoices us to recollect how multitudes of scholars, especially the heads of our tribes, thronged after him. Many received him as the Galatians did Paul. Surely, if ever, it was then that the Gospel ran and was glorified at Oxford. Here might you have seen a sturdy Saul changed into a submissive Paul. There a tender hearted Josiah lamenting after the Lord, and with Ephraim, smitting on his thigh, saying, "What have I done?" Others with the penitent Jews so stabbed at the heart, as that they were forced to cry out in bitterness of their souls, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?"

The following things were very remarkable in him: He was savingly converted at ten years old; was admitted first scholar in the college at Dublin, by reason of his extraordinary forwardness at thirteen; he made an exact chronology of good part of the Bible, and of some other authors he had read, at fifteen; he encountered a Jesuit at nineteen years old, who afterwards called him *Aatholicorum doctissimus*; he was chosen catechist of the college, where he went through a great part of the body of divinity, in the chapel, by way of common place, at nineteen years old.

14. HARRIS. He was minister at Hanwell for about forty years, a constant, painful, and faithful preacher, both upon the Sabbaths and other occasions, which fell out often; for, when he came thither, he found that there had been an accustomed course of preaching upon such festival days (then so called) which might not interfere with the lecture at Banbury. This he also kept up, especially on Easter and Whitsun-Mondays, unto which multitudes of Christians resorted far and near, yet without any superstition. And on the morrow they were entertained with the like feast at Banbury by Mr Wheatly. O what a fair for souls was held at Hanwell and Banbury by these two brothers! How did religion then flourish? The truth is, these preachers carved out sound and wholesome food, and their hearers came with good stomachs, expecting what they found, viz. milk for babes, and strong meat for strong men, and accordingly did grow thereby. In those days, godly preachers stuffed not their sermons with airy notions, and curious speculations, but sought out profitable matter, which they delivered in sound words, and in a plain method of doctrine, reason and use, accommodating themselves to every man's capacity, and God gave them a plentiful harvest in that country.

But now began those cloudy times, when troops and armies marched into those quarters, about Edgehill, where was fought a bloody battle, October 20th, 1642, upon the Lord's-day; yet every Sabbath he held on in the course of his ministry; and most of those who quartered with him being commanders

and officers, they showed themselves civil to him, and his; only, at one time, there was a company who were so outrageous in swearing and blasphemy, that he could not forbear preaching upon that text, James v. 12., "Above all things, my brethren, swear not;" which so nettled some of them, that they damned themselves to hell, if they did not shoot him, in case he preached again upon that text, which they judged to be purposely chosen against them; the next Sabbath he proceeded purposely upon the same text; wherein he backed what he had said before; and, as he was preaching, he saw a soldier take his carabin, and fumble about the lock, as if he was preparing to shoot; but Mr Harris apprehending that he did it only to disturb him, went through his work, and heard no more of it. After a long and laborious life, he fell sick of a pleurisy. In his last illness, when he was asked where his comfort lay, his answer was, "In Christ, and in the free grace of God." One telling him, "Sir, You may take comfort in your labours, you have done much good," &c., his answer was, "O! I am ashamed of them, being mixed with so much sin. Oh! I am an unprofitable servant. I have not done anything for God as I ought; loss of time sits heavy upon my spirits. Work, work apace! Assure yourselves nothing will more trouble you, when you come to die, than that you have done no more for God, who hath done so much for you." Sometimes he used thus to breathe out himself, "I never in all my life saw the worth of a Christ, nor tasted the sweetness of God's love in that measure as now I do." When he was asked what should be done for him, his answer was "Do not only pray for me, but praise God for his unspeakable mercy to me; and, in particular, that he hath kept Satan from me in this my weakness. O how good is God! Entertain good thoughts of him. However it be with us, we cannot think too well of him, or too bad of ourselves." In all his wills, this legacy was always renewed. Item, I bequeath to all my children, and to their children's children, to each of them a Bible, with this inscription, NONE BUT CHRIST. He was mean and low in his own eyes, and had more undervaluing thoughts of himself than all the world besides had of him. He was very sensible of that enemy which he often complained of, viz., Discouragement; which he used to style the child of pride and unbelief. His usual saying was, that he valued no man for his gifts, but for his humility under them. Neither should he expect much from any man, were his parts never so great, till he was broken with afflictions and temptations. He observed, that the humblest preachers, not the choicest scholars, whilst unbroken, were the instruments of converting most souls. He used to say, that a preacher had three books to study: 1. The Bible; 2. Himself; 3. The People. He looked much to the ordinance and relation between pastor and people, and would say, that preaching to them was but one part of a pastor's duty; he was to live and die for them. He observed, that the best man hath no security from any one sin, or fall, or temptation, any further or longer than he was held up by God's hand, and Christ's mediation. He died December 11th, 1658.

SECTION III.

A HINT OF WHAT WAS DONE IN THE LAST MENTIONED PERIOD FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN WALES.—AND AMONGST THE INDIANS UPON THE BORDERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

From Neal's HISTORY OF THE PURITANS, in the Year 1649.

THE inhabitants of the principality of Wales were destitute of the means of Christian knowledge, their language was little understood, their clergy were ignorant and idle; so that they had hardly a sermon from one quarter of a year to another. The people had neither Bibles nor Catechisms; nor was there a sufficient maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament, taking the case of these people into consideration, passed an Act, February 22, 1649, for the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales, for the ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and redress of some grievances; to continue in force for three years. What was done in pursuance of this ordinance will be related hereafter; but the parliament were so intent upon the affair of religion at this time, that Mr Whitlock says, they devoted Friday in every week to consult ways and means for promoting it. A prospect also being opened for spreading the Christian religion among the Indians, upon the borders of New England, the parliament gave way to a general collection throughout England, and erected a corporation for this service, who purchased an estate in land of between five and six hundred pounds a-year; but on the restoration of King Charles II., the charter became void, and Colonel Bedingfield, a Roman Catholic officer in the king's army, of whom a considerable part of the land was purchased, seized it for his own use, pretending he had sold it under the value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. In order to defeat the Colonel's design, the society solicited the king for a new charter, which they obtained by the interest of the Earl of Clarendon. It bears date February 7th, in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, and differs but little from the old one. The honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., was the first governor. They afterwards recovered Colonel Bedingfield's estate, and are at this time in possession of about five hundred pounds a-year; which they employ for the conversion of the Indians in America. Mr Richard Baxter and Alderman Ashurst, were very helpful in obtaining this new charter.

From the same, in the Year 1658.

AN Act had passed in the year 1649, for propagating the gospel in Wales; and commissioners were appointed for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers, and placing others in their room; pursuant to which, Mr Whitlock writes, that by this time there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welsh counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market town there was placed one; and in most great towns, two schoolmasters, able, learned, and university men; that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by Act of Parliament; that is, to the maintenance of godly ministers; to the payment of taxes and officers; to schoolmasters; and the fifths to the wives

and children of the ejected clergy; of which we shall meet with a more particular relation in its proper place.

From the same, in the Year 1664.

It was not in the power of the commissioners to find a succession of pious and learned preachers in the Welsh language; but to remedy this in the best manner they could, they appointed six itinerant preachers of university education for each county, to whom they allowed one hundred pounds a-year: besides which, they sent out thirty-two ministers, of whom twenty-four were university men, and some of the rest good scholars; but these were too few for the work, though they were indefatigable in their pains. To supply what was further wanting, they approved of several gifted laymen, members of churches, to travel into the neighbourhood, and to assist the people's devotions; and to these they allowed from seventeen to twenty pounds a-year. In an article of the sequestrator's accounts, there appears three hundred and forty pounds a-year distributed among godly members of the church of Llanvaches, and Mynthist Loyn; who had been sent out to exercise their gifts among the Welsh Mountaineers, and to help forward the work of the Lord. Many others of the same quality were approved by the commissioners, who went through great difficulties and hardships in their work. Mr Powel says, That some hundreds, if not thousands, had been converted and reformed by the propagators.

SECTION IV.

THE AWAKENING IN LONDON IN THE TIME OF THE PLAGUE, 1665. SOME OF THE SILENCED MINISTERS STAY IN LONDON AND PREACH, VISITING THE SICK, AND GIVING RELIEF TO THE POOR THAT WERE SHUT UP.—THE HAPPY FRUITS OF THEIR LABOURS.—THE GODLY GENERALLY DIED WITH EXTRAORDINARY COMFORT.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THOSE WHO DIED IN THE SAME HOUSE WHERE MR VINCENT WAS.—THE SILENCED MINISTERS BEGIN TO PREACH IN THE CHURCHES.—VAST COURSE OF HEARERS.—EAGER LOOKS, GREEDY ATTENTION.—HUNDREDS, IF NOT THOUSANDS, HAD CONVICTIONS, AND MANY WERE PROBABLY CONVERTED.—A SAMPLE OF THE EARLIEST EXHORTATIONS THEN GIVEN, FROM MR VINCENT'S SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF MR JANEWAY.

From BAXTER'S LIFE, Part iii. page 2.

ONE great benefit the plague brought to the city, was, that it occasioned the silenced ministers more openly and laboriously to preach the Gospel, to the exceeding comfort and profit of the people; inso-much, that to this day the freedom of preaching, which this occasioned, cannot, by the daily guards of soldiers, nor by the imprisonment of multitudes, be restrained. The ministers that were silenced for non-conformity, had ever since 1663 done their work very privately, and to a few, not so much through their timorousness, as their loathness to offend the King; and in hope still that their forbearance might procure them some liberty; and through some timorousness of the people that should hear them.

And when the plague grew hot, most of the conformable ministers fled, and left their flocks, in the time of their extremity; whereupon divers non-conformists, pitying the dying and distressed people, that had none to call the impenitent to repentance,

nor to help men to prepare for another world,—nor to comfort them in their terrors; when about ten thousand died in a week, resolved that no obedience to the laws of any mortal men whosever, could justify them for neglecting of men's souls and bodies in such extremities; no more than they can justify parents for famishing children to death: and that when Christ shall say, "In as much as ye did it not to one of these, ye did it not to me;" it will be a poor excuse to say, "Lord, I was forbidden by the law." Therefore, they resolved to stay with the people, and to go into the forsaken pulpits, though prohibited, and to preach to the poor people before they died; and also to visit the sick, and get what relief they could for the poor, especially those that were shut up. Those that set upon this work, were Mr Thomas Vincent, late minister in Milk Street, with some strangers that came thither, since they were silenced; as Mr Chester, Mr Janeway, Mr Turner, Mr Grimes, Mr Franklin, and some others. Those oft heard them one day, that were sick the next, and quickly died. The face of death did so awaken both the preachers and the hearers, that preachers exceeded themselves in lively, fervent preaching, and the people crowded constantly to hear them; and all was done with so great seriousness, as that, through the blessing of God, abundance were converted from their carelessness, impenitency, and youthful lusts and vanities: and religion took that hold on the people's hearts, as could never afterwards be loosed.

From NEAL'S HISTORY, in the Year 1665.

THE face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkness at noon-day, awakened both preachers and hearers: many who were at church one day, were thrown into their graves the next: the cry of great numbers was, "What shall we do to be saved?" Such an awful time England never saw!

From MR VINCENT'S BOOK, entitled, "GOD'S TERRIBLE VOICE IN THE CITY."

IT was generally observed amongst us, that God's people who died by the plague among the rest, died with such peace and comfort, as Christians do not ordinarily arrive unto, except when they are called forth to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of Jesus Christ. Some who have been full of doubts, and fears, and complaints, whilst they have lived and been well, have been filled with assurance, and comfort, and praise, and joyful expectation of glory, when they have lain on their death-beds by this disease. And not only more grown Christians, who have been more ripe for glory, have had these comforts, but also some younger Christians, whose acquaintance with the Lord hath been of no long standing.

I can speak something of mine own knowledge concerning some of my friends, whom I have been withal: I shall instance only in the house where I lived. We were eight in family, three men, three youths, an old woman, and a maid; all which came to me, hearing of my stay in town, some to accompany me, others to help me. It was the latter end of September before any of us were touched; the young ones were not idle, but improved their time in praying and hearing, and were ready to receive in-

struction, and were strangely borne up against the fears of the disease and death, every day so familiar to their view. But at last we were visited, and the plague came in dreadfully upon us; the cup was put into our hand to drink, after a neighbour-family had tasted it, with whom we had much sweet society in this time of sorrow. And first our maid was smitten, it began with a shivering and trembling in her flesh, and quickly seized on her spirits; it was a sad day, which I believe I shall never forget: I had been abroad to see a friend in the city, whose husband was newly dead of the plague, and she herself visited with it; I came back to see another, whose wife was dead of the plague, and he himself under apprehensions that he should die within a few hours; I came home, and the maid was on her death-bed, and another crying out for help, being left alone in a sweating fainting fit. What was an interest in Christ worth then? what a privilege to have a title in the kingdom of heaven?

But I proceed. It was on the Monday when the maid was smitten, on Thursday she died full of tokens; on Friday one of the youths had a swelling in his groin; and on the Lord's-day died with the marks of the distemper upon him; on the same day another youth did sicken, and on the Wednesday following he died; on the Thursday night his master fell sick of the disease, and within a day or two was full of spots, but strangely beyond his own, and other's expectations, recovered. Thus did the plague follow us, and came upon us one by one: as Job's messengers came one upon the heels of another, so the messengers of death came so close one after another, in such dreadful manner, as if we must all follow one another immediately into the pit. Yet the Lord in mercy put a stop to it, and the rest were preserved. But that which was very remarkable in this visitation, was the carriage especially of those youths that died, who I believe were less troubled themselves, than others were troubled for them. The first youth that was visited, being asked by his father about the provision he had made for his death and eternity; told him, he hoped, if he died, he should go to heaven; being asked the grounds of his hopes, said, the Lord had enabled him to look beyond the world; and when he was drawing near to his end, boldly enquired whether the tokens did yet appear, saying, that he was ready for them, and so a hopeful bud was nipped; but let not the father or the mother weep, and be in sadness for him, he is, I do not doubt, with their Father, and his heavenly Father, which may be their comfort. The other also was a very sweet hopeful youth, so loving and towardly, that it could not choose but attract love from those that were acquainted with him; but the grace he had gotten in those years, being I suppose under seventeen, did above all beautify him, and stand him in the greatest stead; in his sickness he had much quiet and serenity upon his spirit, and lay so unconcerned at the thoughts of approaching death, that I confess I marvelled to see it; the sting and fear of death were strangely taken out, through the hopes which he had of future glory; yet once he told his mother he could desire to live a little longer, if it were the will of God; she asked him why he desired it? he told her, he desired to live till fire and faggot came; and, above all, he would fain die a martyr: she said, if he died now, he should have a crown; he answered, but if he died a martyr, he should have a more glorious crown; yet he was

not unwilling to receive his crown presently; and he went away with great peace and sweetness in his looks, to his Father's house; and I could not blame the mother's grief for the loss of such an only son; but to be so immoderate, was not well: now I am sure it is time to dry up tears, and lay aside sorrows for the loss of him who hath been so long filled with joys in the heavenly mansions.

I might speak of the carriage of the master in his sickness, under the apprehensions of death; when the spots did appear on his body, he sent for me, and desired me to pray with him; told me he was now going home, desired me to write to his friends, and let them know, "That it did not repent him of his stay in the city, though they had been so importunate with him to come away; but he had found so much of God's presence in his abode here, that he had no reason to repent: he told me where he would be buried, and desired me to preach his funeral sermon on Psalm xvi. last. "In thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore." But the Lord raised him again beyond the expectation of himself, friends, or physicians. Let him not forget God's mercies, and suffer too much worldly business to crowd in upon him, and choke the remembrance and sense of God's goodness so singular; but let him show by his singularity in meekness, humility, self-denial, and love, zeal, and holy walking, that the Lord hath been singularly gracious unto him. But when I speak of home-concernments, let me not forget to look abroad.

The plague now increaseth exceedingly, and fears there are amongst us, that within a while there will not be enough alive to bury the dead, and that the city of London will now be quite depopulated by this plague.

Now some ministers (formerly put out of their places, who did abide in the city, when most of ministers in place were fled and gone from the people, as well as from the disease, into the countries) seeing the people crowd so fast into the grave and eternity, who seemed to cry as they went, for spiritual physicians; and perceiving the churches to be open, and pulpits to be open; and finding pamphlets flung about the streets, of pulpits to be let; they judged that the law of God and nature did now dispense with, yea, command their preaching in public places, though the law of man (as it is to be supposed in ordinary cases) did forbid them to do it. Surely if there had been a law, that none should practice physic in the city, but such as were licensed by the college of physicians, and most of those when there was the greatest need of them, should in the time of the plague have retired into the country, and other physicians who had as good skill in physic, and no license, should have staid amongst the sick, none would have judged it to have been a breach of law, in such an extraordinary case, to endeavour by their practice, though without a license, to save the lives of those who by good care and physic were capable of a cure; and they could hardly have freed themselves from the guilt of murder of many bodies, if for a nicety of law in such a case of necessity, they should have neglected to administer physic: the case was the same with the unlicensed ministers who staid, when so many of the licensed ones were gone, and as the need of souls was greater than the need of bodies, the sickness of the one being more universal and dangerous than the sickness of the other; and the saving or losing of the soul being so far beyond

the preservation or death of the body ; so the obligation upon ministers was stronger, and the motive to preach, greater ; and for them to have incurred the guilt of soul-murder, by their neglect to administer soul-physic, would have been more heinous and unanswerable : that they were called by the Lord into public, I suppose that few of any seriousness will deny, when the Lord did so eminently own them, in giving many seals of their ministry unto them.

Now they are preaching, and every sermon was unto them, as if they were preaching their last. Old Time seemed now to stand at the head of the pulpit, with its great scythe ; saying with a hoarse voice, " Work while it is called to-day, at night I will mow thee down." Grim death seems to stand at the side of the pulpit, with its sharp arrows, saying, " Do thou shoot God's arrows, and I will shoot mine."

Ministers now had awakening calls to seriousness and fervour in their ministerial work ; to preach on the side and brink of the pit, into which thousands were tumbling ; to pray under such near views of eternity, might be a means to stir up the spirits more than ordinary.

Now there is such a vast concourse of people in the churches where these ministers are to be found, that they cannot many times come near the pulpits for the press, but are forced to climb over the pews to them ; and such a face is now seen in the assemblies, as seldom was seen before in London ; such eager looks, such open ears, such greedy attention, as if every word would be eaten which dropt from the mouths of the ministers.

If you ever saw a drowning man catch at a rope, you may guess how eagerly many people did catch at the word, when they were ready to be overwhelmed by this over-flowing scourge, which was passing through the city ; when death was knocking at so many doors, and God was crying aloud by his judgments ; and ministers were now sent to knock, cry aloud, and lift up their voice like a trumpet : then, then the people began to open the ear and the heart, which were fast shut and barred before ; how did they then hearken, as for their lives, as if every sermon were their last, as if death stood at the door of the church, and would seize upon them so soon as they came forth, as if the arrows which flew so thick in the city would strike them, before they could get to their houses, as if they were immediately to appear before the bar of that God, who by his ministers was now speaking unto them ? great were the impressions which the word then made upon many hearts, beyond the power of man to effect, and beyond what the people before ever felt, as some of them have declared. When sin is ripped up and reprov'd, O the tears that slide down from the eyes ! when the judgments of God are denounced, O the tremblings which are upon the conscience ! When the Lord Jesus Christ is made known and proffered, O the longing desires and openings of heart unto him ! When the riches of the Gospel are displayed, and the promises of the covenant of grace are set forth and applied, O the inward burnings and sweet flames which were in the affections ! now the net is cast, and many fishes are taken ; the pool is moved by the angel, and many leprous spirits, and sin-sick souls are cured ; many were brought to the birth, and I hope not a few were born again, and brought forth ; a strange moving there was upon the hearts of multitudes in the city ; and I am persuaded that many were brought over effectually unto a closure with

Jesus Christ : whereof some died by the plague with willingness and peace ; others remain steadfast in God's ways unto this day, but convictions (I believe) many hundreds had, if not thousands, which I wish that none have stifled, and with the dog returned to their vomit, and with the sow, have wallowed again in the mire of their former sins. The work was the more great, because the instruments made use of were more obscure and unlikely, whom the Lord did make choice of the rather, that the glory by ministers and people might be ascribed in full unto himself.

This seems a proper place for introducing the following passage, which both shews what terrors the ungodly are liable to in the view of death ; and likewise that the above work was very different from mere terror. From DYKE in his book of the Deceitfulness of Man's Heart, chap. 20.

" In that great sweat in the time of King Edward : as long (says one) as the ferventness of the plague lasted, there was crying, *peccavi, peccavi*, mercy good Lord, mercy, mercy : The ministers of God's word were sought for in every corner ; they could not rest, they might not sleep : ye must come to my lord, ye must come to my lady ; come if ye love God, and if ye love their salvation tarry not ; for God's sake minister (say the sick folke) tell us what we shall do to avoid God's wrath : take these bags, pay so much to such a man ; for I deceived him : give him so much, for I got it off him by usury : I made a crafty bargain with such an one, restore him so much, and desire him to forgive me. Divide this bag among the poor, carry this to the hospital, pray for me for God's sake, good Lord, forgive me, &c. This was the dissimulation of the people, for three or four days, whilst the execution was, but after when the rage was somewhat swaged, then returned they to their vomit, worse than ever they were. Then, that they had before caused to be restored, and given in alms, they seek to recover by more evil devouring chevisaunses."

A Sample of the Earnest Exhortations given at that time, from a Sermon by the said Mr Vincent, at the Funeral of the Rev. Mr Abr. Janeway, 18th September, 1665.—The Text is Isaiah lviii. 1, 2.

USE 2. If the righteous are liable to death, surely then the wicked are much more liable ; your danger is great at all times, but much more in such a year of visitation as this, and in such a place as London, where the evil arrows of pestilence do fly so thick about your ears. Sinners, have you not read the black bill of six thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight who died by the plague the first week of this month, and six thousand five hundred and forty-four who died by the plague the second week ? And do the bells sound a retreat of this enemy death which hath got amongst us ? do the multitude of coffins which you see carried every hour to the grave, speak a decrease of the plague ? many thousands are fallen, and more thousands are like to fall ; and who of you all, that are in your sins, can reasonably hope to escape ? some of the righteous themselves do fall, and if God spareth not his own people, how can you think of preservation ? if you have not entered into covenant with God, can you now make covenant with death ? what security can you have now ? what peace can you find, when you have not made your peace with God, and you are in such

danger every hour of being sent for to his judgment-seat, by this grim messenger, whom none can resist?

Sinners, your condition is very sad, your straits are very great; God hath hedged you in, and you cannot get away; he hath you at his mercy, his bow is now bent, his arrow is upon the string; he may smite you while you sit in those pews, or stand in those isles, or so soon as your feet shall carry you forth of these church doors. Hark! do you not hear the knells which are ringing in every place for your dying friends and fellow sinners? The next knell may be for you. Look! do you not see the mouth of the pit open, and, before it be shut again, you may be put in? You see the righteous perish, but you are in danger of a far worse perishing; their bodies perish, but you are in danger of your souls perishing; their souls are taken away by angels, and conveyed to heaven, but when your bodies drop into the grave, your souls will be dragged by devils into hell.

Sinners, this night you may be in hell! Hell receiveth many guests to-night, and the stoutest of you may help to fill up their number this night, and what do you think to do? Will you go on still in the way of sin? Will nothing stop you in your course of wickedness? Will not you yet lay down your weapons whereby you have been fighting against the King of Heaven? Can you make your party good against him? Can you defend yourselves, or fly from him? Is it good to provoke him still when he is so furious? Will you run to the utmost line of his patience? Consider, that the next sin you wilfully commit, God's patience may be quite spent and be come to an end, and then all the world cannot save you from the stroke of death. Venture, then, no farther, stand, stand, sinners, stir not a foot in the way of sin, but retire your pace and return to God, and make your peace with him, and, peradventure, he may hide you in this day of his fierce anger.

USE 3. Are the righteous, and, by consequence, all liable to death? Let me then exhort you all to think and prepare for death. Methinks you should hardly be able to think of anything else in such a day as this, when the plague is so hot in and about the city; when death walks in every street, breaks in at so many doors, and sits in so many windows, and hath already dragged more bodies into the grave within this four months, than, I believe, this whole church would hold, were they heaped up from the pavement to the roof; and still this tyrant rageth and prevaileth; and it is not very unlikely, but all of you, which are here this day, may be taken captive by death, and, within a few weeks or days, go down into the pit. Think, O think seriously, how dear death may be unto you, and how suddenly these bodies which you take care daily to feed and clothe, may become food for worms, and put on an earthen garment! Think what a thin veil of flesh is between you and eternity, how small and weak the thread of life is, which ties soul and body together, and how easily death can break and tear the veil, untie or cut the thread; that this may be done before to-morrow, and then your naked souls must appear before the highest Majesty, unto your everlasting joy or sorrow. Think that the same hands, which digged the grave for our dear brother, may be employed, before this week is ended, in digging graves for you! That the same feet which brought him to this place, may bring you in like manner. Think how quickly you may be smitten by the poisonous arrows; when you next enter your houses the

plague may follow you at your heels, and seize upon you with such strength as you shall not be able to make any resistance. Fancy to yourselves a dizziness in your heads, a pain in your backs, a trembling in your flesh and joints, your blood all corrupted, and spirits poisoned by this disease, and, after many convulsions and much anguish, the spots breaking forth in your arms and breasts, the almost certain forerunners of death, and then death appearing with a grim look and rending away your souls from your bodies. Then fancy your bodies cold, stiff, stark, and stretched out to their full length in a coffin, your fallen jaws bound up with a napkin, your eyes closed, your blood chill and settled, your spirits gone, your soul departed. Then fancy your bodies brought to the sides of the pit by your weeping friends, and cast into a cold grave, and covered presently with earth, and your friends walking over your heads, soon forgetting that they had such a friend, except the thoughts of their soon following after you, should put them in mind. Then fancy, when your bodies are in the earth, the invasion of them by worms, their creeping into your eyes, mouths, necks, breasts, bellies, and every part, and eating you through and through, turning your whole carcass into putrefaction. And then think of the appearance of your souls before the bar of God, (which will be immediately upon their separation,) think of the account you must then give, and the sentence which then you must receive, according to your works.

And now, beloved, examine yourselves, whether you be prepared for such a change, whether you be ready for such an appearance and account, and, let me exhort you without any further delay to prepare.

Suppose you were now lying upon your death-beds, and groaning out your last breath, what would you wish you had been? O that I had been a regenerate converted person! O that I had been a true believer and righteous person! Would not this be the language of your wishes, the breathing of your desires? O labour now that you may be so; then it may be too late to be made so, but now it is not too late. O pray earnestly unto the Lord to make you such persons. What would you, in such an hour, wish you had done? O that I had made my peace with God! O that I had made it my business to be religious! O that I had lived in a course of obedience to the commandments of the Lord! Beloved, if you have neglected this hitherto, neglect it no longer; as yet God stretcheth forth the hand and holds forth the sceptre of grace to you, apply yourselves to him and cry for mercy and pardon and grace, to serve him the short remainder of your days, and give up yourselves to God in covenant, with full purpose of heart to stick close to him as long as you live.

What would be the grief of your hearts and wound your consciences in the dying hour? O my sins they trouble me; they are like a heavy load upon me, which I fear will sink me into the bottomless pit! O my drunkenness, my uncleanness! O how bitter are my sweet pleasures of sin which I have reaped: my covetousness, my unrighteousness. O how unprofitable are my riches in this day of calamity. Beloved, take heed of those sins now, which, at the last, will bite like an adder and sting like a serpent. Get your sins pardoned and your sins mortified. Sin is the sting of death, get it removed.

What would you wish, on your death-bed, that you had obtained? O that I had an interest in

Christ! O that I had my heart furnished with grace! O that I had laid up my treasure in heaven! Beloved, let me tell you, that a sick-bed, and a death-bed, is a very unlikely place to obtain these things, if you do not get them before; such a time is a spending time, not a gaining time; it is a time for the using of grace, few do obtain it then; ten thousand to one but you are undone for ever, if you have these things to get then. Now fly to Christ, and lay hold on him by faith; now cry for grace, and be ready to receive it, now lay up your treasure above, and get your affections set upon them, and then you will be happy in your death.

[This may not be an unsuitable place for introducing the following noble passage from John Howe, which, though it does not refer to the plague in London, was yet written shortly after that event, and contains sentiments most appropriate:—

"It can surely no way become one, who seeks and expects the honour and glory which is joined with immortality, to be fond of the airy titles that poor mortals are wont to please themselves with; or to make one among the obsequious servile company of those whose business it is to court a vanishing shadow, and tempt a dignified trifle into the belief that it is a deity; to cringe for a smile from a supercilious brow, and place his heaven in the disdainful favours of him, who, it may be, places his own as much in thy homage. What eye would not soon spy out the grossness of this absurdity; and what ingenuity would not blush to be guilty of it? Let, then, the joyful expectants of a blessed immortality pass by the busy throng of this fanciful exchange; and behold it with as little concern as a grave statesman would the sports and ludicrous actions of little children; and with as little inclination of mind, as he would have to leave his business and go play with them; bestowing there, only the transient glance of a careless or a compassionate eye, and still reserving their intent steady views for the glorious hope set before them.

"And with a proportionable unconcern should they look on, and behold the various alternations of political affairs, no further minding either the constitution or administration of government, than as the interest of the universal Ruler, the weal and safety of their prince or country are concerned in them.

"That lofty soul that bears about with it the living apprehensions of its being made for an everlasting state, is so earnestly intent upon it, that it shall ever be a descent with it, if it allow itself to take notice what busy mortals are doing in their grand negotiations (as they reckon them) here below. And if there be a suspicion of an aptness, or inclination to intermeddle in them to their prejudice to whom that part belongs, can heartily say to it, (as the philosopher to the jealous tyrant,) 'We of this academy are not at leisure to mind so mean things; we have somewhat else to do than to talk of you.' He hath still the image before his eye, of this world vanishing and passing away; of the other, with the everlasting affairs and concerns of it, even now ready to take place and fill up all the stage. And can represent to himself the vision (not from a melancholy fancy or crazed brain, but a rational faith and a sober well-instructed mind,) of the world dissolving, monarchies and kingdoms breaking up, thrones tumbling, crowns and sceptres lying as neglected things. He hath a telescope through which he can behold the glorious appearance of the Supreme Judge; the so-

lemn state of his majestic person; the splendid pomp of his magnificent and vastly numerous retinue; the obsequious throng of glorious celestial creatures, doing homage to the Eternal King; the swift flight of his royal guards, sent forth into the four winds to gather the elect, and covering the face of the heavens with their spreading wings; the universal silent attention of all to that loud sounding trumpet that shakes the pillars of the world, pierces the inward caverns of the earth, and resounds from every part of the encircling heavens. The many myriads of joyful expectants arising, changing, putting on glory, taking wing, and contending upwards, to join themselves to the triumphant heavenly host; the judgment seat; the books opened; the frightful amazed looks of surprized wretches; the equal administration of the final judgment; the adjudication of all to their eternal states; the heavens rolled up as a scroll; the earth, and all things therein, consumed and burned up.

"And now what spirit is there any more left in him towards the trivial affairs of this vanishing world? How indifferent a thing is it with him, who it is that bears himself highest in a state of things whereof he foresees the certain hastening end? Though he will not neglect the duty of his own place, is heartily concerned to have the knowledge and fear of God more generally prevailing in this apostate world; and is ready to contribute his utmost regular endeavours for the preservation of common peace and order in suberviency hereto; yet abstractedly from these considerations, (and such as have been before-mentioned,) he is no more concerned who is uppermost, than one would, passing by a swarm of flies, which hath the longest wings, or which excels the rest in sprightliness or briskness of motion. And for himself, he can insert this amongst his most serious thanksgivings, that while the care is incumbent on others, of watching over the public peace and safety, he may sit still and converse with God and his own more sedate thoughts. How secure he is in this, that infinite wisdom governs the world! That all things shall be disposed the best way, to the best and most valuable ends! That an afflicted state shall never befall unto good men, but when it is fittest, and most conducing it should do so! That the prosperity courted by carnal appetite is never denied them, but when it would be pernicious! How calm is he in the midst of external troubles! how placid and serene a spirit inhabits his peaceful breast! When all things are shaken round about him, he is not shaken. He hears all sorts of troubles, but creates none to others, nor is disturbed by any himself.

"But they that delight to see this world rolling or fixed, as may most serve their private purposes, and have a perpetual quarrel with it, while it looks not kindly upon them; their life is bound up in it, and their pretences to another, are but the languid faint notions of what they never heartily believe or desire.

"Upon the whole matter; nothing is more agreeable to this great expectation than a steady restraint and moderation of our passions towards things without us; that is, all the several sorts of external objects and affairs that so variously invite and tempt our observation and regard in this our present state."]

SECTION V.

MORE INSTANCES OF DILIGENT AND ZEALOUS MINISTERS OF CHRIST IN ENGLAND AND WALES, WHO DIED TOWARDS THE END OF THIS CENTURY, AFTER 1660: *VIZ.*—1. JOSEPH WOODWARD.—2. AMBROSE.—3. MACHIN.—4. SABBATH CLARK.—5. SAMUEL HAMMOND.—6. ARTHUR JACKSON.—7. JOSEPH ALLIEN.—8. RICHARD MATHER.—9. THOMAS VINCENT.—10. EDMUND STANTON.—11. VAVASOR POWELL.—12. THOMAS TREGGOSH.—13. JAMES JANNEYWAY.—14. THOMAS MANTON.—15. DAVID ANDERSON.—16. SAMUEL FAIRCLOUGH.—17. HENRY STUBBS.—18. GABRIEL SANGAR.—19. THOMAS GOODWIN.—20. MATTHEW POOL.—21. JOHN ROGERS.—22. THOMAS ROWE.—23. NATHANIEL BALL.—24. MAURICE.—25. JOHN OWEN.—26. COOK.—27. LYE.—28. KNOWLES.—29. STAPLES.—30. HUGHES.—31. BUNYAN.—32. SWAIN.—33. FLAVEL.—34. BAXTER.—35. BATT.—36. WILLS.—37. SHAW.—38. ANNESLY.—39. FERNIX.—40. HUGH OWEN.—41. FAIRFAX.—42. BAGSHAW.—43. ROWE.—44. POMFRET.—45. HARDY.—46. FEARSE.—47. BROOKS.

1. Mr JOSEPH WOODWARD. He was born at Upper-Cam in Gloucester, and was bred in Oxford, where he was M.A. Then he was master of the Free-school at Wotton-under-edge. His carriage was very obliging, but he had, at that time, but little seriousness, and was wont to frequent the company of some gentlemen, whose character for virtue or sobriety was not very eminent; but it pleased God, by a seemingly little accident, to awaken him to a serious consideration of the things of another world. Being out one evening late, returning home, the dogs fell a-fighting about him, not without danger, which caused a serious reflection in him: What would have become of his soul, if he should have been torn in pieces by them; and so, leaving his former company, he changed it for those in Wotton, who used to pray and repeat sermons and sing together; which society he found so beneficial to him, that he used to say, Though Oxford made him a scholar, yet Wotton fitted him for the ministry. I am told by another, that he did not so much as handle a Bible till Mr Samuel Sprint, (afterwards minister in Andover, Hampshire), his scholar, was privately reading the Scripture and praying, as his father had charged him. His master found him thus busy in his chamber, and was thereby struck with shame and concern, that he, that was the master, should do less than a young boy. Hereupon he got him a Bible, and read and studied it, and shortly after, whereas the School had only Latin prayers, he brought in English prayers, reading of Scripture, and singing of psalms, and all pious exercises.

Some time after this he was ordained, and became very serviceable, and the people of Dursley sought him to be their minister, all with one consent voting for him, whereupon he fixed with them, and resolved to stay with them. He took a great deal of pains among that people: first he showed them the privileges of gospel times, and then of gospel things, and the absolute necessity of Christ, and then opened the nature of the two covenants.

After some time he vigorously set about the reformation of many disorders in discipline and manners among the people, aiming at which he met with many discouragements. Some withdrew from his ministry, others withheld their part of his salary, solemnly promised him, and others refused to pray and sing, and receive the sacrament. These troubles and the disorders which they brought upon him, who was sensibly disturbed at the sad interruption of the

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work, so discomposed him, that he fell into fits, and was taken with a fever; and the grief of his mind had such an influence on his body, that it was thought he received his mortal stroke by the disturbances among his people, and their carriage towards him.

He hereupon determined to leave them, and once there came about ten men, with a design to carry him to another place where he might have a better prospect, and he was inclined to go with them, but the very men that opposed and slighted him before, when they found he was going, came and begged his pardon, and promised a better carriage for the future, and so he stayed. Some time after, there were about seven men that resolved to ruin him, some by swearing against him, and some in other ways. But it pleased God that several of them died, and his principal enemy fell desperately ill, and, upon his death-bed, sent for him to pray with him, and desired him to preach his funeral sermon, and confessed that he and his companions had resolved to ruin him; but he now saw he must die, and he warned all his associates to Jesist from their design, as they would not provoke God to visit them with his judgments. And so, at last, he was delivered from their malice, and he had the comfort to see his people become teachable, and conformable to the rules of the gospel. His labours among them were very great. Besides the toil of a school, he preached twice every Lord's-day, expounding in the morning, and catechising in the afternoon, before sermon. Every Tuesday he expounded for an hour or two, and carried on a lecture every Thursday, usually without any assistance from other ministers. On Lord's-day evenings he repeated with his scholars, and many of his auditors, at his own house. And at funerals, he either preached or expounded, and was always very plain and warm in maintaining the foundations of religion. Twice a year he kept a public fast, besides many in private. Every Monday after dinner he used to visit ten families to instruct the ignorant, reprove the scandalous, and comfort the afflicted. He was very diligent in instilling the principles of religion into the younger sort, and collected money for teaching poor children to read. He himself also was very liberal in works of mercy. He was a very strict observer of the Sabbath, and used on that day to rise very early. He was a man of a very large soul, and public spirit, one of unshaken constancy and resolution, and sincere plain-heartedness. He took great pains to oppose the sectaries, and disputed with them openly as an occasion offered, all round the country, and silenced them. He protested and preached against taking the engagement. Oliver, upon some occasion, appointing a day of public thanksgiving, he thinking there was more need of fasting, appointed a solemn public fast, and kept it with his people.

When he declared his resolution to admit none to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but who, together with a visible probity of conversation, had also a competent knowledge, a certain person said, he would not submit to examination, and yet he would come, and if Mr Woodward would not give him the sacrament, he would take it. In pursuance of his resolution, he was coming to Church on the sacrament-day, but he had scarce set one foot over the threshold, before he fell down dead, at which many were much affected.

At length Mr Woodward being overcome with labour, and his infirmities growing upon him, by reason

of a wasting consumption, he went to rest a little before the Act of Uniformity took place.

Some in the country having a design to publish his life, Dr. Woodward his son, sent them this account of his father in a letter :

"I am assured that very few (at least in these degenerate days) are blessed with such eminency of grace as he was; which seemed always to be in the height of pious zeal, without any considerable abatements at any time. In truth, such a pitch of ardour seemed to many to be above the common state of humanity itself, and to have a tendency to decay the health and course of nature. But the power of God bore him up for many years, until at last indeed the rising soul grew too big for the body, and by degrees rent it into pieces, to make way for a happy dissolution.

"About the twenty-third year of his age, he was so smitten in his breast with a sense of the evil of sin, (through what particular means I do not perfectly remember) that he has professed he thought himself the vilest creature breathing. He fancied the very dogs in the street were by their Maker set against him; and when they barked, probably on various instigations, he thought every yelp was a mark of his odiousness and monstrousness as a sinner. So that he was constrained to forbear company for a while, and to retire from the public, to set himself to the most important work of life, viz., to spread the wounds and ulcers of his soul, before the Physician of souls; and to seek the healing balm of his Redeemer's blood: to which he applied himself (through the grace of God) with such earnestness, and to so good effect, that all his life after shewed he was saved through faith; there appearing little concern in him for any thing but the glory of God, and the insuring eternal life. Yet he did not presently step forth into the ministry. He rather dreaded that awful and tremendous charge, in which above all the employments beneath the skies, men ought to appear with the highest advancements of holiness, prudence, and diligence. He rather retired from such a work, which needs the zeal, purity, and wisdom of an angel, if men could attain it. And like Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and most of the primitive divines, he was by much intreaty drawn to so solemn an office, after he had spent a considerable time in the university of Oxford,

"But when his thirtieth year was come, God was pleased to send an inward warmth into his soul, which was more compulsive than all outward persuasion: for he seemed to have such a zeal for God, and the souls of men, as burnt like fire, (and like that of the prophet Jeremiah xx. 9.) was no way to be made easy and tolerable, but by giving it outward vent; which the subject he first preached upon did plainly show. For his first sermon was delivered in the church of his native village, and in these words of St Peter and John, Acts iv. 20. 'For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.' He had indeed such a readiness, or rather exuberance in delivering the will of God, upon any subject before him, that though he always wrote his sermons at large, yet he has often confessed, he has been carried into a field of doctrine, which he had never committed to writing: not in a roving and injudicious discourse, but in such melting and close argument, as seldom failed to reach the mark he principally aimed at, viz., the softening and reducing obstinate hearts.

"The course of my good father's labours in the ministry, was suitable to this careful entrance upon it. He was earnest even as St. Paul (beyond strength) and would never preach a sermon to others, but what had first warmed his own breast: for which cause, he sometimes either razed out a part of a sermon, or wholly threw it by. He was most affectionate and devout in prayer, earnest in preaching, bold in re-proving, kind in admonishing, ready to advise and succour, and comfort the feeble and disconsolate: and in a word, he spent and was spent in his ministerial labours. He made frequent visits to all under his care at their own dwellings. He would pry into most of their failures and neglects, and would compassionate all their wants of soul, body, and estate.

"I know not why it was that he particularly fixed his desires of exercising his ministry in Dursley: a place at that time very dissolute; inasmuch that it had the nickname of drunken Dursley: but if he found it so, it was very much altered by his labours of many years there; and it became one of the most wealthy and trading towns in the neighbourhood. Some of them having told me, that they cleared a thousand pounds a year by the trade of clothing, in the time of his residence there. His presence in the streets made the youth grave, and the aged circumspect. It made the sober to rejoice, and the guilty to hide themselves in corners. He seldom went to church, but with a multitude with him: for his house being distant from the church the length of a long street, every one got their families ready as he came by, and stood in their doors, and so fell in with those that followed; so that he went with the multitude to the house of God. And every one's zeal seemed inflamed, by the flame he beheld in his neighbour; so that I have heard, that there was the most composed and affected congregation that could any where be seen. I must indeed lament the fewness of those years of mine which passed under his excellent conduct. O! what a blessing had such a guide been to my youth, when it came to any dawning of understanding. But the good God who took him, has not left me nor my relations comfortless. We now enjoy the blessings of so happy a descent, and of so many earnest prayers laid up in store for us. The Lord grant that we may not act unworthy of so good a relation, but so tread in his steps, that we may at last be partakers with him in glory. His sorrow for the death of King Charles the First, his lamenting for want of a good foundation in the *inter-regnum*; and his joy at the return of King Charles the Second, ought to be inserted; and also the raptures of his death.

"Thus, Sir, I have complied with your desire, not to give materials for a book, so much as to give some hints to a friend.—Sir, Yours, &c.

"JOSIAH WOODWARD."

"* * He gave me my name in desire of reformation: and named my younger brother Jeremiah, when he saw the little hopes of it."

2. Mr ISAAC AMBROSE. He was sometime at Preston; but afterwards removed to Garstang, where the act of uniformity found him in the year 1662. He was a man of that substantial worth, that eminent piety, and that exemplary life, both as a minister and a Christian, that it is to be lamented that the world should not have the benefit of particular memoirs concerning him, from some able hand. One thing that was peculiar in him, deserves to be mentioned here. It was his usual custom once in a

year, for the space of a month to retire into a hut in a wood, and avoiding all human converse, to devote himself to contemplation. Possibly by this practice, he was the fitter for his sacred ministration all the rest of the year. He lived in the latter part of his life at Preston, and when his end drew near, was very sensible of it. Having taken his leave of many of his friends abroad, with unusual solemnity, as if he foresaw that he should see them no more, he came home to Preston from Bolton, and set all things in order. In a little time some of his hearers came from Garstang to visit him. He discoursed freely with them, gave them good counsel, told them, He was now ready whenever his Lord should call, and that he had finished all he designed to write; having the night before sent away his discourse concerning ANGELS to the press. He accompanied his friends to their horses, and when he came back, shut himself in his parlour, the place of his soliloquy, meditation and prayer; they thought he staid long, and so opened the door, and found him just expiring, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was holy in his life, happy in his death, and honoured by God, and all good men. He died 1663-4.

8. Mr JOHN MACHIN. He was born in Staffordshire, and educated at Cambridge. While at the university, he had the benefit of the excellent labours of Dr Hill, and Dr Arrowsmith, under whom he received such impressions of seriousness, as he retained to his dying day. In 1660, he settled at Ashburn in Derbyshire, where, for the space of two years, he was a painful and laborious preacher, and exceeding useful, not confining his care and concern to that particular town, but making frequent excursions into the Moorlands, and other dark corners in Staffordshire, where his occasional labours were exceeding useful to many souls. From thence he was called to Atherston in Warwickshire, where he spent a year in a lecturer's place, and had many converts. Among many other instances of his fervent desire of the good of souls, this was one, that he set up a monthly lecture, to be preached in several towns of great concourse, by the most eminent ministers; as in Newcastle, Leek, Uttoxeter, Litchfield, Tamworth, Walsal, Wolverhampton, Pentridge, Stafford, Eccleshall, Stone, and Muckleston, which lecture he set and kept up at his own charge; and he had settled an yearly income in his will for the upholding it. He died 1664.

4. Mr SABBATH CLARK. He was a minister at Tarvin nearly sixty years. He was the spiritual father of many in that place. He was a very grave person, exceedingly beloved by that phoenix of his age, Mr John Bruen of Stapleford, of whom see in Clark's Lives, or in Wesley's Christian Library, Vol. twenty-sixth. And, the year after died Mr Hall of King's Norton, in the county of Worcester, a man of very lively and active spirit, never cast down with discouragements. When he was near his end, he thus expressed himself; "I am now going where I shall have rest from sin and Satan, from all fear, weariness, and watching, and from all the evils and errors of a wicked world; even so come Lord Jesus; for I long for thy coming. And when the pangs of death were upon him, he spake thus: all the joys of this life are nothing, nothing to the joys I have in Jesus Christ.

5. Mr SAMUEL HAMMOND. He was born in York, and educated in Cambridge. By the earl of Manchester's interest, he in time, obtained a fellow-

ship in Magdalen-college, and was a happy instrument in the reforming and raising that society. He had many pupils; and several of them were afterwards of great repute, both in church and state. He began to preach in the neighbouring church of St Giles, with that pious zeal, pungency, and Christian experience, that from all parts of the town, and from the distant colleges, his useful ministry was attended on; and it was crowned with the conversion of some scores, I might (says Mr Staneliff) have said some hundred of scholars. It was the general opinion, that there was not a more convincing and successful minister in Cambridge, from the time of Mr William Perkins, than he was. He died 1666.

6. Mr ARTHUR JACKSON. He was one of unweared diligence, who studied fourteen or sixteen hours a day at the university, and constantly rose at three or four o'clock in the morning, summer and winter, to redeem his time; and held it to the age of 73. He was minister of St. Michael's Woodstreet, in the year 1624, when a pestilential sickness raged in the city; and continued all the time of it, discharging all the offices and duties of a faithful pastor to his flock, visiting infected persons without fear, though to the hazarding of his own life, for the good of souls, in the service of his Master, who preserved him from all infection, when thousands fell on either hand of him. He was very successful in his ministry, and exceeding useful, by his profitable and familiar way of catechizing. He died 1666.

7. Mr JOSEPH ALLEIN was born in Wiltshire, in the year 1633. In his childhood he shewed a singular sweetness of disposition, and a remarkable diligence in every thing. When he was about eleven years old he was very constant in private prayer, and so serious and intent on it, that he would not be taken off by the coming of any accidentally into the places of his retirement. About this time, his brother (Mr Edward Allein) a worthy minister of the gospel died; whereupon Joseph earnestly desired that he might be trained up to succeed him in the work of the ministry; which request was readily hearkened to by his father, who accordingly sent him to school. When he was about sixteen years old he went to the university, and was placed in Lincoln College in Oxford; where he had not been long, before a Wiltshire place becoming void in Corpus Christi College, he was chosen scholar of that house. Being settled there, he gave early and excellent proofs of his indefatigableness in his studies, accounting it his great happiness that he had gained this opportunity of improving his learning: and truly he spared no labour day nor night; he thought no pains too great which he employed for that end; by his good will he would nothing else but pray and study; if friends came to visit him in studying-times, (though at other times he was very civil and sociable) they were sure to find him within, but not sure that he would let them in. He could seldom be found in bed after four in the morning, though sometimes he went not to bed till about one.

So covetous was he of time, that as he could scarce spare any for sleep, so neither for food: it was common for him to give away his commons, at least once a day, that he might gain the more time to his study. His early accomplishments were so taken notice of, that no sooner was he a bachelor of arts, but he was even compelled to become a tutor, and presently was intrusted with as great a number of pupils as any in the house: some of his scholars were graduates in

divinity, singular ornaments to that society, and profitable instruments in the church of Christ. During his abode there, a chaplain's place falling void, he chose that before a fellowship, which, he knew in a little time would fall to him of course; and this choice he never repented of; yea, he often reflected upon it with a great deal of comfort; for he had always an ardent affection for prayer, inasmuch as he and his friend could hardly meet, but before they parted, they must pray together: what a pleasure then was it to him, twice a day to engage a whole society in so beloved an exercise: and well was it for the college that he so esteemed it: scarce was it possible that any could have performed that office better: he did not trouble them with a great deal of noise, vain tautologies, crude effusions, instead of prayer: his spirit was serious, his gesture reverent, his words few, but premeditated and well weighed, pithy, solid, and fully expressive of his truly humble and earnest desires: he hated the sauciness, which some miscall holy boldness, and drew near to God, not as if he had been going to play, but as became a creature over-awed with the majesty of his great Creator: he prayed with the spirit, and with the understanding also: he confessed sin with real grief, inward hatred and detestation of it: he craved mercies like one that felt the want and worth of what he begged, with faith, fervency and humble importunity; his affections working, but working rationally as well as strongly.

He was of a sweet disposition, and of as highly civil a conversation, as a man subject to the common frailties of human nature could be: he had scarce a gesture which did not seem to speak, and by a powerful and charming rhetoric, affect all whom he conversed with: besides other moral perfections that he was endowed with, it might be truly said (as a historian said of the emperor) that he was *totus ex comitate*, made up of nothing but courtesy and affability.

His love and affection to the souls of others was most admirable, to whom he desired and endeavoured to do all the good possible, inasmuch as some there were, and are, who verily think they should never have found the way to eternal life, if he had lived to himself. His charity to the poor prisoners in Oxford gaol was very eminent, amongst whom (as Mr Perkins did at Cambridge) of his own accord, he began to preach, and held on constantly (whilst he remained in the town) once a fortnight, for above the space of twelve months; encouraging them to give attendance upon his ministry, by a considerable allowance of bread (that week he preached) at his own cost. He used also at other times, frequently to visit others, who in the world were but mean and low: his main design (together with the relieving of their temporal wants) being to assist their souls in the way to heaven. Indeed in all his converses, wherever he came, he was like fire, warming, refreshing, and quickening all that were about him; kindling in them the like zeal for God and goodness, which he had in himself. None there were that came to visit, or to be acquainted with him, but (if the fault were not in themselves) they might get much good by him; yea, so much as to be for ever the better for him. It was hardly possible to be in his company, and not to hear such things from him, as (if well weighed) might have been enough to make one out of conceit with sin, and in love with virtue.

He had much delightful communion with God; his soul was much exercised in divine contemplation:

and, to provoke others to the like exercise, he would often speak what ineffable sweetness his soul had found in his stated meditations upon the divine attributes. In prayer he was not ordinarily so much in confessing of sin, and complaining of corruption and infirmities (though he expressed a due sense of these) as in admiring and praising God in his infinite glorious perfections, and in the mention of his wonderful works, particularly of the wonders of his love in Jesus Christ.

Whilst he lay sick at the Bath, he sent for many poor persons, both aged and children, and gave them catechisms, engaging them to learn, and to give him an account of their proficiency therein, and they came cheerfully to him, being encouraged thereto by his winning carriage, his giving them money, and by feeding them.

As a minister, besides his labours in that great congregation where the Lord had placed him, the care of many other churches lay daily upon him. He went abroad frequently into other parishes about the country, amongst poor ignorant people that lived in dark corners, having none to take care of their souls, preached to them himself, and stirred up many of his brethren to do the like. He had an eye to the poor Welsh, and had an influence upon sending some ministers among them, intending also to have spent some time among them himself, and was hardly withheld from it by all the persuasions of his friends, who told him his inability to travel by reason of the great weakness he lay under. The reading of this did so inflame the zeal of Mr Thomas Gouge, that he was restless in his spirit, till (having settled his affairs about London) he had an opportunity to prosecute this design: since which time he hath made many journeys both into South and North Wales, where he hath done much good, and by the help of divers of his reverend brethren, and many others, hath placed out many hundreds of poor children to school to learn English, hath given them Catechisms, and other good books: besides Bibles and New-Testaments in Welsh, and hath procured the printing of Welsh Bibles (whereof there were very few to be had) of the Practice of Piety, &c. to be distributed among them.

Much of his time he spent in private converse with God and his own soul: he much delighted to perform secret devotions in the sight of heaven, and in the open air, when his opportunities served. Many days he kept alone, and then (by his good-will) he would betake himself to a solitary house, probably, that he might freely use his voice as his affections led him to (which he could not have done where there were inhabitants) and that he might converse with God without distraction. His society with others was always mingled with holy and heavenly discourses. He took all opportunities to instruct, exhort, and reprove, which he never failed to do (when he judged it necessary) whatever the event might prove. And truly his reproofs were accompanied with such humility, tenderness, and compassion, that they seldom, if ever, did miscarry.

In the houses where he sojourned, his lips fed many. God freely gave it to him, and he gave it to others. None could live quietly in any open sin under his inspection. When he came to abide in any house, he brought a blessing with him, and when he departed, he left a blessing behind him. When he was transplanting himself from one family to another (as his occasions sometimes required) he would call

all the people, one by one into his chamber, from whence (it was observed) that scarce any one returned with dry eyes.

In matters doubtful and disputable, he was not pre-emptory : he laid not more stress upon opinions in religion than belonged to them : he was not like many who are so confident in their determinations, that they will hardly hold communion, nay, scarce so much as a pleasing conversation, with any man who cannot think, and speak, and act as they do in every thing. He would freely and familiarly converse with those who were found in the faith (as to the fundamentals of religion) and holy in their lives, of all persuasions.

He was insatiably greedy of the conversion of souls, wherein he had no small success in the course of his ministry ; and to promote this end, he poured out his very heart in prayer and preaching. He imparted not the gospel only, but his own soul to his hearers. His supplications and exhortations, were many times so affectionate, so full of holy zeal and life, that they quite overcame his auditors. He so melted over them, that he thawed, mollified, and sometimes dissolved the hardest hearts. But while he melted others, he wasted, and at last consumed himself.

He was not satisfied with these his public employments, but constantly went from house to house, and there dealt both with governors, children, and servants, instructing them especially in the fundamentals both of the law and gospel, whom he found to be ignorant ; gently reproving where he found any thing amiss ; exhorting them to diligence, both in their general and particular callings. He inspected so far as he could, into the state of every particular person, and accordingly reprov'd, comforted, and encouraged, as he found occasion ; yet all with so much tenderness, humility, and self-denial, that he gained much upon the affections of all that entertained him, inasmuch as such as were not visited at first, at length came forth and called upon him to come and help him also.

When he went from house to house, he used to give them notice the day before, desiring that they would have their whole family together against he came ; which being done, he used to instruct the younger sort in the principles of religion, by asking questions out of the catechism, the answers whereunto he used to open and explain. He used also to enquire of them about their spiritual estate, labouring to make them sensible of the evil and danger of sin, of the corruption of our natures, and misery of an unconverted state ; provoking to look after the true Remedy, to turn from all their sins to God, to close with Christ upon his own terms, to follow after holiness, to watch over their hearts and lives, to mortify their lusts, to redeem their time, and to prepare for eternity. These things he explained to their understandings, and pressed upon their consciences with the most cogent arguments and considerations ; showing what great privileges they did enjoy, the many gospel-sermons they did or might hear, the many talents they were intrusted with, and the great account they were to give to God of the same. Besides, he left with them several counsels and directions to be carefully remembered and practised for the good of their souls.

Such as were serious and religious, he used to help forward in holiness, by answering their doubts, and encouraging them against their difficulties and dis-

couragements ; and before he left them, he used to deal with the governors, and with such as were grown up to the years of discretion singly, that so, (as much as possibly he could) he might know the condition of each particular person, and the better apply himself to each of them. If he found them to neglect family-duties, he used to press them to set them up, by reading the word of God and prayer, giving them directions therein, and exhorting them to the practice of secret duties. He also persuaded mistresses of families to give their children and servants time for such secret duties, and to encourage them therein : if the family where he came was ignorant, he would insist the longer in instructing and catechizing ; if loose, in reproving and convincing ; if godly, in encouraging and directing.

He used to spend five afternoons every week in these exercises, from one or two o'clock, until seven : in which space he used to visit three or four families, sometimes more, as they were greater or less. Thus he went through the whole town, and then presently began again : and he did often bless God for the the great success he found in those exercises ; saying, that God made him hereby as instrumental to the good of souls as by his public ministry.

He was full of holy projects by what means he might most effectually promote the honour of Christ, and the salvation of souls ; and what he judged to be conducing to these ends, he prosecuted with such wisdom and vigour, that he seldom failed to accomplish it. Considering how much conscientious and frequent self-examination might tend to the weakening of sin, and to the furtherance of holiness both in heart and life, he earnestly pressed this practice in his public ministry, directing his hearers for the performance of it ; he dealt also with them in private about it, and drew a promise from most of them, that they would every night, before they went to sleep, spend some time in secret, to call themselves to an account how they had spent that day, by proposing several questions to their own hearts, which he had drawn in writing, and communicated unto them under several heads, and many confessed that this practice had been very advantageous to them in their Christian walk.

Before the act of uniformity came forth, he was very earnest with God day and night, to make his way plain unto him, that he might not be deprived of his present advantages of saving souls, by any scruple upon his conscience : but when he saw those clauses of assent and consent, he was fully satisfied against it ; whereas before he was so doubtful that his intimate friends thought he would have conformed, saying he would not leave his ministry for small and dubious matters : yet though he must quit his station, he judged that the ejection of ministers did not disoblige them from preaching to their people. He went also frequently into the villages, and places about the town, whence most of their ministers were fled, and wherever he came, the Lord was pleased to give him great success : many were converted, and the generality encouraged to cleave close to the Lord. This much heightened the rage of some neighbour justices, who much threatened and oft sought for him, but it pleased God he was preserved out of their hands longer than he expired. His usual saying was, that if it pleased the Lord to grant him three months liberty before he went to prison, he should account it a great favour, and should more willingly submit to it when he had done some work. Then did

he sell off his goods, the better to prepare for a gaol or banishment, only he was desirous that his wife should accompany him, which also was her great desire, it being more grievous to her to think of being absent from him, than to suffer with him. The Lord was pleased so far to indulge him, that he went on in this course from Bartholomew-day, until May the 26th following; though he was often threatened, yet was he never interrupted; though many, both of town and country, came flocking to his meetings, at what time soever they were held. He seldom missed of preaching twice a Sabbath, and often in the week. Sometimes he preached fourteen times in eight days; often ten, and ordinarily six or seven either at home or abroad, during all this time, besides his frequent discourses, with such as resorted to him: and for the better enabling him herewith, he laid aside all his other studies, expecting that his time and liberty would be but short. And truly the Lord did more than ordinarily assist him, as himself took notice, as well as all that heard him.

Upon a Saturday in the evening, about six o'clock, he was seized upon by an officer of Taunton, who professed that he had rather have been otherwise employed, but that he was urged to a speedy execution of the warrant, by one who was sent on purpose to see it executed, because they feared that none in the town would do it.

So soon as Mr Allein came into prison, he prayed and preached, which he called the consecration of it. And as there were several other ministers in prison at the same time, they preached once a day constantly, sometimes twice; and many resorted to their sermons, of which some came eight or ten miles round about out of the country, and multitudes came to visit them. Their friends were exceeding kind to them, by their frequent visits and supplies. Mr Allein's labours were the greatest, who spent almost all the day in conversing with his friends, and a great part of the night in his studies and secret duties.

At his enlargement from prison, he was more earnest in his work than before; yet willing to preserve his liberty among his people, who had no minister that had the over-sight of them, though some came and preached to them in his absence; and such multitudes resorted to him that he judged it necessary to divide them into four parts, resolving to preach to them four times each Sabbath; but finding that to be beyond his strength, which was much decayed, he was fain to forbear it, and preached only twice on the Sabbaths, yet often on the week-days besides, at home or abroad. He pressed all that feared God, especially such as were of a timorous spirit, to be courageous and active for God, and to be much in conversing together, now their ministers were withdrawn; much in praises and thanksgivings to God, delighting themselves in him, and denying themselves for him, and resigning themselves, and all they did enjoy, to him, that the world might see they could live comfortably on God alone, on his attributes and promises, though they should have nothing else left. But it pleased the all-wise God to take him off from this eager pursuit of his work, by visiting him with much weakness. Some of his friends of Taunton coming to Dorchester to see him, he was much revived, and causing his curtains to be withdrawn, he desired them to stand round the bed, and causing his wife to hold forth his hand to them, that they might shake him by it, as he was able, he spake thus to them. "O how it rejoices me to see

your faces and hear your voices, though I cannot as heretofore speak to you. Methinks I am now like old Jacob, with all his sons about him. You now see my weak estate, and thus I have been for many weeks, since I parted from Taunton; but God hath been with me, and I hope with you. Your prayers for me have been answered many ways. The Lord return them into your own bosoms. My friends, life is mine, death is mine; in that covenant I was preaching to you is all my salvation, and all my desire: although my body doth not prosper, I hope my soul doth. I have lived a sweet life by the promises, and I hope (through grace) I can die by a promise. The promises of God are everlasting, and will stand by us. Nothing but God in them will stand us in stead in a day of affliction. My dear friends, I feel the power of those doctrines which I preached unto you, upon my heart, the doctrines of faith, of repentance, of self-denial. O that you would live them over, now I cannot preach to you. It is a shame for a believer to be cast down under afflictions, who hath so many glorious privileges, justification, sanctification, and eternal glory. We shall be as the angels of God within a little while; nay, to say the truth, believers are, as it were, angels already, that live in the power of faith. O my friends! live like believers: trample this world under your feet. Be not taken with its comforts, nor disquieted with its crosses! you will be gone out of it shortly."

A proposal was made by his wife to the doctors, whether the Bath was not fit for him? some were for it, others against it; but he himself was very eager for it. And a horse litter being provided for him, though he had not for many days been out of his bed, yet did the Lord so strengthen him that in two days after he went almost forty miles to the Bath. During his stay there he grew exceedingly in grace, to the joy of those about him. He had much communion with God, and often such ravishments of spirit from the consolation of the Holy Ghost, that he was not able to express them, nor his weak body to bear them. He was more cheerful than formerly, and exceeding affectionate to his wife, and to all his friends, especially to such as were most heavenly: and the Lord was pleased to order it so by his providence, that many such came to make use of the bath, as Mr Fairclough, Mr How of Torrington, Mr Joseph Bernard, and divers of his Taunton friends, which was a great comfort to him. Here he had many visitors, both friends and strangers, who came to see and discourse with him, having heard what a monument of mercy he was; and to all of them he could so enlarge himself upon all the passages of God's dealing with him, as gave much content to all that heard him: and it did much affect many, who were strangers to God and religion as well as to him. He found much favour even amongst the worst, both gentry and others: such as would make a scoff at religion in others, would hearken to him; yea though he faithfully reprov'd them for their oaths, excessive drinking, wanton carriage. And there was none of them but did most thankfully accept it from him, and showed him more respect after than they had done before. In which he observed much of God's goodness to him, and would often say, "O how good is it to be faithful unto God:" one of the vilest of these persons said of him, that he never spake with such a man in his life. His reproofs were managed with so much respect to their persons and places, that they said,

they could not but take them well, though they were sharp and plain: and his manner was before he intended to reprove them, often in the Bath to discourse with them of such things as might be pleasing to them, which did so engage their affections that they delighted to converse with him, who was furnished with matter of discourse for any company, designing to make use of it for spiritual ends, by which means he caught many. Here though he had many diversions, by his constant bathing every day, and frequent visits, besides his weakness, yet he kept his constant season, four times a day, for his holy retirements. First in the morning from five o'clock until seven, at which time he was carried to the bath, and again before dinner, but when he spent less time, and about half an hour before two, just before he went abroad, he appointed his chair man, that carried him to the bath, to fetch him about three o'clock, and to carry him to the schools and almshouses, and to the godly poor, especially the widows, to whom he gave money; and he would pray and confer with them about their spiritual state, engaging the teachers and governors to teach them the catechism, whereof he bought and gave them many dozens for the use of their scholars, and many other small books which he judged useful for them; and about a week or fortnight after he would again visit them to see what progress they had made.

He also engaged several persons to send their children once a week to be catechized by him; and he had about sixty or seventy children that came to him every Lord's day, who profited much by his instructions, until some took such offence at it, that he was forced to desist, and the schoolmaster was threatened to be brought into the Bishop's court at Wells for it. He also sent for all the godly poor he could hear of in the city, whom he entertained at his chamber, and gave them money according to his ability, as a thank-offering to God for his mercy to him, and procured two of the afore-named ministers to assist him in keeping a day of thanksgiving for the same. Though his sickness had been long and his expences great, yet, he thought he could never do enough for him from whom he had received all. He always gave money or apples to all the children that came to be catechized by him, besides what he gave to their teachers and the poor; and having made provision for his wife, he resolved to lay up the rest in heaven; often saying, "that having no children of his own, God's children should have his estate." His next work was to send letters to all his relations and intimate friends, whom he exhorted to observe his counsel, for it was like to be his last. He had a great desire to go to Mr Joseph Bernard's which was about five miles from Bath, to promote the exercise of catechizing in Somerset and Wiltshire. Mr Bernard having had a great deliverance as well as himself, he proposed to him, that by way of thank-offering unto God, they should engage to join in the printing six thousand of the Assembly's catechisms, and to raise some money among other friends to send to every minister in those counties that would engage in the work, and also to give to the children for their encouragement in learning it; which was effected by Mr Bernard, after Mr Allein's decease.

When he looked upon his weak and consumed hands, he said, these shall be changed; "This vile body shall be made like unto Christ's glorious body." And again, "O what a glorious day will the day of the resurrection be! methinks I see it by faith.

How will the saints then lift up their heads and rejoice! and how sadly will the wicked world look then? O come, let us make haste! our Lord will come shortly, let us prepare for him. If we long to be in heaven, let us hasten with our work; for when that is done, away we shall be fetched." He was often in commending the love of Christ, and from that, exhorting himself and others to obedience to Christ; often speaking of his sufferings and of his glory: as also of his love-letters; and so he stiled the history of his life, death, resurrection, ascension, and of his second coming; his thoughts of which, he was often much ravished with.

In brief, his whole life was a continued sermon, holding forth the doctrines which he preached, of humility, self-denial, patience, meekness, content, faith, love to God, his church, and people, the blessed fruit of all which he now reaps in heaven, where he is singing praises unto God and the Lamb, which was great delight whilst he lived in this world.

FROM MR WESLEY'S CHRISTIAN LIBRARY, VOL. xxvii. p. 240.

8. Mr RICHARD MATHER. He was born in the village called Lowton, in the parish of Winwick, in the county of Lancaster, in 1596. After he had spent sundry years in the school, some Popish merchants coming out of Wales to Warrington, which is but two miles from Winwick, made diligent inquiry whether they were not some in that school whom they might procure for apprentices. Presently Richard Mather was mentioned to them; whereupon application was made to his father to know whether he would thus dispose of him; who was inclinable to accept of the motion, because now his estate was so decayed, that he almost despaired of bringing up this his son as he intended: but here Divine Providence was very observable; for when the father was thus ready to part with his son, and the child to go, the Lord raised up the heart of his master to be importunate to keep him at school, professing that it was great pity that a wit so prone to learning should be taken from it; or that he should be undone by Popish education; and the persuasions of the master so far prevailed, that his scholar was continued under his care, until the fifteenth year of his age.

His conversion was occasioned partly by observing a strange difference between himself and sundry in the godly family of Mr Edward Aspinwall, which caused fear to rise in his soul, lest haply he might not be in the right way; partly by one Mr Harrison's preaching upon John iii. 3. concerning the necessity of regeneration. This was in 1614. The pangs of the new birth were very terrible in him, inasmuch as many times when others were at their meals in the family he absented himself, to retire under hedges, and in other secret places, there to lament his misery before God: but after some time, the Lord revived his broken heart, by sending the Holy Spirit to accompany the ministry of the word, and to enable him to apply the precious promises of the gospel to his soul. After some years he went to Oxford.

But having not spent so much time there as he could have wished, the people in Texteth, whose children had been trained up by him, sent to him, desiring that he would return, to instruct, not so much their children as themselves; and that not in

mere human literature, but in the things of God ; and this call, after mature deliberation, he accepted of.

Being returned to Toxteth, he preached his first sermon, November 30th, 1618. There was a very great concourse of people to hear him, and his labours were highly accepted of by those who were judicious. The people having now had some trial of his gifts were the more importunate to have him fix amongst them ; and because that could not be done without ordination, they urged him to accept thereof. He yielded to the motion, and accordingly was ordained by Dr Morton, the then Bishop of Chester. The ordination being ended, the Bishop singled out Mr Mather from among the rest, saying, " I have something to say to you, between you and me alone." Mr Mather was hereupon afraid that some information had been given in against him, because of his Puritanism. But it fell out far otherwise ; for when the bishop had him alone, he spoke thus upon him : I have an earnest request unto you, and you must not deny me ; it is, that you will pray for me : for I know, said he, the prayers of men that fear God will avail much ; and such an one I believe you to be."

After he had spent painfully and faithfully fifteen years in the work of the ministry, he that holds the stars in his right hand, had more work for him to do elsewhere, and therefore Satan's rage was suffered to break forth to the stopping of his mouth.

The case being thus, he betook himself to a private life ; and no hope appearing that he should enjoy his liberty in the land of his nativity, foreseeing also the approaching calamities of England, he meditated a removal into New-England. Being fully satisfied concerning the clearness of his call to New-England, after many prayers, and extraordinary seeking of God, he resolved upon the transportation of himself and family thither. His parting with his friends in Lancashire was like St Paul's taking his leave of Ephesus with much sorrow, many tears being shed by those that expected to see his face no more.

He began his journey in April, 1635 ; and travelled to Bristol, purposing to take ship there. In this journey he was forced to change his outward habit, because pursuivants were designed to apprehend him ; but by this means he came safe and unmolested to Bristol. From Bristol they set sail for New-England, May 23, 1635 : and the Lord, after manifold trials of their faith and patience, brought them in safety to their desired haven. It is seldom known, that a man designed in God's council to any special services, doth not at one time or other experience eminent deliverances of God's providence ; and so it was with this servant of the Lord, not once or twice. But the most remarkable of all others was that which happened to him on the mighty waters, where he that sits upon the floods, and stilleth the raging of the sea, shewed himself wonderful in goodness. The relation of this signal providence, we will here set down in Mr Mather's own words.

AUGUST 15, 1635. " The Lord had not yet done with us, nor had he let us see all his power and goodness : and therefore about break of day he sent a most terrible storm of rain and easterly wind, whereby we were in as much danger, as I think ever people were. When we came to land we found many mighty trees rent in pieces in the midst of their bodies, and others turned up by the roots by the fierceness of the tempest. That morning we lost three anchors

and cables, one of them having never been in the water before. Two were broken by the strength and violence of the storm, and the third was cut off by the mariners in extremity of distress, to save the ship, and their own, and our lives. And when our cables and anchors were all lost and gone, we had no visible means of deliverance, but by hoisting sail, if so be we might get to sea from among the islands and rocks where we had anchored. But the Lord let us see that our sails could not save us neither, no more than the cables and anchors ; for by the force of the storm the sails were rent in pieces, as if they had been cotton rags ; of divers of them there was scarce left so much as an hands-breadth that was not torn in pieces, or blown away into the sea : so that at that time all hope that we should be saved, in all outward appearance, was utterly taken away, and the rather, because we seemed to drive with full force of wind directly upon a mighty rock, standing out in sight above water, so that we did but continually wait when we should hear and feel the crashing of the ship upon the rock. In this extremity we cried unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have compassion upon us : for, by his over-ruling providence, he guided the ship by the rock, assuaged the violence of the sea and of the wind. So God granted us as wonderful a deliverance, as I think ever any people had felt : the seamen confessed that they never knew the like. In all this, the Lord's holy name be blessed for it, he gave us hearts contented and willing that he should do with us and ours what he pleased, and what might be most for the glory of his great Name."

This deliverance was the more remarkable, in that several vessels were cast away in the storm. As, a ship which set out for Bristol with the vessel wherein Mr Mather was, being then at anchor, was broke in pieces. Also there was then a ship going between Pascataqua and the bay, which was cast away in this storm, and all the people therein lost, except two. Among others in that vessel, there was a minister, Mr Avery, who every moment expecting that the next wave would be a wave of death, lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, " Lord, I cannot challenge a promise of the preservation of my life, but according to thy covenant, I challenge heaven." Which he had no sooner spoken, but a wave came immediately and swept him away, and so wafted him to heaven indeed. And by the way, let it be noted, that this was the only vessel which at that time had miscarried with passengers from Old-England to New ; so signally did the Lord in his providence own the plantation of New-England. The storm being allayed, the Lord brought them safe to an anchor before Boston, August 17, 1635. And Mr Mather abode with his family in Boston for some months ; and both he and his consort joined to the church there.

Being thus by a mighty hand, and out-stretched arm, brought safe into New-England, sundry towns sent to him, desiring that he would employ the talents which the Lord had enriched him with, for the work of the ministry amongst them. At the same time he was desired at Plymouth, Dorchester, and Roxbury. Being in a great strait which of these invitations to accept of, he referred himself to the advice of some judicious friends, among whom Mr Cotton and Mr Thomas Hooker were the chief, who met to consult of this affair. And the result of their advice was, that he should accept of the motion from Dor-

chester. Which accordingly being accepted of by him, he did by the help of Christ, set upon the gathering of a church there; the church which was first planted in that place being removed with the Rev. Mr Warham to Connecticut. Being thus again settled in the Lord's work, he therein continued to his dying day; the Lord making him an eminent blessing, not only to Dorchester, but to all the churches and plantations round about him, for the space of almost four and thirty years. Before, and for some years after, his accepting the office of a pastor in Dorchester, he was in much spiritual distress, by reason of uncertainty concerning his spiritual estate. He kept these troubles secret from men, only he revealed the distress of his soul to that great divine, Mr Norton, then teacher of the church in Ipswich, unto whom God gave the tongue of the learned to speak a word in season, whereby his soul was comforted.

He did not speak much in his last sickness, either to friends that visited him, or to his own children; only his son, who is now teacher of a church in Boston, coming to visit his father, said unto him, Sir, if there be any special thing which you would have me to do, in case the Lord should spare me upon earth after you are in heaven, I would entreat you express it: at which, his father making a little pause, and lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, replied, "A special thing which I would commend to you, is, care concerning the rising generation in this country, that they be brought under the government of Christ in his church; and that when they are grown up and qualified, they have baptism for the children." He died in 1669.

9. MR. THOMAS VINCENT. He was a worthy, humble, pious man, of sober principles, and great zeal and diligence. He had the whole New Testament and Psalms by heart. He continued in the city the whole time of the plague in 1665. The awfulness of that desolating judgment, and the numerous sudden instances of mortality, then everywhere obvious, gave a peculiar edge to the spirit of the preacher and his auditors: so that labouring constantly, and with a great fervour, to set in with Divine Providence, he was an instrument of good to very many, as was mentioned in the preceding section. He died in 1671.

10. MR. EDMUND STANTON. Mr Mayo, in his printed life, among other passages, tells this remarkable story of him: that preaching once at Warborough, not far from Oxford, one in the congregation was so affected with his first prayer, that he ran to his house (which was near) and told his wife that she should make her ready and come to church, for there was one in the pulpit that prayed like an angel, so as he never heard the like. The woman hastened away with her husband; and God so ordered it, that the sermon proved a means of her conversion, and she proved afterwards a serious and eminent Christian. He died in 1671.

11. MR. VAVASOR POWEL. He was born in Radnorshire. When he left the university he preached up and down in Wales, till being driven from thence for want of presbyterial ordination, which he scrupled, he came from London, and soon after settled at Dartford in Kent. In the year 1646, he obtained a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr Herle and seventeen of the assembly of divines. Furnished with these testimonials he returned to Wales, and became a

most indefatigable and active instrument of propagating the gospel in those parts. There were but few, if any of the churches or chapels in Wales, in which he did not preach; yes, very often he preached to the poor Welsh in the mountains, as fairs, and in market places. He died in 1671.

12. MR. THOMAS TREGGESS. He was born at St Ives, near to the Land's End in Cornwall. He was one of eminent piety, and yet (which is remarkable) dated his conversion, after he had been some time in the ministry. And it is a circumstance that deserves a remark, (whether the good man was mistaken or not) that he took a sermon, composed and preached by himself, to be the means of his conversion. The text was Luke vii. 47. "And that servant that knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes." He was one whom God signally owned; not only by his being instrumental in the conversion of many souls, but also by remarkable judgments which befel several that were instrumental in his troubles: for a particular account of which, the reader is referred to the printed narrative of his life. He died in 1671.

13. MR. JAMES JANEWAY. A few years after died Mr James Janeway, who had a meeting at Redriff, near London, and preached to a very numerous auditory. He was a man of eminent piety: and yet in his last sickness he was under great concern, upon his reflecting on his aptness to slubber over private duties, when he was much engaged in public work.

14. DR. THOMAS MANTON. He was born in 1620, in the county of Somerset. Both his father and grandfather were ministers. He went to Oxon at fifteen years of age. He was first minister of Colliton, in Devon; and afterwards of Stoke-Newington in Middlesex, before he came to Covent-Garden; where he succeeded Mr Sedgwick. He was in great reputation at the time of king Charles's return; and very earnest in his endeavours to get the declaration for ecclesiastical affairs passed into a law: and had it been compassed, would have accepted the deanery that was offered him. He was a man of great learning, judgment, and integrity; and an excellent unwearied preacher: one of great temper and moderation, and respected by all that knew him, whose spirits were not incurably cankered. Dr Bates, in his sermon at his funeral, gives this account of him: "A clear judgment, rich fancy, strong memory, and happy elocution met in him, and were excellently improved by his diligent study." In preaching he was of that conspicuous eminence, that none could detract from him, but from ignorance or envy. He abounded in the work of the Lord; and though a very frequent preacher, yet was always superior to most others and equal to himself. Archbishop Usher was wont to say of him, "That he was a voluminous preacher," not as if he was tedious for length, but because he had the art of reducing the substance of volumes of divinity into a narrow compass. And Mr Charnock often represented him as the best collector of sense of the age. He was no fomenter of faction, but studious of the public tranquillity. His generous constancy of mind in resisting the current of popular humour, declared his loyalty to his Divine Master. He was imprisoned for non-conformity, and many ways a sufferer; and yet kept up a considerable interest at court, and with men of note and figure. The noble earl (afterwards duke of Bedford) who had

for sometime been his parishioner at Covent-Garden, was his cordial friend unto his death; and so also was my lord Wharton, and many other persons of considerable quality. He generally had the chair in the meetings of the dissenting ministers of the city; who found the want of his prudence, activity and interest joined together, when he was taken from them. He died, October the 18th, 1677, leaving behind him the general reputation of as excellent a preacher, as this city or nation hath produced.

15. Mr DAVID ANDERSON. This year died abroad Mr David Anderson, who had been minister at Walton upon Thames, but apprehensive of a return of Popery, had gone over to Zealand and settled at Middleburgh with his wife and five small children. Having no employment there, he soon consumed the little money he carried over with him, and owed a year's rent for his house, and was reduced so low as to want bread: and such was his modesty, that he knew not how to make his case known in a strange country. In this condition, after he had been one morning at prayer with his family, his children desired some bread for their breakfast: but having none, nor having money to buy any, they all burst out into tears. In this sorrowful case, the bell at their door rung, and Mrs Anderson went to see who was there, in a mean and mournful habit. The person that rang the bell, asked for the mistress: she answered that her name was Anderson. Here, says he, a gentleman has sent you this paper, and will send you in some provisions presently: when they had opened the paper, they found forty pieces of gold in it. The messenger went away, without telling his name, or whence he came. Soon after came a country man with a horse load of provisions, of flesh, fish, herbs, and bread, and all things necessary to their living plentifully, as long as what was brought would keep good. Neither did he tell them from whence he came, nor did they know till their dying day, who it was that so seasonably relieved them. But Mr John Quick (from whose memoirs the account is taken) being in 1681, pastor of the English Church at Middleburgh, came accidentally to the knowledge of the whole matter. For being at the country-house of one Mijl Heer de Koning a magistrate, and mentioning this story, M. de Koning, told him he was the person that carried the gold from Mijl Heer de Hoste, a pious merchant of that place, with whom he was then an apprentice. He added that Mijl Heer de Hoste observing a grave English minister walk the streets frequently, with a dejected countenance, enquired privately into his circumstances, and apprehending he might be in want, sent him the gold by M. de Koning, and the provisions by his country servant, saying with a Christian tenderness, "God forbid that any of Christ's ambassadors should be strangers, and we not visit them, or in distress, and we not assist them." But he expressly charged both his servants to conceal his name. This relief, besides present provision, enabled Mr Anderson to pay his debts: and he could not help communicating this instance of the great goodness of God to his friends and acquaintance of that city. This coming to the ears of M. de Hoste, he afterwards found a secret way of paying Mr Anderson's rent for him yearly; and of conveying to him besides ten pounds sterling every quarter; which he managed so as that he never could or did know his benefactor. M. de Koning kept the whole matter secret as long as his master lived, but thought himself at

liberty to give this account of it, after his death. Upon the decease of Mr Spang, minister of the English church at Middleburgh, Mr Anderson was unexpectedly chosen in his stead; when the messenger came from the church to acquaint him with it, his wife was so overcome at the goodness of God in providing them a fixed and honourable maintenance, that it threw her into a fever, of which she died. Mr Anderson also in some time grew sickly, and died in March 1677. None of all the ministers in that city, English, French, or Dutch, came near him in the gift of prayer, in which he had a peculiar fulness and fluency, that was animated with very melting affections. The lords of the city became guardians to the five orphans which he left behind him. The famous Anna Maria Scharman took one of his daughters, and two other Dutch gentlewomen the two others, and became mothers to them. And the unknown benefactor continued his kind offices to them all. M. de Hoste took his two sons under his own charge, and by his last will bequeathed a good portion to each of his daughters. He ordered that the eldest son, who was very hopeful and pious, should be brought up a scholar, and settled a liberal exhibition upon him of L.60 a-year for his education at one of their universities, where he afterwards died of a consumption; and appointed the youngest son to be bound apprentice, and when he should be out with his time, to receive L.60 sterling, to begin the world with. So wonderful a providence attended this pious minister and his children after him.

16. Mr SAMUEL FAIRCLOUGH, sen. He was born at Haveril, where his father was minister, in 1694. Sir Nathanael Barnardiston, (that ornament of his country for piety and integrity) settled him at Ketton. In this place he continued near thirty-five years, preaching four times a week; twice on the Lord's day, a Thursday lecture (which was attended by all the ministers for many miles' compass) and a sermon on the Saturday evening in his own house; and all the country round flocked to him. When he first came to this place, he found it ignorant and profane, not so much as one family in twenty calling upon the name of the Lord; but when he had been there sometime, so great was the alteration that there was not a family in twenty, but professed godliness, but their governors offered up to God their morning and evening sacrifice. Great at that time was the advantage of that town: magistracy and ministry joined both together, and concurred in all things for the promoting of true piety and godliness. Mr Fairclough and his patron acted by concert. He died in 1678.

17. Mr HENRY STUBBES. He was minister at Horsley. He set apart some time every day to pray for the church of God, without the narrow distinction of this or that, or the other party. The preface to his last will, with his prayer for the king and the nation, and a learned faithful ministry, is published in Turner of Providence, chap. 143, p. 99. The last Lord's day he preached at Horsley he told his auditory, he desired to see them the next day before his journey, and take his leave of them in the church, where he preached most affectionately, from Prov. iii. 6. Upon his arrival at London he preached almost every day; and sometimes twice. He fell down in the pulpit; but recovering went on: and so again afterwards, till he was quite disabled by a fever and dysentery. That which much emboldened him was, that he had often gone ill into the pulpit, and came

better out. This holy and peaceable man, who lived like an incarnate angel, was a minister of the gospel about fifty years.

Mr Baxter preached his funeral sermon, in which his character may be seen at large. Among other things said there, he has these words: "I scarce remember the man that ever I knew that served God with more absolute resignation and devotedness, in simplicity and godly sincerity; living like the primitive Christians, without any pride or worldly motives; or in whose case I had rather die." He died in 1678.

18. Mr GABRIEL SANGAR. The same year died Mr Gabriel Sangar, son of Mr Thomas Sangar, minister of Sutton. He once very remarkably escaped being seized and imprisoned; for in the latter end of 1666, there came some troopers to the house to apprehend him, and some of them alighting and going in to search for him, as they were running eagerly up stairs, the servant of a gentleman that was sick in the house, met the first of them and desired they would not make such a noise, and give such disturbance, because one of the family was visited with sickness. Upon hearing that, they immediately ran down, and got out of the house, and mounted their horses, and rode away with all speed, apprehending that the sick gentleman had the plague. He thought it his duty, after he was silenced, to abide in the parish, with those of his ancient flock who desired him, and to visit them, especially in the time of sickness: at which time, many thought the help of such ministers as he needful enough, who were not very fond of their preaching while they were well.

19. Dr THOMAS GOODWIN. He was born at Rolesby in Norfolk, October 8th, 1600, and was first of Christ College, and then of Katherine Hall in Cambridge. He was in the University a frequent bearer of Dr Preston and Dr Hill, and afterwards himself a celebrated preacher there, and an instrument in turning many to the love and practice of serious religion. In 1628, he was chosen to preach the lecture to the town of Cambridge at Trinity-church, and he held it until 1634, when he left the University. In 1639, he went over to Holland, and became pastor of a church in the city of Arnheim. He returned into England at the beginning of the long parliament, and became a pastor of a church in London, and one of the assembly of divines. He took a brief account of the transactions there, in fourteen or fifteen volumes in octavo, that are yet preserved. Oliver Cromwell made him president of Magdalen College in Oxford, and one of the tryers of ministers. In the common register of the university, he is said to be in *scriptis in re theologica quam plurimis orbi notus*. He was removed from his presidentship quickly after the king's return in 1660, and afterwards retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his ministry as long as he lived. He was a very considerable scholar, and an eminent divine; and had a very happy faculty in decanting upon scripture, so as to bring forth surprising remarks, which yet generally tended to illustration. He died on the 23d of February, 1679.

20. Mr MATTHEW POOL. He was born in York, and had his education under Dr Worthington, universally acknowledged a very learned man. He was very facetious in his conversation, very true to his friend, very strict in his piety, and universal in his charity. He set on foot a good and great project for maintaining youths of great parts, studiousness

and piety, and hopeful proficiency, at the universities. He had the approbation of the heads of houses in both of them, and nominated such excellent persons for trustees, and solicited so earnestly, that in a little time, about nine hundred pounds a-year was procured for that purpose. Dr Sherlock, afterwards dean of St Paul's, I am informed, was one of them, but this design was quashed by the restoration. He with ten years indefatigable study, finished his *Synopsis Criticorum*. He died at Amsterdam in Holland, in October 1679, leaving behind him (says Wood, the Oxford critic, without any cavil) the character of a celebrated critic and casuist.

21. Mr JOHN ROGERS. He was the son of Mr Rogers minister of Chacombe in Northamptonshire. In his youth he was well acquainted with Mr Dod and Dr Harris, of whom he used often to speak with great respect; as also of Dr Prideaux and Dr Cheynel: but no name did he mention with so great pleasure as that of Mr William Wheatly of Banbury, whom he always styled his spiritual father. He took great pains of poor children, that they might live usefully, and not be trained up in ignorance and idleness.

When the indulgence expired, he preached at his own house at Startford, one Lord's-day, and the other he would spend either in Teesdale or in Waredale, among those who wrought in the lead mines. Many a troublesome journey hath he taken to these poor people through very deep snows, and over high mountains, when the ways have been extremely bad, and the cold very sharp and pinching; but he made nothing of his fatigue, through his love to souls, especially being encouraged by the mighty eagerness of those honest people to hear the word. And he used to preach frequently in the week days also; and yet for all his pains he did not receive above ten pounds a-year, but lived upon what he had of his own, and had some room left both for generosity and charity too. He used to take all occasions for good discourse. It being the custom in the North after a funeral to have an arval (as they call it) or dinner, he would so suitably speak of divine things in the midst of the entertainment, that some bitter people would refuse to be present there, when they knew he would be one of the company; because (said they) we shall find Rogers preaching there. He died in 1680.

22. Mr THOMAS ROWE. The same year died Mr Thomas Rowe, a native of North Petherwin in the county of Devon. While he lived at Mr Moor's in Somersetshire, he came to Madam Trencham's at Litchet, to make a visit, intending, while he was there, to preach in one of the poor parishioners's cottages. Several knew of it, and came to hear him: one of the parish getting intelligence of it, turned informer, and bringing a constable and another with him, demanded the doors of the house to be opened, though the exercise was over. The officious informer set down the names of all that were present, both ministers and people; and the next day procured a warrant to take them up. Mr Rowe was too quick for them, and soon got out of the reach of the warrant into another country: but they actually served the warrant on many of the hearers, and carried them before Justice L—— in the isle of Purbeck, who bound them over to the quarter sessions. The justice, to divert himself, asked some of the women what the text was that was preached on at the conventicle they were at. The text really preached

upon was Rom. viii. 13. "If ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." But one of them through mistake mentioned another text, viz. Col. iii. 5. "Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth:" which text being recited, the justice burlesqued it, and poured forth his profane jests upon it very plentifully. And it so happened, that not many years after, before the justice died, his members were perfectly mortified; in-somuch that his very conscience reproached him for it, and made him frankly acknowledge that this distemper (which proved his death) was a just judgment from God upon him for burlesquing as he did that very scripture. But that was not the only thing that was remarkable in this case: for the busy informer had the use of his right side taken from him, which began soon after, and at length proved his death. The officer also that assisted in disturbing the meeting, was in a very few weeks after killed with his own cart. And that which renders this awful providence the more remarkable, was that the cart overturned upon him as it was going up an hill, directly over against the very house and door where the meeting was, that he assisted in disturbing. The compiler is sensible that it is a very difficult thing to interpret afflicting providences, but the complication of circumstances here makes this instance very singular.

23. **MR NATHANAEL BALL.** He was sometime minister at Royston, a market-town of great profaneness. There his zeal for God, and love to souls, made him lay out himself in an extraordinary manner. He set up a lecture on the market-day, which was blessed with great success. The trade of wickedness was spoiled. And some of the worst of sinners were wrought on, and proved eminent in grace. He died in 1681.

24. **MR HENRY MAURICE.** He was sometime minister at Brompfield in Herefordshire. He was of a considerable family in Carnarvonshire. His childhood and youth were vanity. When he became a preacher, the popular applause that attended him proved a great temptation to him, as he afterwards complained, calling himself a vain-glorious fellow, till it pleased God to visit the town in which he lived with a malignant fever, whereby many of his parishioners were cut off; by which providence he was much awakened, and very solicitous about his everlasting state, if he should be seized by death. Afterwards he was chosen pastor of a considerable body of people, at Lanigon and Merthyr. But his services were not confined to them: from the time of his coming into these parts, he, as long as he was a ble, spent his time in travelling all over Wales; so that preaching the gospel of Christ in those dark parts became his daily work. And God blessed his endeavours to the conviction and conversion too (as there is good reason to hope and believe) of many souls. The poor people travelled far to hear the word, and attended it in vast numbers and with an extraordinary earnestness, and diligence. He endured many hardships, travelling all weathers in those mountainous tracts, and sometimes but indifferently accommodated, both in respect to diet and lodging. It was his ordinary custom, both at home and abroad, to expound the scriptures, mornings and evenings; by which method good and lasting impressions of an early piety were sometimes conveyed. Of this there was a remarkable instance in a gentleman's daughter, at seven years of age. Her father had sent for

Mr Maurice, as a physician to attempt her cure as to a bodily distemper, which had made her a cripple. She continued so; but, by the grace of God received a far greater benefit than a cure would have been. In that tender age, she learned, in an extraordinary manner, to remember her Creator and Redeemer. He had also another practice that was very common with him: when he knew of any one person in a family or congregation, though but a child, (if there was a capacity of knowledge and devotion) that did not understand the language in which he was obliged to speak for the sake of the rest, a part of what he said, whether in prayer, exposition, or sermons, should be in one language, and a part in the other. For he used to say, he would not have one soul lose the benefit of a duty. He died in 1682.

25. **DR JOHN OWEN.** He was born in the year 1616. He pursued his studies with incredible diligence, allowing himself for several years not above four hours sleep in a night, so that he soon had made considerable progress in learning. Sometimes he would, for the benefit of his health, use some recreations, but chiefly such as were violent. It is impossible not to applaud the principle which this application discovers. The more a student can redeem from sleep, and other indulgences, so much the better. But it is not every constitution that is capable of such an expenditure; and many an individual, in struggling beyond his strength for the prize of literary renown, has procured it at the expense of his life, or of the irreparable injury of his future comfort. Owen himself is said to have declared afterwards, that he would gladly part with all the learning he had acquired in younger life, by sitting up late at study, if he could but recover the health he lost by it.

"During the latter part of his residence at college his mind became seriously impressed with the importance of divine truth. His convictions of sin were strong and irresistible. He was alarmed and terrified at the apprehension of his danger. He sank at length into a state of settled despondency, which continued for three months. He shunned society, and could scarcely be induced to speak; nor was it till five years had elapsed that he obtained true peace and joy through believing.

"In this state of spiritual distress Owen quitted the family of Lord Lovelace, and proceeded to London, where he hired private lodgings in the Charterhouse Yard. Soon after his arrival in London, 'he went one Lord's day,' observes his original and anonymous biographer, 'with a friend, thinking to hear that eminent divine, Mr Calamy, but by some extraordinary occasion that worthy person was hindered from preaching, upon which many went out of the church. This disappointment added much to Mr Owen's trouble, and his friend endeavoured to carry him elsewhere to hear another person of eminence; and so much the rather, that it was not certain whether there would be any body at that time to supply Mr Calamy's place; but Mr Owen being conveniently seated, and too much indisposed to walk any further, resolved to stay awhile longer, and if no preacher came, to return to his lodgings.

"At last a country minister, altogether unknown to Mr Owen, as it seems he was to the parish, came up to the pulpit, and after a very serious and fervent prayer, took for his text these words, 'Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?' Matt. viii. 26. The very reading of the words surprised Mr Owen, who

immediately put up a short ejaculation, that God would be pleased, by that minister, to speak to his condition. His prayer was graciously heard; for Providence so ordered it, that the minister raised and answered those very objections which Mr Owen had commonly formed against himself; and what was remarkable, he managed them in the same method which Mr Owen had frequently done in his own mind, though without effect: but it pleased the gracious God so to bless this sermon to him, though otherwise a plain, ordinary, familiar discourse, that it resolved his doubts, quitted his conscience, and laid the foundation of that spiritual peace and comfort which he afterwards enjoyed during the course of his life.

"This appeared to have been by the immediate direction of Heaven; for Mr Owen could never hear of the minister's name, nor where he lived, though he made the most diligent inquiry.

"Mr Owen's talents as a preacher and writer soon attracted public notice. He was summoned to preach before parliament, at its monthly fast, on April 29th, 1646. The sermon received the thanks of the House of Commons, and was published at their request. It is entitled, 'A Vision of unchangeable free Mercy in sending the Means of Grace to undeserving Sinners.' The title of the sermon fully explains its object. One or two extracts may be given, as illustrative of the author's anxiety for the salvation of souls, and may serve as a stimulus to the reader to seek more earnestly, and spread more widely, the 'glorious gospel of the blessed God.'

"No men in the world want help like them that want the gospel. Of all distresses, want of the gospel cries loudest for relief. A man may want liberty, and yet be happy, as Joseph was: a man may want peace, and yet be happy, as David was: a man may want children, and yet be happy, as Job was: a man may want plenty, and yet be full of comfort as Micah was: but he that wants the gospel, wants every thing that should do him good. A throne, without the gospel, is but the devil's dungeon. wealth, without the gospel, is fuel for hell: advancement, without the gospel, is but going high to have the greater fall. What do men need that want the gospel?

"They want Jesus Christ, for he is revealed only by the gospel. He is all in all, and where he is wanting there can be no good. Hunger cannot truly be satisfied without manna, the bread of life, which is Jesus Christ: and what shall a hungry man do that hath no bread? Thirst cannot be quenched without that living spring, which is Jesus Christ: and what shall a thirsty soul do without water? A captive, as we are all, cannot be delivered without redemption, which is Christ Jesus: and what shall the prisoner do without his ransom? Fools, as we are all, cannot be instructed without wisdom, which is Jesus Christ; without him, we perish in our folly. All building without him is on the sand, which will surely fall. All working without him is in the fire, where it will be consumed. All riches without him have wings, and will fly away. A dungeon with Christ is a throne, and a throne without Christ is a hell. Nothing so ill but Christ will compensate. All mercies without Christ are bitter, and every cup is sweet that is seasoned but with a drop of his blood: he truly is the love and delight of the sons of men, without whom they must perish eternally, for there is no other name given unto them whereby they may

be saved. He is the Way; men without him are Cains, wanderers and vagabonds: he is the Truth; men without him are liars, like the devil who was so of old: he is the Life; men without him are dead, dead in trespasses and sins: he is the Light; men without him are in darkness, and go they know not whither: he is the Vine; those that are not grafted in him are withered branches, prepared for the fire: he is the Rock, men not built on him are carried away with a flood: he is the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last; the Author and the Ender, the Founder and the Finisher of our salvation; he that hath not Him, hath neither beginning of good, nor shall have an end of misery. O blessed Jesus, how much better were it not to be, than to be without thee! Never to be born than not to die in thee! A thousand hells come short of this—eternally to want Jesus, as men do that want the gospel."

In Cromwell's time he was sent to Dublin to manage the affairs of Trinity College. His time was fully and successfully occupied in his university labours, and in preaching to thronging multitudes the words of eternal life. 'Nor were his labours,' says John Rogers, 'without fruit.' I have accidentally discovered two individuals, Dorothy Emmet, and major Manwaring, who ascribe their first convictions to his preaching in Dublin. Many more, we may hope, will appear at another day. 'Mr Owen,' says Dorothy Emmet, 'was the first man by whose means and ministry I became sensible of my condition. I was much cast down, and could have no rest within me; and so I continued till his going away from us, and at his going he bid me believe in Christ, and be fervent in prayer.' She afterwards obtained comfort. 'I heard Mr Owen, in Dublin,' said Major Manwaring, 'who did me much good, and made me to see my misery in the want of Christ.' These testimonies are extracted from a curious and scarce book, by John Rogers, 'The Tabernacle for the Sun;' in which the experience of a number of various religious characters in Dublin is recorded.

"The following are some particulars relative to the origin of his work on the 130th Psalm:—Mr Davis, who subsequently became pastor of the independent church at Rowell, in Northamptonshire, being under religious impressions, opened the state of his mind to Dr Owen. In the course of conversation Dr Owen said, 'Young man, pray in what manner do you think to go to God?' Mr Davis answered, 'Through the Mediator, sir.' To which the doctor replied, 'This is easily said, but I assure you it is another thing to go to God through the Mediator, than many who make use of the expression are aware of. I myself preached Christ,' said he, 'some years, when I had but very little, if any experimental acquaintance with access to God through Christ; until the Lord was pleased to visit me with sore affliction, whereby I was brought to the mouth of the grave, and under which my soul was oppressed with horror and darkness: but God graciously relieved my spirit, by a powerful application of Psalm cxxx. 4. 'But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared.' From whence I received special instruction, peace, and comfort, in drawing near to God, through the Mediator; and preached thereupon immediately after my recovery.

"His sufferings, previously to his death, appear to have been uncommonly severe, arising from the natural strength of his constitution, and the complication of his maladies. But the truth, which he had

long preached to the edification and comfort of many, and in defence of which he had written so much and so well, proved fully adequate, not only to support him, but to make him triumph in the prospect of eternity. On the morning of the day on which he died, Mr William Payne, an eminent tutor and dissenting minister, at Saffron Walden, in Essex, who had been intrusted with the publication of his 'Meditations on the Glory of Christ,' called to take his leave, and to inform him, that he had just been putting that work to the press. 'I am glad to hear it,' said the dying christian, and lifting up his hands and eyes, as if transported with enjoyment, exclaimed—'But O! brother Payne! the long wished-for day is come at last, in which I shall see that glory in another manner than I have ever done, or was capable of doing in this world.'

"Dr Owen was speechless for several hours previously to his death; but showed, by the elevation of his eyes and hands, that he retained the use of the mental faculties and his devotional feelings to the last. He expired on August 24, 1683, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

"His remains were removed from Ealing to London, where they lay till the 4th September, when they were conducted to the grave in Bunhill-fields, attended by the carriages of sixty-seven noblemen and gentlemen, besides many mourning coaches and gentlemen on horseback.

"Such attention and respect bear testimony to the excellence of his character, and to the high admiration of his spiritual and moral worth."

FROM CALAMY'S LIFE OF BAXTER, vol. ii.

26. **MR WILLIAM COOK.** He was sometime minister in Chester, and was bred under the famous Mr John Ball. He was a man of a most godly life and unwearied labour. One of the primitive stamp; who could go in poor clothing, live on a little, travel on foot, preach and pray almost all the week when he had an opportunity; in season and out of season; trampling on this world as dirt, and living a mortified and laborious life. He kept many public fasts in his congregation, and many private fasts in his own closet, and family. He usually set apart one afternoon every week to visit the families of his congregation, and to catechise their children and servants, and discourse with them personally about their souls. In worldly matters he was not very conversable, but in discourse of God, none more free and affable, or more ready to do good. He lived and died a great example of strict and close walking with God, and a heavenly conversation; and his memory is to this day precious with many. When he lay on his death-bed, an aged friend of his asking him, if he had not comfort in reflection upon his labours in the work of God, he presently replied, I have nothing to boast of. He died in 1684.

27. **MR THOMAS LYE.** He was one who was eminently useful by his excellent art of catechising young ones, whom he by many artifices enticed to delight in the getting knowledge in the best things, many to this day recount with pleasure his unusual method of instructing them in the first principles of religion, wherein he had a marvellous dexterity; and I have heard of several that owe their first serious impressions to his pains in a catechetical way; in which he was not satisfied with conveying a little notional knowledge, without doing his utmost to set

things home upon the heart, according to the capacity of his young auditory, to whom he always discovered a most tender affection. He died in 1684.

28. **MR JOHN KNOWLES.** He was born in Lincolnshire, and bred in Magdalen College in Cambridge, where he was chamber fellow to Mr Vines. In 1636 he went for New-England, and became teacher to the church of Watertown, of which Mr George Phillips was pastor, and there he continued for about ten years in comfortable service in a cold wilderness; and from there he was sent to Virginia, to preach the gospel in conjunction with Mr Thompson of Braintry. There Mr Harrison, that was the governor's chaplain, openly moved they might have full liberty, but secretly endeavoured they might be dismissed, as he owned afterwards with concern and sorrow. This was that Mr Harrison that was afterwards so useful a man in England and Ireland. Mr Knowles and Mr Thompson being discharged from public preaching in Virginia, continued a while preaching privately, and did much good; and Mr Knowles has often been heard to say, that he never saw so much of the blessing of God upon his ministry as there, and at Colchester. But they could not be allowed to stay; they were driven away. And (which is remarkable) they were no sooner gone, nay, whilst they were yet upon the river in the ship in which they were to depart, but there was an hideous cry of the general rising of the Indians upon the English, whom they miserably massacred, sparing neither old nor young; murdering such as appeared abroad in the streets; and burning such as thought themselves secure in their houses. Five hundred are reported to have been murdered upon this occasion, besides other mischief done to the plantation. Among those that escaped this miserable massacre, some were gathered into church order by Mr Harrison, who became quite another man after this providence than he was before. But the governor dismissed his chaplain, who was now grown too serious for him: and he coming for England, left the poor people to the care of one Mr Duren. Mr Knowles returned for some time to Watertown, and afterwards came back into old England, where he was a preacher in the cathedral of Bristol. He came afterwards to London where he continued preaching, as he had opportunity. When some of his friends dissuaded him for fear of a prison, he answered them thus: "In truth I had rather be in a gaol, where I might have a number of souls to whom I might preach the truths of my blessed Master, than live idle in my own house, without any such opportunities." And indeed he went up and down doing good. His very discourse about God's dealings with him, his temptations, and afflictions, and deliverances, and supports, were so many affecting melting sermons in all the companies into which he came; and during king Charles's indulgence, he preached steadily to people at St Catharine's. During the sickness in 1665, he was very useful to such as stayed in the city, visiting rich and poor, without fear, where he was capable of any service. He lived to a good old age, and died in 1685.

29. **MR HENRY STAPLES.** He was minister at South Stok in Sussex, afterwards in Ireland. There were but few either Christians or ministers but might have learned of him to make a spiritual improvement of common conversation. His ordinary discourses were short sermons. A person of quality to whom, besides plenty of other blessings God had given many

children, being by him observed to be very subject to excessive passions, he applied himself thus to him: "Sir, if you do not learn meekness of the Lord Jesus Christ, you may fear least your own children should learn madness of you." He was not content to converse with the heads of the families he came into, but would be dealing even with the meanest servants about their soul-concerns. Nay, as he happened to meet with strangers on the road, he endeavoured to drop something that might be for their good; and sometimes would even be late himself in his journey, when he was engaged in serious discourse. And when his companion has minded him of it, he would say, "I am in my master's business." Having occasion to attend at the assizes at Mullingar, the county town of Westmeath in Ireland, upon business which he transacted for a friend in England: a sturdy butcher had a stall under the window of that room in the inn, which Mr Staples had taken up. Mr Staples hearing him swear, opened the casement, and having given him a reproof shut it again. But the butcher continuing to multiply his oaths, Mr Staples set the casement open, that he might the more readily continue his reproofs, which the poor man entertained at first with all imaginable contempt, both in word and gestures. At last Mr Staples observed that the butcher when he had dropped an oath, cast his eye toward the window, to see whether Mr Staples took notice of it. This was an encouragement to him to persist; and he did so, to good purpose. For there not only was some present reformation, but he was led into close reflection on his ways, and a change produced; when Mr Staples afterwards came to the same place, the butcher used at his alighting to take his horse, and be very officious to attend upon him with all possible respect; often acknowledge his past folly, and thank Mr Staples for his kind reproof. And he told another; "This good man has saved my soul from hell." Mr Staples died in 1686.

30. Mr STEPHEN HUGHES. He was born in Caermarthen. He was of a public spirit, and printed several Welsh books at his own charge, and among others, the excellent Welsh poems of Mr Rees Pritchard, vicar of Llanyddffe, which contain the summary of Christian duties in British verse. This book, of which he published several editions, has occasioned many hundred of the ignorant Welsh who delight in songs, to learn to read their own language. He assisted in the correction of the Welsh Bible, which Mr Gouge published; and was very instrumental in getting subscriptions towards that impression, which is the best edition extant of the old British Bible. He was a plain, methodical, affectionate preacher, and subsisted much upon the great and substantial things of religion. He seldom preached without melting into tears, which often drew tears from his auditors. He affected to preach in the darkest corners, and in the places where the people had ignorant readers, that could not preach. His moderation and lively preaching, recommended him to the esteem of the sober part of the gentry, by whose convivance he often preached in the public churches, which were much thronged, by the vast numbers that came to hear him from neighbouring parishes. He generally preached twice on a Lord's day in distant places; and often rode eight or ten miles, between the sermons, which much impaired his health, and in all probability shortened his days. He had very great seals to the ministry; great numbers were

reclaimed from their sinful and wicked ways, and became serious Christians. In most of his sermons he pressed faith and repentance, and exhorted the illiterate to learn to read their own language, which great numbers did, and many of them at forty and fifty years of age and above. He would in a very affectionate address, expose the sinful and damnable nature of ignorance, recommend the usefulness, amiableness and necessity of knowledge, and excite heads of families to teach their children and servants, and one neighbour to teach another. He published near a score of Welsh books, most of them translations out of the English: such books for instance as Mr Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, his Now or Never, Mr Allein on Conversion, the Plain Man's Path-Way to Heaven, &c. And at the end of most of them, he added the Welsh alphabet, to direct people to read. He used upon all occasions to speak to the people with great freedom about their souls. When he came to an house, or met people occasionally on the road, he would often direct some suitable exhortation to them; and if there were several present, he would apply himself to each particularly; and when he saw them again, would ask them what they remembered of what he spake last to them. He died in 1687.

31. BUNYAN. For human learning, it is true, he had none; but let it not be therefore said, that what was done by him, is not worth our time or pains to read; for, as conversion-work, or the new-birth, is not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of men, but of God; so our author's knowledge and insight into gospel mysteries, was given to him by God himself; not by immediate inspiration, but by prayer and study, without any other external helps. His business was to converse much with the word of God, and to pray over it; his labours therein were indefatigable, and God blessed him in so doing, with a more than ordinary degree of knowledge. Learning, in its place, is of excellent use (if sanctified) yet certainly, as those men are justly chargeable with folly, and some degree of madness, that will reject wholesome food, if not brought in a silver dish; so those are besides the rule, that will despise all those works in which there is not the savour of logical exactness, or academical preparations; though much of the anointing of the Spirit may be seen to have been on the heads of the authors, which doth clearly appear to have been on the head of this author, by the spirituality, soundness, and clearness of his writings. We shall not here detain thee with an account of the author's pedigree, education, conversion, or call to the ministry, it being done by his own hand, in his Treatise of Grace abounding to the chief of Sinners: but gave us leave to say, his natural parts and abilities were not mean; his fancy and invention were very pregnant and fertile; the use he made of them was good, converting them to spiritual objects; his wit was sharp and quick, his memory tenacious, it being customary with him to commit his sermons to writing after he had preached them. His judgment was sound and deep in the fundamentals of the gospel, as his writings evidence; also his experience of Satan's temptations, in the power and policy of them, and of Christ's presence in and by his word and Spirit to succour and comfort him, was more than ordinary; the grace of God was magnified in him and by him, and a rich anointing of the Spirit was upon him; and yet this great saint was always in his own eyes the chiefest of sinners, and

the least of saints, esteeming any, where he did believe the truth of grace, better than himself. There was indeed in him all the parts of an accomplished man; and, for his piety and sincerity towards God, it was apparent to all that conversed with him: he was not only well furnished with the helps and endowments of nature, beyond ordinary, but eminent in the graces and gifts of the Spirit, and fruits of holiness. He was from first to last (and established in, and ready to maintain) that God-like principle of having communion with saints as such, without any respect to difference in opinion in things disputable among the godly; a true lover of all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, and did often bewail the different and distinguishing appellations that are among the godly, saying, he did believe a time would come, when they should be all buried. His courage was condescending, affable and meek to all, yet bold and resolute for Christ and the gospel's sake. He was much struck at in the late times of persecution, and his sufferings were great, he enduring, first and last, above twelve years imprisonment; under all which he behaved himself like Christ's soldier, being far from any sinful compliance to save himself, but did cheerfully bear the cross of Christ; and when, by reason of imprisonment, he was restrained from preaching, he then spent his time (much of it) in composing that which might be useful and beneficial to the church of God, when in person he could not be so. His countenance was grave and sedate, and did so to the life discover the inward frame of his heart, that it was convincing to the beholders, and did strike something of awe into them that had nothing of the fear of God: and though his enemies and persecutors, in his lifetime, did what they could to vilify and reproach him; yet, being gone, he that before had the testimony of their consciences, hath now their actual commendation and applause. His conversation was as becomes the gospel, Eph. v. 6; Col. ii. 6. He was eminent as a Christian, and as a minister of Christ, making that which God had called him to his business with delight. He was laborious in his work of preaching at home and abroad and diligent in his preparation for it, not doing the work of the Lord negligently. Where he saw cause of reproof, he did not spare for outward circumstances whether in the pulpit or no; and as ready to administer comfort and succour to the tempted; a son of consolation to the broken-hearted and afflicted; yet a son of thunder to secure the dead sinners. He knew the worth of an interest in Christ, by his own experiences of the goodness of God, showing him, on the one hand, his natural pollution, guilt and enmity, and that wrath that was due to him thereby; and the virtue of the blood of Christ on the other, to free from all. And from that experimental knowledge did flow hearty desires, and fervent prayers, that the work of God might be effectually wrought on sinners. especially those among whom he laboured in the word and doctrine; and matter of grief was it to him, when he did not see conversion-work on foot. Indeed, in the beginning of his ministry, God did own him in that work beyond what is ordinary: and, in his latter years, few, if any, were more successful in their work, we mean, with respect to conversion. God was with him from first to last: and it may be said of him, as of David, 2 Sam. vii. 8, 9. Some are now gone to glory with him; others are yet in the body, who own him as the external instrument, in God's hand, of their conversion. His so long con-

tinuance in the work of the ministry was a great blessing to the church of Christ in and about Bedford in particular, over which the Holy Ghost made him overseer, his ministry being blest to the edification, comfort, and establishment of the saints, as well as the conversion of sinners. And he was also very useful, as he was an elder and pastor: first, by his example; he being full of zeal and affection, at all times, (according to knowledge) more especially at his administration of the Lord's Supper, it was observable, that tears came from his eyes in abundance, from the sense of the sufferings of Christ that are in that ordinance shadowed forth: and then, as a pastor, he was useful also, by the accuracy of his knowledge in church-discipline, and readiness to put that in practice in the church, (as occasion offered) which he saw was agreeable to the word of God, whether admonition, or excommunication, or making up differences, or filling up vacancies, or paring off excrescences. And as he was useful to that church, so to the whole country round, and to other churches where he did frequently spend his labours.

Thousands of Christians in country and city can testify that their comfort under his ministry hath been to admiration, so that their joy hath shewed itself by much weeping. And I reckon I shall not be out of the way, if I ask, What hath the devil or his agents got by putting our great gospel-minister Bunyan in prison? for in prison he wrote many excellent books, that have published to the world his great grace, and great ingenuity. To instance one, the *Pilgrim's Progress* he hath suited to the life of a traveller so exactly and pleasantly, and to the life of a Christian, that this very book, besides the rest, hath done the superstitious sort of man and their practice more harm, or rather good, (as I may call it) than if he had been let alone at his meeting at Bedford, to preach the gospel to his own auditory, as it might have fallen out. And it hath been printed in France, Holland, New-England, and in Welsh, and about a hundred thousand of it in England.

When Mr Bunyan preached in London, if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach, than the meeting-house would hold: I have seen (by my computation) about twelve hundred come to hear him preach at a morning lecture at seven o'clock, on a working day, in the dark winter-time. I also computed about three thousand that came to hear him one Lord's-day at London, at a townsend meeting house, so that one half were forced to go back again for want of room. He died in London, at the house of his very loving friend Mr Strudwick, at Holborn-bridge, in the year 1688, aged 60.

32. Mr SWAIN. He was apprentice to a trade in Coventry, and afterwards set up for himself. He was in Coventry in the time of the civil wars, when so many worthy ministers took shelter there, and was very conversant with them; among the rest, with Mr Vines, Mr Baxter, Mr Stephens, and Mr Cradock. They finding him a man of more than ordinary knowledge and piety, persuaded him, laying all other cares aside, to apply himself to the ministry, in which they apprehended, in a suitable place, he might be very useful. He listened to them, and was in some time fixed in Withybrook, a place inhabited by about fifty families, six miles from Coventry. He was tried, approved by the presbytery at Killingworth, and ordained by Dr Grew, and Dr Bryan, and others, in the parish church at Withy-

brook. At the time of his ordination, he not only made the usual confession of faith, but gave such an account of the manner and degrees in which God wrought a work of grace in his heart, as affected many; and particularly was influential to the conversion of a very wicked woman, who was afterwards a very serious humble Christian. The place had been disused to preaching, and the people were generally very ignorant and loose; but it pleased God to bless his ministry to the conversion of many souls, both in his own town, and in the neighbourhood; and he had in six or seven years' time a number of as judicious, godly, and peaceable Christians about him, as could easily be met with. He died in 1690.

33. Mr JOHN FLAVEL. He was minister at Dartmouth in Devon. Here God blessed his labours to the conviction of many, and it is hoped to their conversion also: particularly by his sermons on Rev. iii. 20. "Behold I stand at the door and knock." And this encouraged him to print these sermons, under the title of England's duty, &c., hoping that they might do good abroad, as well as in his own congregation.

Mr Increase Mather, in his epistle before Flavel's sermons, says, "I am informed, by unquestionable hands, that there was a remarkable pouring out of the Spirit when these sermons were *viva voce* delivered, a great number of souls having been brought home to Christ thereby. The Lord grant that the second preaching of them to far greater multitudes, by this way of the press, may, by the same Spirit, be made abundantly successful for the conversion and salvation of God's elect!"

Mr Luke Short, who formerly lived under the ministry of Mr Flavel, but lately lived and died at Middleborough in New-England, used to be often speaking with great affection of Mr Flavel's powerful and successful preaching, and among other instances, gave this, That one Lord's-day, Mr Flavel began his sermon with an introduction of this importance—"My dear hearers! you know I have been long endeavouring to set forth the Lord Jesus Christ in his amiable excellencies and all-sufficiency before you, that if possible you might be allured to love him; and I have used all the powerful arguments and motives I could think of to persuade you to come to him and heartily embrace him. And these winning methods you know are most agreeable to my natural temper and disposition. And I desire to rejoice in the hope that through the grace of Christ, there are some among you who have been allured and persuaded to love and embrace him. But alas! alas! I have sufficient reason to fear that there are others among you, who have not yielded to all my alluring representations of him, nor all the cogent arguments and motives, which I have been so long using and so frequently and earnestly pressing upon you: but, O! after all I can say and do, you will not love him! and now alas! I must change my note! I must deliver a message to you, that I am loth to deliver; but my Lord and Master requires it of me, in order to deliver the whole counsel of God—"It is that dreadful message in 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha;" i. e. Let him be accursed of God, till God shall come and judge him: if any man, or any one, whether male or female, high or low, rich or poor, old or young—love not the Lord Jesus Christ, above every thing in the world—let them—says the word and Majesty of God—be Anathema

Maranatha—accursed of God, and the curse of God, until the Lord shall come and execute the fullness of his wrath upon them"—or words to this purpose. Upon which the whole assembly was struck into a very great and visible consternation; some deeply affected for themselves, and some for their children, And among the rest a gentleman of wealth and figure, fell down as dead in his pew, though he revived, in great distress of soul.

He was much in self-examination, and by grace attained to a well grounded assurance, the ravishing comforts of which were many times shed abroad in his soul. We may guess what a sweet and blessed intercourse he had with Heaven from that history we meet with in one of his works, in which he evidently speaks of himself:

I have with good assurance this account of a minister, who being alone in a journey, and willing to make the best improvement he could of that day's solitude, set himself to a close examination of the state of his soul, and then of the life to come, and the manner of its being and living in heaven, in the views of all those things which are now pure objects of faith and hope. After a while he perceived his thoughts begin to fix, and come closer to these great and astonishing things than was usual; and, as his mind settled upon them, his affections began to rise with answerable liveliness and vigour; he therefore (whilst he was yet master of his own thoughts) lifted up his heart to God, in a short ejaculation, that God would so order it in his providence, that he might meet with no interruption from company, or any other accident in that journey; which was granted him; for, in all that day's journey, he neither met, overtook, or was overtaken by any. Thus, going on his way, his thoughts began to swell, and rise higher and higher, like the waters in Ezekiel's vision, till at last they became an overflowing flood. Such was the intention of his mind, such the ravishing tastes of heavenly joys, and such the full assurance of his interest therein, that he utterly lost the sight and sense of this world, and all the concerns thereof, and for some hours knew no more where he was, than if he had been in a deep sleep upon his bed: at last, he began to perceive himself very faint, and almost choaked with blood, which running in abundance from his nose, had discoloured his clothes, and his horse from the shoulder to the hoof. He found himself almost spent, and nature to faint under the pressure of joy unspeakable and unsupportable. And at last perceiving a spring of water in his way, he with some difficulty alighted to cleanse, and cool his face and hands, which were drenched in blood, tears and sweat. By that spring he sat down, and washed, earnestly desiring, if it were the pleasure of God, that it might be his parting place from this world. He said, death had the most amiable face in his eye that ever he beheld, except the face of Jesus Christ which made it so; and that he could not remember (though he believed he should die there) that he had one thought of his dear wife or children, or any other earthly concernment. But having drunk of that spring, his spirit revived, the blood stanchied, and he mounted his horse again; and on he went in the same frame of spirit, till he had finished a journey of near thirty miles, and came at night to his inn; where being come, he greatly admired how he came thither, that his horse, without his direction, had brought him thither, and that he fell not all that day, which past not without several

trances of considerable continuance. Being alighted, the inn-keeper came to him, with some astonishment (being acquainted with him formerly) O Sir, said he, what's the matter with you? you look like a dead man. Friend, replied he, I was never better in my life. Shew me my chamber; cause my cloak to be cleansed; burn me a little wine, and that is all I desire of you at present. Accordingly it was done, and a supper sent up, which he could not touch; but requested of the people, they would not trouble or disturb him for that night. All this night passed without one wink of sleep, though he had never a sweeter night's rest in all his life. Still, still, the joy of the Lord overflowed him, and he seemed to be an inhabitant of the other world. The next morning being come, he was early on horseback, fearing the diversions in the inn might bereave him of his joy; for he said, it was now with him, as with a man that carries a rich treasure about him, who suspects every passenger to be a thief. But within a few hours he was sensible of the ebbing of the tide; and, before night, though there was a heavenly serenity, and sweet peace upon his spirit, which continued long with him; yet the transports of joy were over. He many years after called that day one of the days of Heaven; and professed he understood more of the life of Heaven by it than by all the books he ever read, or discourses he ever entertained about it.

He was a mighty wrestler with God in secret prayer, and particularly begged of him to crown his sermons, printed books and private discourses, with the conversion of poor sinners, a work which his heart was much set upon. It pleased God to answer him by many instances, of which two that follow deserve peculiar notice:

In 1673, there came into Dartmouth port a ship of Pool, in her return from Virginia; the surgeon of this ship, a lusty young man of 23 years of age, fell into a deep melancholy which the devil improved to make him murder himself. This he attempted on the Lord's day early in the morning, when he was in bed with his brother; he first cut his own throat with a knife he had prepared on purpose, and leaping out of the bed, thrust it likewise into his stomach, and so lay wallowing in his blood, till his brother awaked and cried for help. A physician and surgeon were brought, who concluded the wound in his throat mortal: they stitched it up however, and applied a plaster, but without hopes of cure, because he already breathed through the wound, and his voice was become inarticulate. Mr Flavel came to visit him in this condition, and apprehending him to be within a few minutes of eternity, laboured to prepare him for it; he asked him his own apprehensions of his condition, and the young man answered, that he hoped in God for eternal life. Mr Flavel replied, that he feared his hopes were ill grounded: the scripture tells us, that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him; self-murder was the grossest of all murder, &c. Mr Flavel insisted so much upon the aggravation of the crime, that the young man's conscience began to fail, his heart began to melt, and then he broke out into tears, bewailing his sin and misery, and asked Mr Flavel if there might yet be any hope for him? he told him there might; and finding him altogether unacquainted with the nature of faith and repentance, he opened them to him. The poor man sucked in this doctrine greedily, prayed with great vehemence to God that he would work them on his soul, and intreated Mr Flavel to pray with him, and

for him, that he might be, though late, a sincere gospel penitent, and sound believer: Mr Flavel prayed with him accordingly, and it pleased God exceedingly to melt the young man's heart, during the performance of that duty. He was very loth to part with Mr Flavel, but the duty of the day obliging him to be gone, in a few words he summed up those counsels that he thought most necessary, and so took his farewell of him, never expecting to see him any more in this world. But it pleased God to order it otherwise; the young man continued alive contrary to all expectation, panted earnestly after the Lord Jesus, and no discourse was pleasing to him, but that of Christ and faith. In this frame Mr Flavel found him in the evening; he rejoiced greatly when he saw him come again, intreated him to continue his discourse upon those subjects, and told him, Sir, the Lord hath given me repentance for this and for all my other sins; I see the evil of them now, so as I never saw them before! O I loathe myself! I do also believe; Lord, help my unbelief: I am heartily willing to take Christ upon his own terms; but one thing troubles me, I doubt this bloody sin will not be pardoned: will Jesus Christ, said he, apply his blood to me, that have shed my own blood? Mr Flavel told him, that the Lord Jesus shed his blood for them that with wicked hands had shed his own blood, which was a greater sin than the shedding of his; to which the wounded man replied, I will cast myself upon Christ, let him do what he will. In this condition Mr Flavel left him that night. Next morning his wounds were to be opened, and the surgeon's opinion was, that he should immediately expire; Mr Flavel was again requested to give him a visit, which he did, found him in a very serious frame, and prayed with him. The wound in his stomach was afterwards opened, when the ventricle was so much swollen, that it came out at the orifice of the wound, and lay like a livid discoloured tripe upon his body, and was also cut through: every one thought it impossible for him to live; however the surgeon enlarged the orifice of the wound, fomented it, and wrought the ventricle again into his body, and stitching up the wound, left his patient to the disposal of Providence. It pleased God that he was cured of these dangerous wounds in his body; and, upon solid grounds of a rational charity, there was reason to believe that he was also cured of that more dangerous wound which sin had made in his soul. Mr Flavel spent many hours with him during his sickness, and when the surgeon returned to Pool, after his recovery, Mr Samuel Hardy that worthy minister there, thanked Mr Flavel in a letter for the great pains he had taken with that young man, and congratulated his success, assuring him, that if ever a great and thorough work was wrought, it was upon that man.

The second instance is this: Mr Flavel being in London in 1673, his old bookseller, Mr Boulter, gave him this following relation, viz., That some time before, there came into his shop a sparkish gentleman to enquire for some play-books; Mr Boulter told him he had none, but shewed him Mr Flavel's little treatise of *keeping the heart*, entreated him to read it, and assured him it would do him more good than play-books. The gentleman read the title, and glancing upon several pages here and there, broke out into these and such other expressions, What a damnable fanatic was he who made this book? Mr Boulter begged of him to buy and

read it, and told him he had no cause to censure it so bitterly; at last he bought it, but told him he would not read it. What will you do with it then, said Mr Boulter? I will tear and burn it, said he, and send it to the devil: Mr Boulter told him then, he should not have it; upon this the gentleman promised to read it, and Mr Boulter told him, if he disliked it upon reading, he would return him his money. About a month after, the gentleman came to the shop again in a very modest habit, and with a serious countenance bespeaks Mr Boulter thus: "Sir, I most heartily thank you for putting this book into my hands; I bless God that moved you to do it, it hath saved my soul; blessed be God that ever I came into your shop." And then he bought a hundred more of those books from him, told him he would give them to the poor, who could not buy them, and so left him, praising and admiring the goodness of God. Mr Flavel died in 1691.

FROM CALANT'S LIFE OF BAXTER, VOL. I.

34. Mr RICHARD BAXTER. In 1650 he published his *Saint's Everlasting Rest*. This is a book for which multitudes will have cause to bless God for ever. Among others Mr Janeway was thereby converted. In 1657, he published his *Call to the Unconverted*: a book blessed by God with marvelous success in reclaiming persons from their impieties. Six brothers were once converted by reading that book. Twenty thousand of them were printed and dispersed in little more than a year. It was translated into French and Dutch, and other European languages; and Mr Eliot translated it into the Indian language; and Mr Mather, in Eliot's life, gives an account of an Indian prince, who was so affected with this book, that he sat reading it with tears in his eyes till he died, not suffering it to be taken from him. It was translated also into Welch. A good man said of this book, that he thought it sufficient to persuade a man to any thing but to holiness. What an affectionate preacher Mr Baxter was, may be partly gathered from the following passage in his sermon, on making light of Christ and salvation:—"You know not what it is that you slight; had you well known, you could not have done it. As Christ said to the woman of Samaria (John iv. 10), 'Hadst thou known who it is that speaketh to thee, thou wouldest have asked of him the waters of life:' had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory (1 Cor. ii. 8), 'So, had you known what Christ is, you would not have made light of him:' Had you been one day in heaven, and but seen what they possess, and seen also what miserable souls must endure that are shut out, you would never made so light of Christ again.

"Oh, Sirs, They are no trifles or jesting matters that the Gospel speaks of. I must needs profess to you that when I have the most serious thoughts of these things myself, I am ready to marvel that such amazing matters do not overwhelm the souls of men: that the greatness of the subjects doth not so overwhelm our understandings and affections, as even to drive men beside themselves, but that God hath always somewhat allayed it by the distance; much more that men should be blockish as to make light of them. Oh Lord! that men did but know what everlasting glory, and everlasting torments are; would they then hear us as they do? would they read and think of these things as they do? I profess

I have been ready to wonder, when I have heard such weighty things delivered, how people can forbear crying out in the congregation; much more how they can rest till they have gone to their ministers, and learned what they should do. Oh that heaven and hell should work no more upon men! Oh that everlastingness should work no more! Oh how can you forbear when you are alone to think with your selves what it is to be everlastingly in joy or in torment! I wonder that such thoughts do not break your sleep; and that they come not in your mind when you are about your labour! I wonder how you can almost do any thing else; how you can have any quietness in your minds; how you can eat or drink, or rest till you have got some ground of everlasting consolations! Is that a man or a corpse that is not affected with matters of this moment? that can be readier to sleep, than to tremble, when he heareth how he must stand at the bar of God? Is that a man, or a clod of clay, that can rise or lie down without being deeply affected with his everlasting estate? that can follow his worldly business, and make nothing of the great business of salvation or damnation; and that, when they know it is hard at hand? Truly Sirs, when I think of the weight of the matter, I wonder at the very best of God's saints upon earth, that they are no better, and do no more in so weighty a case. I wonder at those whom the world accounteth more holy than needs, and scorns for making too much ado, that they can put off Christ and their souls with so little: that they pour not out their souls in every supplication; that they are not more taken up with God; that their thoughts be not more serious in preparation of their accounts. I wonder that they be not an hundred times more strict in their lives, and more laborious and unwearied in striving for the crown than they are. And for myself as I am ashamed of my dull and careless heart, and of my slow and unprofitable course of life; so, the Lord knows, I am ashamed of every sermon I preach; when I think what I have been speaking of, and who sent me, and that men's salvation or damnation is so much concerned in it, I am ready to tremble, lest God should judge me as a slighter of his truths and the souls of men, and lest in the best sermon I should be guilty of their blood. Methinks we should not speak a word to men in matters of such consequence, without tears, or the greatest earnestness that possibly we can; were not we too much guilty of the sin which we reprove, it would be so. Whether we are alone, or in company, methinks our end, and such an end, should still be in our mind, and as before our eyes; and we should sooner forget any thing, and set light by any thing, or by all things, than by this."

Many a time he was brought very low, while he was minister at Kidderminster, so as to receive the sentence of death in himself, when his poor honest praying neighbours there met together, and upon their fasting and earnest prayers, he hath been recovered. Once, when he had been very low for three weeks together, and was unable to go abroad, the very day that they prayed for him, he suddenly recovered, so as to be able to preach and administer the sacrament to them the next Lord's day. Another time, he had a tumour rose on one of the tendons of his throat, white and hard like a bone, above the hardness of any schirrous tumour. He feared a cancer, and applied such remedies, by the physician's

advice, as were thought fittest; but without alteration, for it remained hard as at first. At the end of a quarter of an year, he was under some concern that he had never praised God particularly for any of the deliverances he had formerly afforded him. And thereupon as he was speaking of God's confirming our belief of his word, by his fulfilling his promises, and hearing prayers (as it is published in the second part of his Saint's Rest) he annexed some thankful mention of his own experiences, and suddenly the tumour vanished, leaving no sign where it had been remaining; though he neither swallowed it down, nor spit it out, nor could ever tell what became of it. Another time being in danger of an agilops, he had also sudden relief by their prayers. God marvellously honoured his praying neighbours at Kidderminster, by hearing their prayers in other instances. One Mrs Giles had a son of about fourteen or fifteen, who upon the removal of a fever fell into a violent epilepsy; and had four or five violent fits in a day, in which they were forced to hold a key between his teeth, to save his tongue. The physicians used all ordinary means for a long time, in vain, but at last the people of the town, at her request, kept a day of fasting and prayer at her house; and the second day, he was suddenly cured, and never had a fit afterwards. One Mr Cook, removing from Kinvar to Kidderminster, and meeting with difficulties in his concerns, fell into melancholy, which afterwards turned to madness. He continued in it several years; the best means that could be, being used to little purpose. Some were for setting upon fasting and prayer on his account; but Mr Baxter discouraged it, having no hope of cure, his distemper being natural or hereditary to him; his father, having much about his age fallen mad before him, and never recovered. When he had continued in this condition about ten or twelve years, some would not be dissuaded, but fasted and prayed at his house with great importunity; and continued it once a fortnight, for several months; at length he sensibly mended, and by degrees finally recovered.

In the whole course of his life, Mr Baxter had scarce a friend whom he more valued and respected, and by whom he was more beloved, than that noted citizen Henry Ashhurst, Esq., commonly called Alderman Ashhurst, who was the most exemplary person for eminent sobriety, self-denial, piety, and charity, that London could glory of. He was a Christian of the primitive stamp, and did good to all as he was able, especially needy ministers: to whom in Lancashire alone, he allowed an hundred pounds a year. He left behind him the perfume of a most honoured name, and the memorials of a most exemplary life, to be imitated by all his descendants. His true character may be seen in his funeral sermon preached by Mr Baxter. Mr Baxter himself died in 1691.¹

¹ This year, 1691, died Mr Thomas Brand, born at Leaden Roothing, in Essex. Meeting a poor man, that was wont to attend his lectures, but had for some time absented, he enquired of him the reason. The poor man replied, it was not for want of good will, but for that he could not spare the time; his whole week days earnings hardly supplying the necessities of his family. Mr Brand told him, that rather than his soul should suffer, he would allow him sixpence a week, which the man acknowledged was more than he could earn in the time omitted from his employment. This man had at last let his allowance run into a longer arrear than ordinary; which Mr Brand questioning him about, he thanked him for his last supply, acknowledging he now found God so to bless his labours, that he had no further necessity of that aid.

[We append to Dr Gillies' brief notice of this eminent man the following account of his labours and success in the ministry, from his own pen:—

"I preached, before the wars, twice each Lord's day; but, after the war, but once, and once every Thursday, besides occasional sermons. Every Thursday evening, my neighbours that were most desirous and had opportunity, met at my house, and there one of them repeated the sermon, and afterwards they proposed what doubts any of them had about the sermon, or any other case of conscience, and I resolved their doubts. And, last of all, I caused sometimes one, and sometimes another of them to pray, to exercise them; and sometimes I prayed with them myself, which, besides singing a psalm, was all they did. And once a week, also, some of the younger sort, who were not fit to pray in so great an assembly, met among a few more privately, where they spent three hours in prayer together. Every Saturday night they met at some of their houses to repeat the sermon of the last Lord's day, and to pray and prepare themselves for the following day. Once in a few weeks, we had a day of humiliation, on one occasion or other. Every religious woman that was safely delivered, instead of the old feasts and gossipings, if they were able, did keep a day of thanksgiving, with some of their neighbours with them, praising God, and singing psalms, and soberly feasting together. Two days every week, my assistant and I myself took fourteen families between us for private catechising and conference; he going through the parish, and the town coming to me. I first heard them recite the words of the catechism, and then examined them about the sense, and lastly urged them, with all possible engaging reason and vehemence, to answerable affection and practice. If any of them were perplexed, through ignorance or bashfulness, I forebore to press them any farther to answers, but made them hearers, and either examined others, or turned all into instruction and exhortation. But this I have opened more fully in my 'Reformed Pastor.' I spent about an hour with a family, and admitted no others to be present, lest bashfulness should make it burdensome, or any should talk of the weaknesses of others. So that all the afternoons, on Mondays and Tuesdays, I spent in this, after I had begun it; for it was many years before I did attempt it: and my assistant spent the mornings of the same days in the same employment. Before that, I only catechised them in the church, and conferred with, now and then, one occasionally.

"My public preaching met with an attentive diligent auditory. Having broke over the brunt of the opposition of the rabble before the wars, I found them afterwards tractable and unprejudiced.

"Before I ever entered into the ministry, God blessed my private conference to the conversion of some, who remain firm and eminent in holiness to this day. Then, and in the beginning of my ministry, I was wont to number them as jewels: but since then I could not keep any number of them.

"The congregation was usually full, so that we were fain to build five galleries after my coming thither, the church itself being very capacious, and the most commodious and convenient that ever I was in. Our private meetings also were full. On the Lord's day there was no disorder to be seen in the streets, but you might hear a hundred families singing psalms and repeating sermons, as you passed through the streets. In a word, when I came thither

first, there was about one family in a street that worshipped God and called on his name; and when I came away, there were some streets where there was not past one family in the side of a street that did not so; and that did not, by professing serious godliness, give us hopes of their sincerity. And in those families which were the worst, being inns and ale-houses, usually some persons in each house did seem to be religious. Though our administration of the Lord's supper was so ordered as displeased many, and the far greater part kept away themselves, yet we had six hundred that were communicants, of whom there were not twelve that I had not good hopes of, as to their sincerity; and those few that did consent to our communion, and yet lived scandalously, were excommunicated afterward. And I hope there were many that had the fear of God that came not to our communion in the sacrament, some of them being kept off by husbands, by parents, by masters, and some dissuaded by men that differed from us.

"When I set upon personal conference with each family, and catechising them, there were very few families in all the town that refused to come; and those few were beggars at the town's ends, who were so ignorant that they were ashamed it should be manifest. And few families went from me without some tears, or seemingly serious promises for a godly life. Yet many ignorant and ungodly persons there were still among us; but most of them were in the parish, and not in the town, and in those parts of the parish which were farthest from the town. Some of the poor men did competently understand the body of divinity, and were able to judge in difficult controversies. Some of them were so able in prayer, that very few ministers did match them, in order and fullness, and apt expressions, and holy oratory, with fervency. Abundance of them were able to pray very laudably with their families, or with others. The temper of their minds, and the correctness of their lives, were much more laudable than their parts. The professors of serious godliness were generally of very humble minds and carriage; of meek and quiet behaviour unto others; and of blamelessness in their conversations.

"Having related my comfortable successes in this place, I shall next tell you by what, and how many advantages this much was effected, under that grace which worketh by means, though with a free diversity; which I do for their sakes that would have the means of other men's experiments, in managing ignorant and sinful parishes.

"One advantage was, that I came to a people that never had any awakening ministry before. For if they had been hardened under a powerful ministry, and been sermon proof, I should have expected less.

"Another advantage was, that at first I was in the vigour of my spirits, and had naturally a familiar moving voice, which is a great matter with the common hearers; and doing all in bodily weakness, as a dying man, my soul was the more easily brought to seriousness, and to preach as a dying man to dying men; for drowsy formality and customariness do but stupify the hearers, and rock them asleep. It must be serious preaching, which must make men serious in hearing and obeying it.

"Another advantage which I had was, the acceptance of my person. Though to win estimation and love to ourselves only, be an end that none but

proud men and hypocrites intend, yet it is most certain that the gratefulness of the person doth ingratiate the message, and greatly prepareth the people to receive the truth. Had they taken me to be ignorant, erroneous, scandalous, worldly, self-seeking, or such like, I could have expected small success among them.

"Another advantage which I had was, by the zeal and diligence of the godly people of the place, who thirsted after the salvation of their neighbours, and were, in private, my assistants; and being dispersed through the town, they were ready, in almost all companies, to repress seducing words, and to justify godliness, and convince, reprove, exhort men, according to their needs; and also to teach them how to pray, and to help them to sanctify the Lord's day. Those people that had none in their families who could pray, or repeat the sermons, went to their next neighbour's house who could do it, and joined with them; so that some houses of the ablest men in each street were filled with them that could do nothing or little in their own.

"And the holy, humble, blameless lives of the religious sort was a great advantage to me. The malicious people could not say, Your professors here are as proud and covetous as any. But the blameless life of godly people did shame opposers, and put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, and many were won by their good conversation.

"Our private meetings were a marvellous help to the propagating of godliness among them; for thereby truths that slipped away were recalled, and the seriousness of the people's minds renewed, and good desires cherished; and hereby their knowledge was much increased; and here the younger sort learned to pray, by frequently hearing others. And here I had opportunity to know their case; for, if any were touched and awakened in public, I should presently see them drop in to our private meetings.

Another furtherance of my work was the writings which I wrote, and gave among them. Some small books I gave each family one of, which came to about eight hundred, and of the bigger I gave fewer; and every family that was poor, and had not a Bible, I gave a Bible to. And I had myself found the benefit of reading to be so great, that I could not but think it would be profitable to others.

"And it was a great advantage to me, that my neighbours were of such a trade as allowed them time enough to read or talk of holy things; for the town liveth upon the weaving of Kidderminster stuffs, and, as they stand in their loom, they can set a book before them, or edify one another.

"And it was a great advantage to me, that there were at last few that were bad, but some of their own relations were converted. Many children did God work upon at fourteen, or fifteen, or sixteen years of age; and this did marvellously reconcile the minds of the parents and elder sort to godliness. They that would not hear me, would hear their own children. They that before could have talked against godliness, would not hear it spoken against when it was their children's case. Many that would not be brought to it themselves, were proud that they had understanding religious children. And we had some old persons, of near eighty years of age, who are, I hope, in heaven, and the conversion of their own children was the chief means to overcome their prejudice, and old customs, and conceits.

"And God made great use of sickness to do good

to many. For though sick-bed promises are usually soon forgotten, yet was it otherwise with many among us; and, as soon as they were recovered, they first came to our private meetings, and so kept in a learning state, till further fruits of piety appeared.

"Another great help to my success at last, was the before described work of personal conference with every family apart, and catechising and instructing them. That which was spoken to them personally, and put them sometime upon answers, awakened their attention, and was more easily applied than public preaching, and seemed to do much more upon them.

"And the exercise of church discipline was no small furtherance of the people's good; for I found plainly, that without it I could not have kept the religious sort from separations and divisions. There is something generally in their dispositions, which inclineth them to dissociate from open ungodly sinners, as men of another nature and society; and if they had not seen me do something reasonable for a regular separation of the notorious obstinate sinners from the rest, they would have withdrawn themselves irregularly; and it would not have been in my power, with bare words, to satisfy them, when they saw we had liberty to do what we would.

"And it much furthered my success, that I stayed still in this one place, near two years before the wars, and above fourteen years after; for he that removeth often from place to place, may sow good seeds in many places, but is not likely to see much fruit in any, unless some other skilful hand shall follow him to water it. It was a great advantage to me, to have almost all the religious people of the place of my own instructing and informing; and that they were not formed into erroneous and factious principles before; and that I stayed to see them grown up to some confirmedness and maturity."]

FROM CALAMY'S LIFE OF BAXTER, vol. II.

35. Mr TIMOTHY BATT. He was a native of Somerset. His delight was in his Master's work, in which he continued as he had opportunity, till within a few months of his death; though he was blind for two years and more. And God owned him even in his latter years: one instance of it (not unworthy to remark) has been given me, by one whose account may be depended on. He used to preach once in five or six weeks, at a place near Columpton in Devonshire. A profane and lewd young man came thither one Lord's day to hear him, on purpose to scoff at, and make a jest of what he said. But it pleased God to meet with him, and make that sermon of Mr Batts, which was upon that saying of the wise man, that fools make a mock at sin, the means of his conversion, and he became thenceforward a serious Christian. He died in 1692, with those words in his mouth, 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

36. Mr THOMAS WILLS. He was the son of a pious old puritan, Mr John Wills, rector of Morvall near Loo. That old gentleman was an eminent instance of devotion, and of the success of his prayers and endeavours for the conversion of his people, and children, which led him to break out in a transport of joy upon his deathbed: "The blessing," said he, "of my father hath prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors. Of my ten children, nine have a work of grace, I hope: and for my youngest son, I

die in the faith of a plentiful harvest; he shall be converted also, after my decease." There was great reason to hope this proved true of his youngest son afterwards, who was a worthy conformist minister. His eldest son was this Mr Jonathan Wills, whose conversion in his father's lifetime was also very remarkable. He had been wild and extravagant, and had committed some offence, for which he was forced to fly from the king's army. His father had prevailed with several ministers, then at Plymouth, and other good people, to spend the day in prayer, in behalf of this prodigal son. While they were in this exercise, his son flies thither, and finds them together, actually praying for him. As soon as they had done, he dissolved into tears, and falling on his knees, begs his father's pardon; and from that day proved eminently serious. After the wars he went to Exeter College, in Oxon, where he, in a little time, obtained a fellowship; and was at length presented to this living, where he was a diligent and successful preacher. He died in 1695.

37. Mr SAMUEL SHAW. He was born of religious parents, at Repton in Derbyshire, in the year 1635; and educated at the free school there, then the best in those parts of England. At fourteen years of age he left that place, and went to St John's College in Cambridge. When he had completed his studies there, he removed to Tamworth, in Warwickshire, and was master of the free school there, in 1656.

From Tamworth he removed to Mosely, a small place in the borders of Worcestershire, at the desire of Colonel Greaviss of that place, who had a singular esteem and affection for him. At his coming thither, he was ordained; and in 1658 he obtained a presentation to the rectory of Long-Whaddon, worth £150 a-year. In June, this year, he had full and peaceable possession of this place, and continued so to have, until the restoration of King Charles, in 1660. After this he never had any public living, for he could not satisfy himself to conform. When he left Long-Whaddon, he removed to Cotes, a small village near Loughborough, in the same county. During his stay there, his family was afflicted with the plague, being infected by some relations from London, who came from thence to avoid it: it was about harvest, 1665. At that time he preached to his family, and afterwards published that excellent book, called *The Welcome to the Plague*. He buried two children, two friends, and one servant, of that distemper: but he and his wife, who both had it, escaped; and, not being ill both at once, looked after one another, and the rest of the family; which was a great mercy: for none durst come to his assistance; but he was in a manner shut up for about three months together. He was forced to attend his sick, and bury his dead himself in his own garden.

Towards the latter end of the year 1666, he removed to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in the same county, where he was chosen schoolmaster of the free school there, in 1668. The revenue was then but small, and the school-buildings quite out of repair, and the number of scholars few. But, by his diligence, he soon got the salary augmented, not only for himself, but all succeeding schoolmasters; and by his interest among gentlemen, all attached to him, on account of his merit, he collected money for the building of a good school, and a school-house, and a gallery for the use of the scholars in the church. He had another difficulty, however, to contend with in

this matter, which was, how to get a licence, without subscription to such things as his conscience did not allow of. But he was brought through that also: for, by the Lord Conway, he obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury, a licence to teach school anywhere in his whole province: and this without so much as once seeing or waiting upon the Archbishop. And needing also a licence from the Bishop of the diocese, he got a friend to make his application to Dr Fuller, then Bishop of Lincoln, who put his late book, occasioned by the plague in his family, into his hands. The Bishop was so pleased with his piety, peaceableness, humility, and learning, there displayed, that he gave him a licence upon such a subscription as his own sense dictated and inserted; and added, "That he was glad to have so worthy a man in his diocese, upon any terms."

His piety, learning, and temper, soon raised the reputation of his school, and the number of his scholars above any in those parts; so that he always kept one, and for a great while two ushers to assist him; having often an hundred and sixty boys, or more, under his charge. His house and the town were continually full of boarders from London, and other distant parts of the kingdom.

Here he did excellent service in educating youth. Several divines of the Church of England, and many gentlemen, eminent in their several professions, were his scholars. He endeavoured to make the youth, that were under his care, in love with piety, and to principle them betimes, by his good advice, and allure them by his good example. Afterwards, when the Dissenting ministers were allowed a toleration, and liberty to preach, confirmed by the Act of Parliament, he licensed his school for a place of religious worship; and the first time he used it, preached from Acts xix. 9. "Disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus." Here he continued to his death. His conversation was enlivened with a thorough insight into the several branches of polite learning, especially poetry and history. But his greatest excellence was in religious discourse, in his rational and pious sentiments, both in his sermons and in his prayers.

In the place where he lived, he was universally esteemed, being frequently employed in reconciling differences; was universal in his charity; had a public and generous spirit, ready to encourage any good design; much given to hospitality; of a peaceable disposition, and moderate in his principles. In short, a mixture of so much learning and modesty, wit and judgment, piety, and pleasantness, are rarely found together, as met in him. And he lived beloved, and died lamented, by all that had the happiness of his acquaintance. He died in 1696.

Calamy in his *Life of Baxter*, vol. ii. says of Shaw: "His greatest excellency was in religious discourse, in praying, and preaching. I cannot forbear here adding the words of one that knew him well: I have known him, says he, spend part of many days and nights too in religious exercises, when the times were so dangerous, that it would hazard an imprisonment (not to be drunk, or be in a house of ill fame, or tavern, but) to be worshipping God with five or six people, like-minded with himself. I have sometimes been in his company for a whole night together, when we have been fain to steal to the place in the dark, put out the light, and keep in the voice, by cloathing and fast closing the windows, until the

first day-break down a chimney has given us notice to be gone. I bless God for such seasons. If some say it was needless to do so much, I reply, The care of our souls, and eternity, which only was minded there, requires more: I say, I bless God for the remembrance of them, and for Mr Shaw at them, whose melting words at prayer, I can never forget. He had a most excellent faculty in speaking to God with reverence, humility, and an holy awe of his presence, filling his mouth with arguments: by his strength he had power with God; he wept and made supplication; he found him in Bethel (such were our assemblies) and there he spake with us. I have heard him for three or four hours together pour out prayer to God, without vain repetition, with that vigour and fervour, and those holy words that imported faith and humble boldness, as has dissolved the whole company into tears."

38. DR SAMUEL ANNESLY. He was a sincere godly humble man: an Israelite indeed. One that may be said to be sanctified from the womb; in as much as he was so early under serious impressions. A little after his first entrance on the ministry, he was fixed at Cliff in Kent, in the room of an ejected minister, whose life and conversation was notoriously scandalous: the rude and ignorant people were upon this account extremely fond of him, and prejudiced against his successor, whom they assaulted not long after his coming among them, with spits, forks, and stones; threatening him with death: but God steeled him with such courage, and he told them, "Let them use him how they would, he was resolved to continue with them, until God had fitted them by his ministry to entertain a better who should succeed him; but yet solemnly declared, that when they became so prepared, he would leave the place." In a few years the people were greatly reformed, and his labours had marvellous success; and, to keep his word, he left them, lest any seeming lightness of his might prove a scandal to his young converts. And the four hundred pounds a-year, which he had there coming in was no temptation to him. When he came to the city, he had two of the largest auditories to preach to; which were St Paul's, where he was lecturer, and Cripple-gate, where he was rector.

Dr Annesly was Mr Wesley's grandfather. When the plague raged in London, he sent his family into the country and staid himself in town, and preached constantly in the churches all the time of that great mortality. God pleased to spare his life when many were visited as they were hearing him, and were carried out dead or dying. He had a large soul, and flaming zeal, and his usefulness was very extensive. He had the care of all the churches upon him; and was the chief (oft the sole) instrument in the education and subsistence of several ministers, whose useful labours the church had otherwise wanted.

He took great care of the widows and children of the dissenting clergy who were left in distress. He used to maintain them and put them to school, until they were of age to go to apprenticeship, and then bound them to trades, at his own expense. When any of his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from that practice, on account of expense and his own numerous family, his common answer was that "Then he was laying up portions for his children;" nor did the event contradict his expectation. He was the main support of the morning lecture, for which so many have cause to be thankful to God, and after

the death of old Mr Case, he took the care of it upon himself. Of all gifts, salary and incomes, he always laid aside the tenths for charity, even before any part was spent; and by this means had a fund always at hand, for charitable uses; besides what others furnished him with for the same purposes, to whom he was a faithful almoner. His nonconformity created him troubles; but no inward uneasiness. God often remarkably appeared for him; one died signing a warrant to apprehend him. He never feared any of his enemies, or their utmost malice; and nothing that he met with from men abated his cheerfulness. He had uninterrupted peace in his spirit, and assurance of God's covenant love for the last forty or fifty years of his life; for several years indeed before that, he walked in darkness, and was disconsolate; which is no unusual thing with such as are converted in their childhood, whose change being not so remarkable as that of many others, is therefore the more liable to be questioned: but in his last sickness he was full of comfort. And in seventeen weeks, pain (which might well be supposed peculiarly troublesome to one, that had had such an uninterrupted course of health and ease, throughout his whole life) he never discovered the least discontent.

When he felt death approaching, he ordered all his children (at home) to stand round his bed, and fixing his eyes steadfastly on them, one after another, he prayed for every one singly, a considerable time, as they judged by the moving of his lips, and when he had finished, said "Come Lord Jesus! come quickly! the nearer the sweeter!" and expired. At length he cheerfully resigned his soul to God, in the 77th year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr Daniel Williams, who hath added an account of his life and character. He died in 1696.

39. MR GILES FIRMIN. He was a native of Suffolk, educated at Cambridge, under the tuition of Dr Hill. He at first applied himself to the study of physic, and practised it afterwards several years in New-England, whether he retired with several pious persons, who in those days left their native country, that they might have liberty of acting according to the light of their consciences. Returning into England about the latter end of the civil wars, he suffered shipwreck on the coast of Spain. At that very time when he was in extreme danger of being drowned, a little child of his about four years old, then with her mother, and the rest of the family in New-England, lay crying out by times, all night, my father, my father: and could not be satisfied, which moved them to pray heartily for his safety. This passage being well attested, is related because of its peculiarity. He did most excel in practical divinity, especially in that part of it, which directs a sinner how to get his peace made with God, and how to judge of his estate: of which his excellent book called the *Real Christian*, will be a sufficient proof, in the judgment of such, as in earnest seek the salvation of their souls. Though he was one of eminent holiness and zeal for God's glory, and most sincere and plain-hearted in the whole course of his conversation, yet he was exercised with various temptations, and was in very perplexing fears, as to his spiritual estate; which had this effect upon him, that they made him very humble and meek, (though naturally a man of a very great spirit) and careful in his preaching and writing, as not to encourage hypocrites, or embolden any in sin, so neither to create any causeless trouble,

to truly gracious persons. And herein lay much of his excellence. In his life he had much spiritual trouble; but in his death he had much comfort. Then he told those about him, how he had been converted when he was a school-boy, by Mr John Rogers of Dedham. He went late on a lecture-day, and crowded to get in: Mr Rogers taking notice of his earnestness, with a youth or two more, for room, with his usual freedom cried out. "Here are some young ones come for a Christ: will nothing serve you but you must have a Christ? than you shall have him," &c., which sermon made such an impression upon him, that he thence dated his conversion. He died in 1697.¹

40. MR HUGH OWEN. He was born in Merionethshire in North Wales. He was a candidate for the ministry, when the Bartholomew Act came forth. And not long after, he fixed in his native country, and lived upon a little estate of his own there, and preached the gospel to the poor ignorant people, without taking anything of them. His preaching was affectionate and moving, and many were wrought upon by it. He was a burning and shining light in an obscure corner of the world. He went about preaching the gospel of salvation, through that and the neighbouring county of Montgomery, and sometimes stepped into Carnarvonshire, and other parts. He had five or six places where he used to preach in Merionethshire, and some of them twenty miles distant from him. He had near as many in Montgomeryshire, of which some were about thirty miles from his habitation. He performed his circuit in about three months' time, and then began again. Great numbers of people attended his ministry, and were much affected with it. He laboured indefatigably, and much impaired his health, by riding often in the night, and cold rains, over the mountains. His principal food was milk, to which he had used himself by lodging in poor houses, where they had no malt-drink, and only beds of straw to lie upon. He was a primitive apostolical Christian, eminently meek and humble; and would often style himself less than the least of all the ministers of Jesus Christ. He would say he envied no man's gifts, but desired faithfully to improve his own little talent for the service of his Lord. He was tender of grieving any person, and though strict in his own person, was yet candid and charitable towards those who differed from him. He would often say, that he valued no man for his opinion, or his adherence to this or that party, but for what he saw of the grace of God in him. His unblemished conversation, and inoffensive deportment, procured him the esteem of the gentlemen of the country, to several of whom he was nearly allied. One time, going to preach in a frosty snowy season, he was benighted on the hills, and a sudden storm arose, and drove the snow so violently in his face, that the horse could not go forward. He let him move as he would, until he found himself in danger of the bogs, and that it was not safe riding further. After he had committed himself unto God by prayer, he left his horse to shift for himself, and walked in his boots in a deep snow, till it was midnight; and he was so spent, and so near starved with cold; that he despaired of life; but it

¹ The year after (1698) died Mr John Weeks minister of a congregation in Bristol. He was a most fervent expostulator with sinners. With what life and warmth, would he utter these words, "I beseech you by the bowels of Jesus Christ, hear a poor dying worm, upon the account of your immortal souls."

pleased God, he, in a little time, unexpectedly, came to a cow-house, which was at a distance from the dwelling-house of the owners, as is usual in that country. When he got to the door, he found it barred within; so that he could not enter. He scrambled about the house for above an hour, attempting to get in, but to no purpose. At length, when all hopes were gone, he discovered a hole at one end, that opened to an hay-loft, which he got into with much difficulty, and so lay between the cattle until morning. When it was day, he crept out of his brutish lodging, and discovered a house near, at which he knocked; the master of the house arose, and opened the door, and found his hair and beard frozen, his hands benumbed, his clothes stiff with frost and snow, and himself scarce able to speak. He made a good fire for him, gave him hot milk, and put him into a warm bed, where he lay some hours; and then got up so well refreshed, that he went that morning to the meeting place, and preached without any sensible prejudice. All that knew him, own him to have been an Israelite indeed, without guile. He died 1699, aged 62.

41. Mr JOHN FAIRFAX. He was minister at Barking in Suffolk. He stately preached seven times in a fortnight for many years together, besides occasional sermons, which were not few. He often ventured into the pulpit, when many of his hearers could scarce expect him alive out of it; and he ordinarily found relief by it, as to his bodily disorder; and therefore called preaching his remedy. He was much delighted in his work; though he made it his business, yet it was his pleasure to preach the gospel: yea, so much was his heart set upon this work, that he was actually preaching to his family and friends about him, when a-dying, till his speech began to falter. He was the happy instrument of converting many souls. He died in 1700.

42. Mr WILLIAM BAGSHAW. He was minister at Glossop in Derbyshire. He published *De Spiritibus Peccati*, notes or notices concerning the work of God, and some that have been workers together with God in the High-Peak, 1702. It is an amazing thing to consider the work that this good man went through. He preached often every week, and sometimes every day in the week; after which he usually sat up late in his closet, and yet was an early riser. He usually spent an hour in secret wrestling with God in the morning, while the rest of the family were in bed. He spent much time in writing books for particular persons of his congregation, suitable to their circumstances, which he gave them, hoping they would be of use to them when he was dead. Besides which he left behind him fifty volumes, some in folio, and many in quarto, written fair with his own hand, on several subjects. At the end of every year, he usually repeated to his people the substance of the sermons he had preached on all the Lord's days in the year; and, in the beginning of the new year, he went to the houses of his hearers, and preached a suitable sermon in each. He once parted with his right, of a considerable value, to his brother, because he would not contend with him. He was the chief instrument in gathering the congregations at Ashford, Malcoffe, Middleton, Bradwall, Chalmarton, and Hucklow, besides lectures that he began in several places that are still kept up. He died in 1702.¹

¹ Some years after died Mr Richard Hilton at Walsal. He had drawn up a covenant between God and his own soul.

43. Mr JOHN HOWE. He was born May 17, 1630, at Loughborough in Leicestershire, where his father was minister; whom the severities at that time used against the puritans, compelled to remove into Ireland, taking his son (who was then very young) with him. During their stay there, the rebellion broke out, by which they were exposed to very threatening danger, that place being for several weeks besieged and assaulted by the rebels, but without success. A very special providence on this occasion did guard that life, which was afterwards made very serviceable. During the civil war he returned to England, where he passed through his school education in Lancashire. He was early sent to Christ college in Cambridge, after which he removed to Oxford. His great attainments in learning, joined with exemplary piety, so recommended him, that he was duly elected fellow of Magdalen-College; of which famous society he was a bright ornament: and by unusual application furnished himself with a large fund of rational and theological learning, in both which he had very few equals. Being by an unexpected conduct of providence called to Torrington, though he was very young, he worthily filled the ministerial station, in which his labours were blessed with an uncommon success.

[He entered upon it with a deep sense of his inefficiency, and with much earnest prayer, that success might follow his efforts. With unwearied activity and persevering diligence he discharged his pastoral duties. He contented not himself with a cold and negligent performance of public worship; but with a holy earnestness commended himself to the consciences of his hearers, as in the sight of God. The result was, that he had a large and flourishing charge. Young and old looked up to him with respect: many who had hitherto neglected religion, became awakened to a sense of its importance; the ignorant were instructed, the dormant energies of the inactive were aroused into exercise, inquirers after truth and happiness were directed, the mourners in Zion were comforted, the faith of established Christians was confirmed, and there seemed no probability but that he would continue their faithful pastor to the close of life.]

The extraordinary diligence with which he now discharged his ministerial duties required more physical strength, as well as mental vigour, than most possess. On public fast days, which were then much more frequently observed, he commenced Divine service at nine in the morning. He first offered up an extempore prayer, supplicating the Divine presence during the day: he then read and expounded a psalm, or a chapter; and afterwards offered up another very solemn prayer, entering particularly, and with singular propriety, into the causes of their meeting. Next followed a sermon, the delivery of which took more than an hour: then he again prayed: after this a psalm was sung, suited to the occasion, during which he retired to take some slight refreshment. At the close of the singing, he again entered the pulpit, prayed with great earnestness for a considerable time, and then preached another excellent discourse, concluding the service about four in the afternoon, by a solemn prayer and benediction. Few would have had strength sufficient to go through a service like this, and fewer still mental vigour enough to have made it otherwise than tedious to

which it was his custom to read over seriously every Lord's-day morning, to quicken him in his work.

their hearers; but Howe kept up the attention of his auditory to the last, and was listened to with as much interest at the close as at the commencement of these services.

The period passed by Howe in his country charge seems to have been the pleasantest in his life, and the most accordant with his own mind. There was a sort of quiet contentment and peaceful repose of mind about him which could only settle down amid the stillness and seclusion of a rural life. There was a solemn grandeur and elevated simplicity of soul about him which could not expand itself amid the artifice and ceremony of a court, and though he knew, as he himself beautifully expresses it, 'how to live in a tumultuous world and be at peace within,' yet in such a scene his soul was not at home. There was in him such a calm superiority to the world, such a thorough indifference to every earthly attraction, that preferments which others would have grasped at, were no bribes to him. And withal there was such a fervent devotedness to his work, that, as he himself speaks in one of his works, he was "secretly consuming for God, and the vigour of his soul was exhaled in his service." It was this spirit of pastoral devotedness that penned the following brief but beautiful apostrophe, in which the discouragements of ministerial labour are touched upon in a tone of melancholy dignity;—"They will have their own way though they perish. We see them perishing under our very eye, and we cry to them,—in thy name, O Lord!—to return and live, but they regard us not. For these things, sometimes we weep in secret and our eyes trickle down with tears: yea we cry to thee, O Lord, and thou hearest not; thy hand seems shortened that it cannot save, it puts not on strength as in the days of old! It hath snatched souls by thousands as firebrands out of the fire, but now thou hidest and drawest it back! Meanwhile, even the devil's instruments prosper more than we; and he that makes it his business to tempt and entice down souls to hell succeeds more than we that would allure them to heaven! But we must speak whether men will hear or forbear: though it concerns us to do it with fear and trembling. O how solemn a business is it to treat with souls: and how much to be dreaded but they miscarry through our imprudence or neglect." It was in a spirit such as this that he laboured and prayed; and he was successful!—Oh how successful!—when we compare the effects of his labour with the unfruitful ministrations of our own day! And there were many like Howe thus labouring and thus successful: many of these despised Puritans, who though they were oftentimes constrained to reiterate the expressive complaint, that "Old Adam was too strong for young Melancthon," yet found that the glory had not departed from the church, and that the blessing was still upon the work of their hands. They watched for their people's souls as they that must give an account; they watched in the spirit of him who, when once found by a friend at midnight in the cold floor of the lonely church, and asked the reason of his heaviness of spirit, replied, "I have the souls of three thousand to answer for, while I know not how it is with many of them." But upon this we must dwell no longer.

We have now to follow Howe from Torrington to Whitehall, from the retirement of the country to the whirl of the court. Placed in the high and responsible as well as most difficult situation of chaplain to

the Protector, we find him still the same, endeavouring to fulfil to the uttermost those new and peculiar duties which now devolved upon him. Unaccustomed as he was to any thing like a courtier's life, it might have been expected that he would have manifested the awkwardness and rusticity of one who had known only the simplicity of a country life. But his mind was possessed of that largeness which, though at home only in certain scenes, could accommodate itself to all; of that natural ease and affability which led him through all the stately forms and courtesies of high life, with a grace peculiarly his own. He had been bred among a simple people and he loved not the air of the palace, but still he could do the honours of a court with equal ease and dignity.—"High in high places, gentle in his own." It is true, he says of himself, in a letter to Baxter, with reference to this very point, "I am naturally bashful, pusillanimous, easily brow-beaten, solicitous about the fitness and unfitness of speech or silence, of being accounted uncivil or busy; and the distemper being natural is less curable." But the perusal of his writings and the consideration of his character and conduct through life, lead us to set this down as the workings of self-diffidence in one who was ever mean in his own esteem: and the testimony of others, more competent to judge, informs us with what singular prudence he maintained his ground in that exalted position; with what noble firmness he acquitted his conscience and held fast his integrity; with what disinterestedness and delicacy he managed that influence and patronage which fell into his hands, so as to secure the esteem of all.

But his soul was not with the pomp and pride of courtly state; and in the midst of all the honours of Whitehall his heart was still at Torrington and his eye longing once more to behold his beloved people! Felix Neff said of his wild Alpine parish, "it was at once the home of my brethren, the beloved Jerusalem of my affections," and with the same feelings, the same longings, does John Howe seem to have regarded his rustic flock, and wearied to hasten back to them and escape from scenes all uncongenial to his taste. He was one that spoke but little of himself, and never seems to have deemed his own concerns of sufficient magnitude to deserve any notice from his pen. Yet here and there throughout his writings we can almost fancy we read the breathings of his spirit thus under bondage and sighing for deliverance. We can suppose that a passage like the following might well break forth from one wearied out with the bustle which encompassed him;—"Oh, how are we deafened by these ears of ours; and how are we blinded by these eyes of ours!—that we cannot hear the voice of God calling us to heaven to his eternal kingdom and glory; that we cannot behold the divine light that shines through all things."

At the Restoration, Howe returned to his beloved flock at Torrington with "the advantage" as he expresses it, "to be hoped for from the increase of their affections by absence." He was most eagerly and affectionately welcomed back by his people who were still in an unsettled state. But he was allowed but a short breathing time, for he was scarce well settled when that storm arose against the Puritans which scattered two thousand ministers from their homes. Howe among the rest was driven from his parish. Bitter was the parting, and solemn were the services of the farewell Sabbath. Many were

the tears in his crowded congregation when he commended them to God as those who were to see his face no more. And now he wandered not only without a flock but without a home. But persecution wrought no change in him, and still we behold in him the same dignity of deportment, the same perfect peace of soul. It was at this time he published his work called "the Blessedness of the Righteous," and which, if we regard it as a reflection of his state of feeling at that time, shows how suffering and hardship, far from depressing or souring him, had only mellowed his character and raised him still higher above the world. But a door was opened to him in an unexpected quarter, and as Taylor, in his "Memoir," informs us,

"In the course of a few weeks, when his difficulties pressed heavily upon him, he received a pressing and very earnest invitation from a noble lord, to accompany him to Ireland, as his domestic chaplain; making him, at the same time, such generous offers as he could not but very gratefully accept. He accordingly embarked for Dublin early in the spring of 1672. A number of his friends accompanied him to Holyhead, to take their farewell of one to whom they were most affectionately attached. The wind becoming foul, he was detained in the harbour over the ensuing Sunday. His friends now requested he would embrace this opportunity to favour them with another sermon, which he kindly promised to do, on their procuring a suitable place. There was in a village a large parish church, where prayers only were accustomed to be read. Howe's friends, while walking along the beach, in hope of meeting with a suitable spot where to perform religious worship, met the parish clerk, then on his way to church. They inquired of him whether he could direct them to a house, or convenient place for the purpose, in the neighbourhood. He replied that he knew of none at all likely to be suitable; but, said he, 'I have no doubt my master, the clergyman whom you see just before us, will lend the gentleman his pulpit, as he does not preach himself.'" Application was accordingly made to the clergyman, who very cheerfully consented, and Howe preached both parts of the day. Few were present in the morning, but in the afternoon a large congregation assembled. The discourses on both occasions were powerful and deeply affecting.

"The wind remaining in the same quarter during the next week, detained Howe over the ensuing Sunday. The inhabitants observing that the vessel had not sailed, expected he would again preach; and on the clergyman's arrival he found a more numerous congregation assembled than on the previous Sunday. He perceived that they expected a sermon, which he could not give them, having come totally unprepared. Unwilling to disappoint them, he dispatched a messenger to Howe, on board the vessel. Howe was in bed, and very unwell at the time; and it seemed probable, that if he consented to go, he should expose himself to a serious and dangerous illness. But after giving the subject a little consideration, he determined to accompany the messenger; not doubting that Providence, which had so plainly summoned him to the labour, would aid him to perform it, and protect him from every evil result. Arriving at the church just as the prayers were ended, he immediately entered the pulpit, and delivered, with great freedom and energy, an excellent discourse. The people listened with the deepest atten-

tion, and Howe was often heard to say, that he believed, if ever his preaching was the means of doing good, it was especially so on that occasion. He returned to the vessel much fatigued by the exertion; but happily no ill effects followed. The next day the wind became fair, and he had a pleasant passage to Dublin."

From Ireland he returned after a while to London, where he published several treatises. He had published while in Antrim his work upon "Delighting in God," one of his best practical treatises, and on his return to England he published his "Living Temple," distinguished for its metaphysical acuteness, and conclusive argument, as well as for more practical excellencies. But as persecution grew hotter still, he was glad to take shelter in Holland;—Holland! so often the refuge of our persecuted fathers!—and there he remained in peace till the indulgence granted by James VII. to Dissenters, opened the way back to his native country, and the revolution which immediately followed, established him there in peace, during all his latter days. Of these latter days we have the following interesting account:—

"The attacks of Howe's painful malady became now more frequent, severe, and protracted. The effects were visible to all his friends in the decay of his bodily strength, though he still retained his full vigour of intellect. Religion now shed its happiest influence over his mind. He enjoyed a high degree of spiritual complacency. The trying nature of his malady required especially the exercise of patience; and though his pain was often very acute, he complained not. His last publication was an excellent sermon, full of spiritual and holy feelings, on Heb. x. 36, entitled, 'A Discourse on Patience, as it bath respect to future Blessedness.' The elevated tone of piety which runs through this discourse, proves that Howe felt increasingly the power of religion, and was deeply anxious that others should feel it too. As his end approached, his joy evidently increased. Having no fear of death, he viewed his approaching end with serenity and peace. So delightful was his conversation, that he seemed to breathe the atmosphere of heaven before he quitted the regions of sense.

"The last time he administered the sacrament to his people, the scene was particularly affecting. He had but just recovered from a severe attack of his malady, and had scarcely strength to endure the fatigue of the service. When partaking of the elements, his soul kindled into so heavenly a rapture, that he seemed to be carried beyond himself, and his friends were apprehensive that he would have expired in the service. In this last sickness, his frame was holy and delightful, and his conversation most interesting. Many individuals of rank visited him, with whom he conversed cheerfully and freely on his approaching end. Among others, Richard Cromwell, who was now well advanced in life, came to pay him his parting visit. The interview was most affecting. The conversation of Howe was solemn and impressive. On taking their final leave of each other, both were in tears. With the ministers and other pious friends who visited him, he conversed like one who was already an inhabitant of heaven; and who, instead of being unwilling to die, had evidently a desire to depart and to be with Christ. At length, on the 2d of April 1705, after many weeks of severe pain, his happy spirit took its flight to those regions

of peace and holiness, to which, through the grace of God, it had been so attempted.

"He was interred in the parish church of All-hallows, and a funeral sermon was preached for his death by his fellow-labourer, the Rev. John Spademan, from 2 Tim. iii. 14.: 'But continue thou in the things thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them.'

"Howe had collected some most valuable materials, relating to the extraordinary incidents of his life, and to the times in which he lived. These he had industriously concealed till his last illness; when, for reasons which he did not explain, he called his son to him, and giving him the key of his private desk, requested him to bring the papers, which were carefully stitched up in a number of small volumes. These he made him solemnly promise, notwithstanding all his reluctance, immediately to destroy. Thus were his family, much to their grief, and to the loss of the Christian world, bereft of all written memorials respecting him, with the sole exception of the following interesting memorandum, written with his own hand on the blank page of his Bible.

"Dec. 26, 1687. After I had long and repeatedly thought with myself, that besides a full and undoubted assent to the objects of faith, a vivifying taste of and relish for them was also necessary, that with stronger force and more powerful energy they might penetrate into the inmost centre of my heart, and there being deeply fixed and rooted, might govern my life; and that there could be no other sure ground whereon to conclude and pass a sound judgment on my state Godward; and after I had, in my course of preaching, been insisting largely on 2 Cor. ii. 12, I awoke with a most ravishing and delightful dream, that a wonderful and copious stream of celestial rays, from the lofty throne of the Divine Majesty, did seem to dart into my open and expanded breast. Often have I since reflected, with great complacency, on the signal pledge of special Divine favour vouchsafed to me on that memorable day; and have, with repeated fresh pleasure, tasted the delights thereof. But what of the same kind I felt through the admirable beauty of my God, and the pleasant comfortable influence of the Holy Spirit, in October 22, 1704, far surpassed the most expressive words my thoughts can suggest. I then experienced an inexpressibly pleasing melting of heart: tears gushed out of my eyes for joy, that God should shed abroad his love abundantly through the hearts of men, and that for this very purpose my own should be so signally possessed of and by his blessed Spirit." He died in 1705.

We know no individual of that age who stands before us with a character so fair and perfect as John Howe: who maintained so signally throughout many a checkered scene, a walk and conversation becoming the gospel. Stedfast serenity which nothing could ruffle, was his striking characteristic. In his very portrait this is the first thing that impresses us. There is in every feature calmness engraven; yet every line is full of expression; the animated yet pensive cast of eye; the brow of shaded thought; the lips curving into a melancholy smile; the musing meditating air which gives dignity to the meekness and gentleness of his countenance; all these, stamped upon the outward form, convey to us the exact picture of the inner man.]

44. Mr SAMUEL POMFRET. Mr Thomas Reynolds, who writes his life, says: "The Lord did not suffer this his faithful servant to labour in vain, or

spend his strength for nought. He had a wide door of service opened unto him. His audience at home was always numerous. When he preached abroad, whether in city or country, if it was known, multitudes would flock to hear him; and they are few whose ministry was attended with more remarkable success than his was. I am assured it would be endless to enumerate all the particulars. However I shall conclude this short account of his life, with relating some instances of the great success, which God gave to his unwearied labours. In conversion work he seemed to be honoured above most; and the words of Mr Baxter were verified concerning him, who, discoursing with a friend about his zeal, and courage, and pains, delivered it as his opinion, "That God would own him, and such as he was, more than others who excelled them in reputation as judicious preachers."

"He had a marvellous way of striking the consciences of sinners. Few could attend his ministry without strong convictions and awakenings. Multitudes of young people were greatly affected by him. The reverend Mr Joseph Kentish, my old friend and acquaintance, who preached for some time in London with great acceptance, and was afterwards pastor at Bristol to as great a congregation as any in England, told me many years ago when a young man, that he received the first impressions of his seriousness under his ministry, and that he knew of many others who had done the like. He would set before sinners the terrors of the Lord in such a manner, as if hell-fire were flashing in their faces, and has pressed things so home upon the conscience, that some have not been able to contain themselves, but have cried out in the midst of the congregation, even whilst he hath been preaching, "I am the man, guilty! guilty! What shall I do to be saved! For the Lord's sake pray for me?" They have been convinced before all, have taken public shame to themselves, and in the after course of their lives have given proofs of a sound conversion. Of these I am assured there are now some instances living. Mr Pomfret died in 1722."

45. Mr SAMUEL HARDY. He was minister of Charmister, near Dorchester. The little book, supposed to be his, called, *The Guide to Heaven*, was written and published in haste; yet I don't know whether any one book has been oftener printed, or done more good, than that little homely book.

46. Mr EDWARD PEARSE. He was a most affectionate and useful preacher, but died at about forty years of age. He lay for some time in a consumption; and finding himself going off the stage, when he had done little comparatively of that service which his heart was so warmly inclined to, he made it the matter of hearty prayer to God, that something of his might be useful after his decease; which prayer was remarkably answered in the signal success of his little book, which he styled *The Great Concern, or Preparation for Death*; which book had been printed one-and-twenty times. He hath also another tract extant, styled, *The Best Match, or The Soul's Espousal to Christ*, in twelves. And a third, styled, *Beams of Divine Glory, or God's Unchangeableness*, in twelves.

47. Mr THOMAS BROOKS. He was a very affecting preacher, and useful to many. And though he used many homely phrases, and sometimes too familiar resemblances, which to nice critics appear ridiculous; yet he did more good to souls than many

of the exactest composers. He published many books; that of *Holiness* is the most considerable.

CHAPTER II.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL MINISTERS REMARKABLE FOR THEIR ZEAL AND DILIGENCE IN THE WORK OF THE GOSPEL IN SCOTLAND. WITH SOME HINTS OF THE RELIGIOUS CONCERN IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND ABOUT THE YEARS 1625, 1630, 1633, AND IN IRELAND ABOUT THE YEAR 1625.

[This Chapter as it stands in the original is very confused, both as to dates and individuals. It has been thought right to use greater liberty with this than with any preceding part of Dr Gillies' work. A re-modelling has been attempted, but nothing omitted.]

SECTION I.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS AND HISTORIES RELATIVE TO THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND REFORMATIONS.

FROM FLEMING'S FULFILLING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

[IN this hour of trial then on the church of Scotland, when prelacy was making so formidable an assault, it is truly worthy of remark, and to be transmitted to after times, with what zeal and seriousness the faithful ministers of Christ then were concerned to stand in the breach, as intercessors betwixt an highly provoked God, and his people, under whose hand so great a ruin was like to fall; which in two instances, (besides many else might be given) I shall touch, having such assured evidence of the truth, and certainty thereof.

1. In the year 1596, upon Tuesday the 30th of March, the Ministers and other commissioners of the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, found it duty by themselves to convene in the church at nine o'clock, one of the doors being shut, and the other kept open for the meeting only, for humbling themselves and wrestling with God, to pursue a national, as well as a personal reconciliation, the whole number amounting to four hundred of ministers, and some select Christians and elders of the church with them; Where after prayer, and Mr John Davidson (whose life I have elsewhere touched) chosen to preside amongst them, he caused the third and thirty fourth chapters of *Ezekiel* to be read, and then said, 'Seeing it pleased the Lord to move them to choose him, who was the unworthiest and unmeetest of the number for that place of a preacher that day, they were not to look that he came to be censured by them, but to use the authority of a teacher, as to hearers, without any prejudice to that liberty given them of the Lord, to try the spirits, whether they be of God or not.

He shewed what was the end of their meeting, that it was the confession of sins, and to promise a forsaking thereof, to turn unto the Lord, and enter into a new covenant and league with him, that thus by repentance they might be the meetest to provoke others to the same.'

In which he was followed with that power for moving of their spirits in application, that within an hour after they were entered into the church, they looked with another countenance than that wherewith they entered. And whilst he exhorted them to that retired work of meditation and acknowledgment of their sins, whilst then together, for the space of a quarter of an hour, they were thus humbling themselves, yea, such a joint concurrence with those sighs

and groans, and with shedding of tears among the most, every one provoking another by their example, and the teacher himself by his, so as the very church resounded, and that place might worthily be called Bochim, for the like of that day had not been seen in Scotland since the reformation.

After prayer and public confession, he treated upon that scripture, (Luke xii. 22,) wonderfully assisted by the Spirit of the Lord for the work, both of casting down and raising up, which exercise continued, till near one o'clock afternoon. And, when they were to dissolve, they did there solemnly join, and enter into a new league and covenant with God, holding up their hands thereto, with that seriousness and weight, as was a moving sight to all present. And that afternoon, by the General Assembly, was the renewing of the covenant in particular synods concluded.

At the Synod of Fife met at Dumfermline, May 12, 1596, where Mr James Melville did preside as Moderator, the articles for reformation of the church set down in the last assembly, were read in public, and ordained to be insert; and thereafter did Mr Melville gravely discourse upon the last chapter of Joshua, with that evidence and demonstration of the power of God therewith, as all who were there were enforced to a strange and unusual motion, with groans and tears, yea then to some retired personal meditation for searching each of them their own ways.

And after some time did he make public confessions, in the name of the rest, of unthankfulness, undutifulness, negligence, coldness of spirit, instability, unsuitableness in speech and conversation, as too visibly fashioned after the world; yea, thus with trembling and weeping, for the misusage of so honourable a calling, and the fear and dread of that weight of the wrath of God lying over them, for the blood of so many souls belonging to their charge, did then weep bitterly, and pour out their souls before the Lord, pleading for grace, and an effectual help to be strengthened against these evils. After which, the Lord having been so marvellously present, a minute of this solemn work was by consent of the synod to be insert, both for their own use, and an example to posterity, in the public register.

It may not be unsuitable to add an instance of the conversion of a lady in our own country now several years ago from Popery, who not only from her education, but with some serious and conscientious respect, before she was enlightened by the truth, did own the profession of that way.

The account set down is of her own words transcribed, which with much assurance I can here insert; yea, who after her conversion, until the Lord's calling her to himself, did confirm the truth thereof, by convincing and exemplary piety, to all that knew her. "I have changed no good thing I had before, but what I then in appearance had I labour to have it in truth now. I did ever believe the articles of the creed, and now believe to be saved by the blood of Jesus Christ, and no other way; that true faith must bring forth the fruits of repentance and good works, else that faith is but dead and counterfeit. This change upon me, neither I, nor any creature in the world made, but the Lord himself within me: for I strove against it all I could, till he let me know that it was himself dealing with me, and I now perceive he had a work in me from the beginning, though I then knew it not. I had still a

love to the truth, and earnest desire to know God, and studied according to my knowledge to do what might please him, and durst not follow, but made some conscience to shun what I judged wrong. This now I know was the beginning of the Lord's work with me: my love to his service, and that desire I had to be saved, which made me piece and pierce to search out the grounds of that religion I professed: And when other means failed, gave myself to reading of books, choosing rather to be under that challenge of curiosity (for so it was accounted) than to be careless of my own salvation: Yea, it became my pleasure above all things in the earth, to know what might further me to heaven; so as I could have been satisfied (if the Lord had thought fit), to have renounced all the honour and pleasure of this world, for time and occasion to use those means which might help me to heaven. But when I got understanding of the grounds of that religion I professed, and my teachers accounted sufficient, I could find no true comfort there, nor how any could have it thereby either in life or death, since all my life I might not seek after assurance of being saved, for that was called the Protestants' presumption, and at my death nothing but purgatory, a fire as hot as hell, and as great torments there, as they made me believe I must go to, but did not know how to get out again; yea, how to escape hell itself, since I behoved to come so near to it.

I wondered, and yet wonder, how any that looks for purgatory at their death, can either have true peace, or any comfort in the world. I am sure they must either take it for a fiction, as it is, or else forget themselves when they are cheerful. Yet for all this, I continued in obedience of their injunctions, but would gladly have had a reason for what I did, and a warrant that God would be pleased therewith. But could find nothing but man's word for all; and was told by such as gave themselves for teachers, that either I must be content to believe as the kirk believed, or else I would get no other satisfaction.

I thought upon this from time to time, and at last saw, that this was no sure ground to lean upon, except I would content myself with this; that the clergy knew, albeit I knew not; that they saw albeit I was blind; that they knew the gate to heaven, though I was not sure whether I was going to heaven or purgatory. But this blind obedience might well please them, it could never give me content, except they could shew that my obedience to the Pope and his clergy should be as acceptable to the Lord, as if it were to Christ and his apostles, and would not be quarrelled at the day of judgment.

These questions arising then in my mind, with the slight satisfaction I got, I must confess, put me to many thoughts of heart; yet still I kept from Protestant books, or conference with any such, especially the ministers, as long as I could. But when I saw no outgate, I was forced to lay aside all my beads and books, and to go to God himself for Christ's sake, to teach me how to do his will; but more and more doubts arose about sundry points of my religion, though I would never let the truth have place, so long as I could hold it out; (the Lord forgive me, for I did it ignorantly) yet notwithstanding he was pleased to bear in light, and his truth upon me, as I was forced to acknowledge the same, and leave these errors. I cannot tell all, nor the order of this, how they fell in my mind; but, first, I resolved to believe neither priest nor minister, except

so far as I understood their warrant from the word of God; for I knew there was no sure ground to rest on; and if any thing pleased the Lord, it would be obedience to his own direction, and might well quarrel men's doctrine, but could never quarrel his own word. I resolved then to read the Rhemish New Testament, and the Protestant Old Testament; for I knew well the Lord would never be angry to read his own word, since I knew it pertained to my soul, as well as other folks; and I found it the sweetest and pleasantest book that ever I read in my life. I loved their cause the worse who held me so long from reading it, and a bad token of them that loved not the Scriptures; for, if they loved them, they could not have spoken of them as they did, saying, They are not perfect, they are not clear nor plain, but obscure and ambiguous; yea, dangerous to be read, for breeding errors in such as read the same, which cannot but scare all that believe them from the Lord's word.

Sure, this is an injury to Christ and his apostles, to speak so of their writings, as they could not be content that men should speak so of theirs. Thus I perceived it to be false, their alleging the Pope and Roman kirk could not err, and how proud a word this was for any sinful flesh. Sure the apostle Peter was as good as any such, and yet erred and might have erred further, if God had not preserved him. And in reading the Rhemish New Testament, I found a warrant, that young children might read the Scriptures with profit, and that it serves to instruct and make men perfect in what concerns salvation.

I fell another day upon the first epistle of John, where I found no necessity was of our confession of sins to the priest, but of confession thereof to God, who is faithful to cleanse us from all sin, and that no advocate there is but Christ. And again, if any say they have no sin, they lie, and the truth is not in them; which I thought a sore word against them, who say, They cannot fulfil the law only, but do more than God commands, by works of supererogation.

As for that distinction of mortal and venial sins, it could not satisfy, when Christ shews, that they who say, Thou fool, are guilty of hell fire. Although some sins be greater than others, yet the least brings us under the curse, if God deal in the way of justice with us.

I fell out of conceit with their legends and life of their saints, when I considered some abominable lies I found in them; as that of St Katharine of Sienna, who they allege laid her mouth to Christ's side, and drunk her sacrament; and that he interchanged hearts with her, and came down from heaven, and brought his mother, with St Peter and St Paul with him, and wedded her with a ring. I was made to derelish their form of prayers, and repeating over and over again the same words, until their beads were ended. I perceived all their devotion they taught, stood in words and ceremonies, which God cares not for. However, I disliked many things, and was assured they were wrong, yet I never renounced them till I found myself mistaken in the matter of the Sacrament, and found, in reading the epistle to the Hebrews, there is no necessity to offer daily Hosties for the sins of the people.

For this Christ did once, in offering up himself, who continues for ever, and hath an everlasting priesthood, whereby he is able to save for ever them

that go unto God by him. And again, that Christ was gone into heaven, to appear before God; not that he must offer up himself any more, for then must he have often suffered from the beginning of the world; but now once he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. Thus I perceive, if the Scripture be true, no man can offer Christ but himself; nor can there be a priest after him now, since he ever lives himself to make intercession for us: nor can Christ be offered oftener than once, neither is any need of this, since by one offering he hath taken away the sins of his people; yea, this is as impossible, as that he should suffer oftener than once.

Then, I thought, if Christ be not offered in his bodily substance in the mass, there can be no transubstantiation in it. My teachers herein called me curious, but gave me no good answer. I wondered also at that place (1 Cor. x.) where it is said, That in the wilderness they did eat the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ.

Since they made me believe, that Christ could not be in a spiritual way by faith eaten or drunk, as the Protestants teach, but his very flesh and blood taken in at the mouth substantially; I thought, how can the rock be called Christ, since it literally could not be in the sense of the Romish church, since he was not yet incarnate. If it be a figure, then the Protestants must have the better in the matter of the Sacrament; since, as the rock is called Christ, so is the bread called his body. These doubts about the Sacrament so affected me, as I could not but choose, and send for a minister (let any judge, if it was not then time), with whom I reasoned thereabout. He answered my doubts, and directed me to prayer herein, shewing, I could not get solid rest till the Lord made his word lively on my soul, which I found afterwards made good, the Lord making the Scripture efficacious, lively and clear in the points I doubted of; and gave both such assurance of his love, and of the true religion, that all the earth could not have bred me such joy and solid peace, beyond any thing I can utter.

I have now got the assurance in some measure, which I was seeking. I have found the true ground to rest upon, and God's own truth made lively. I am now free from the fear of purgatory; I scorn that fiction now with joy, and am assured the Lord is righteous, who will not exact twice payment of one debt, Christ's passion, and his people's torment in a fire as hot as hell. The Lord, who hath promised a sufficient cautioner for us, that we might escape torment, cannot come short herein. The Lord help such who live in fear of this wicked fiction. If the Pope and his clergy, for the love they have for money, keep the world in such fearful blindness, they have their judge to answer unto. I praise the Lord, who has delivered me out of these errors; I renounce them, and have found too great mercy in the knowledge of the truth to make me exchange again. O that all knew the difference as well as I have felt."

It is astonishing, and should be matter of wonder and praise for after ages, to consider that solemn time of the Reformation, when the Lord began to visit his church there, what a swift course the spreading of the kingdom of Christ had, and how professors of the truth thronged in, amidst the greatest threatenings of those on whose side authority and power

then was: O how astonishing and extraordinary was this appearance of the Lord there, on all ranks, to offer themselves willingly for the truth, and upon such of his servants, as were sent forth in the work of the ministry, with such oneness of spirit, as on the furthest hazard of their lives and estate, they did enter into covenant for mutual defence for the truth of Christ, and a free profession thereof; as is set down at large in the history of the reformation, first in the year 1557, and after at Perth in the year 1559, by the congregations of the west country, Perth, Dundee, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, to concur, assist and convene together, and not spare labour, goods, substance, bodies and lives (for these are the words thereof) 'to maintain the liberty of the congregation, and every member thereof, against whomsoever that should trouble them for the cause of religion.' Thus, with no less evidence was this promise then accomplished in that age, as ever, Isa. xl. 31. *That they who wait on the Lord, should mount up as with eagles' wings, and should run and not be weary, &c.*, as Mr Knox then shewed; 'For what was our force, (saith he) or number, to bring so great an enterprise to such a close, our very enemies can witness, yet in how great purity did God establish his true religion amongst us, and this we confess to be a strength given us from God, because we esteemed not ourselves wise in our own eyes; but knowing our wisdom to be foolishness before God, laid it aside, and followed that which was only approved of by him. In this point could ever our enemies cause us faint, whilst for this we wrestled, that the reverend face of the first primitive and apostolic church, should be reduced to the eyes and knowledge of men, and in that point hath our God strengthened us, till the work was finished, as the world may see.

Our readers may perhaps relish the following sentence from Fleming, towards the close of the second part of his work. The history of God's dealings with the Church, which he had been recording, seems to have called forth such sentiments as the following. "To know more by practical light, not only these inestimable fruits and blessings of redemption by Christ; but what it is to have our love and delight carried forth towards his glorious person, and for embracing thus of himself, as altogether lovely. O this is the alone object, which beyond holiness, and all the promised advantages of his death and purchase, we should move most towards, to know an union with his person, and taking up our alone rest there in himself, where the Christian's choice and consent, with the furthest complacency and delight, in so inestimably great an offer, should terminate in him, as their exceeding joy. O blessed, and unexpressibly sweet truth! Were this more known by practical light in the power and efficacy thereof, that the Christian's claim and interest to the unsearchable riches of Christ, and all the blessings of the gospel do thus follow a marriage-union and propriety in his person, and our being betrothed indissolubly, in that nearest tie, and by an irrevocable consent unto Jesus Christ, as he stands to us in all his offices, and upon his own terms, what might be then hoped of another lustre and appearance upon professors of the truth in this age; and that some should not find it so easy to offer a thrust in such a manner to darken the doctrine of grace, and give the world such a scheme and mould of the gospel, as they do at this day? And it is sure, a more serious looking in upon this great mystery, should enforce

some conviction with it, that it is another thing to be a Christian, than many professors now take it to be. I have known some, who had gone a remarkable length beyond others in following duties; and in light about these; yea, to the conviction of all that knew them, were in this judged only serious in their way; who after, by the gracious work of the Lord, were made to see the truth of conversion to be another thing, which they had been wholly strangers to, even when such a length in Christian duties, until once this marvellous light by the gospel shined in upon them, and therewith knew what it was to have their heart pulled in to Jesus Christ, by such a blessed drawing touch of his power, as did determine their closing with him in his way, and upon his own terms.

SECTION II.

[Two or three Sections of Dr Gillies have been thrown into one, and the biographies arranged somewhat more in chronological order.]

FROM LIVINGSTON'S MEMOIRS.

SOME OF THE MINISTERS IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND EMINENT FOR GRACE AND GIFTS, FOR FAITHFULNESS AND SUCCESS; AND FIRST, OF THOSE OF WHOM I HAVE ONLY HEARD, *VIZ.* 1. JOHN ROW.—2. JOHN CRAIG.—3. W. AIRD.—4. JOHN M'BIRNIE.—5. ANDREW MELVILLE.—6. PATRICK SIMSON.—7. ALEXANDER SIMSON.—8. JOHN GILLESPIE.—9. JOHN DAVIDSON.—10. JAMES MELVILLE.

1. Mr JOHN ROW. He was minister of St Johnston, Perth: it is said of him that he was an Italian sent by the Pope to hinder the reformation in Scotland, but, being converted to the truth, became a propagator and preacher of it. Of him are come all the name of Row in Scotland.

[He became familiar with Mr Knox, Christopher Goodman, &c. the reformers; and he being learned and knowing the errors of Popery better than others, was very instrumental in advancing the Reformation. And so after the Reformation was established by law, in the year 1560, he was admitted minister of Kennoway, where he married the Laird of Balfour's daughter, (Margaret Bethune,) (the lands of Kennoway being a barony of land pertaining to the Laird of Balfour.) Shortly thereafter he was by the General Assembly transported to Perth, the second burgh of the kingdom, where he lived and died, beloved and regretted by all good men. In those days the grammar school of Perth was famous, many noblemen and gentlemen sent their eldest sons to be educated there, and many of them were tabled with Mr John Row, to be helped by him in their education. As they spake nothing in the school and fields but Latin, so nothing was spoken in his house but French. The portion of scripture read before and after meals, if it was in the Old Testament, was read in Hebrew, (for he was the first man that brought the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue to Scotland, and taught some of his children to read it, when they were four or five years of age,) Greek, Latin, French, and English; if it was in the New Testament, it was read in these, (Greek, Latin, French, and English.) He was, by the General Assembly, made Superintendent of Gallo-way. He died but a young man, (in the 54th year of his age,) *anno* 1580, October 16.

There was one passage remarkable in the time of

his sickness, a little before his death; the master of the grammar school, commonly called Dominie Rinde, came to visit him, and said to him "Sir, you have many young children, and, alas! you have little or no money to leave them: what will become of them? I fear they beg through the country. Sir, you have not been careful to gather money to them, as well you might, both at Rome, and since you came to Scotland," &c. Mr John Row turning himself to the wall, lay silent a considerable time, pouring out his soul to God, &c. Thereafter turning himself says, "*Dominie*, I have been thinking upon what you have been saying to me; I will not justify myself, nor say that I have been careful enough to gather money to my children. I think I might and ought to have done more than that way than I have done; but, *Dominie*, I have given over my children unto God and the well ordered Covenant, and his all-sufficient Providence, for we must trust much to the old charter, *Providebit Dominus*, (Gen. xxii. 8, 14.) But, *Dominie*, let me, time about, speak to you: you have but one son, and you have great riches to give him, and you make a god of your riches; and you think, who but your only son, My son, he will have enough! &c. But, *Dominie*, it fears me you have little credit and far less comfort by him, yea it may be that when my children (whom I have given over unto God's gracious and all sufficient Providence) may have competency in the world, your son may have much need and be beholden to some of mine, for it is God's blessing that maketh rich, (Deut. viii. 18.)

The event did speak the fulfilling of this prophesy of the dying servant of Jesus Christ; for Mr John Row had six sons and two daughters; five of his six sons were ministers, Mr James at Kilspindie, Mr William at Forgandenny, Mr John at Carnock, Mr Archibald at Stobo, and Mr Colin at St Quivox, Ayrshire. Mr John Row, minister at Carnock, had four sons ministers, and three daughters; of whom came a numerous offspring. Of Mr John Row's two daughters, the eldest (Katherine Row) was married to William Rig, a rich merchant in Edinburgh; of whom came a numerous offspring and posterity of many rich people. The other was married to Mr James Rind, minister of Longforgan, in the Carse of Gowrie: (Mr James Rind had three sons, the eldest Mr Andrew Rind, minister at Tillycultray and three daughters.) Dominie Rinde's only rich heir, was minister of Dron, and was a very profane and dissolute man, given to drunkenness, and many evil vices, so that he became very poor; and, in his own time, for poverty was forced to sell his books to Mr John Row, then schoolmaster at Perth, son to Mr John Row, minister at Carnock, the grandchild to him that uttered the prophesy. And after his death, his wife for poverty turned a vagrant poor woman, selling some small wares; and often was refreshed with meat and drink in the house of William Row, minister at Ceres in Fife, one of the sons of Mr John Row, minister at Carnock.]

2. Mr JOHN CRAIG. He was minister at Edinburgh. He it was that penned the short Confession of Faith, or the national covenant of the Church of Scotland. I have heard my Lord Wariston report an history of some rare dangers and deliverances that he met with coming out of Italy.

[He had the charge of the education of a noble and honourable man's children, he being of the Re-

formed Religion. Near to that honourable person's house there was a little wood or park, into which Mr John Craig used often to retire by himself to meditate, pray, &c., and in this place (it being a secret pleasant place) he often used to teach his scholars. It fell out on a day, when he was in that place with his scholars, that a poor wounded soldier, who had received a shot in his belly, came to that place, carrying up with his two hands his entrails, and seeing Mr Craig with young students with their books, came to Mr Craig, and related to him his present sad and doleful condition, how he was wounded, &c. Mr Craig, commiserating this poor wounded soldier's case, gave him money, and spake christianly and kindly to him. After Mr Craig had continued some space educating his scholars, especially in the knowledge of God and the grounds of the Reformed Religion, he was by the Inquisition found out and apprehended as a Huguenot, (so were those of the Reformed Religion then called,) and put in a base prison, or rather pit, in Rome, into which pit the river Tiber did every tide flow, so that the prisoners stood in water some times almost to their middle. After that the Pope had apprehended and imprisoned for some space of years a number of Protestants in that base pit, at last they were arraigned and condemned to be burned quick for the Reformed Religion on a certain day appointed for their execution. But it pleased the Lord, in his good and gracious providence, so to order matters, that upon the very night before he should have been brought forth upon the morrow to be burned quick, the Pope is smitten by the hand of God, so that he dieth; the Lord having decreed to keep honest Mr Craig alive for his service and work. Now in Rome when a Pope dies, in the interim till another Pope be created, there is a jubilee, all prisoners, whatever their crime has been, are released, prison doors are cast open, &c. The first day (which was the day appointed by the Pope for Mr Craig's execution) after the Pope's death, all the prison doors were opened and the prisoners set at liberty, except the prison of the Huguenots: it was forgotten, being in an obscure and base place of the city, but upon the second day the Lord opened their prison door also, and all of them, and Mr Craig among the rest, were set at liberty. Mr Craig having thus, in God's providence, got liberty and life restored to him, knew not well what to do, he being almost naked, (having lain long in that base pit,) and having no money, and not knowing well how to beg. Yet he thought it safest for him to leave the city and to go to one of the suburbs, to make the best shift he might for meat, and something to cover his naked body, and so the Lord directed him to a change house where meat and drink were sold. While he was in that house, cold and hungry, warming himself at the fire, where meat was making ready; as yet not having asked either meat, drink, or clothes, there came in an officer, a commander in the Pope's armies, with his retinue at his back, who called to the hostler to make ready his dinner, to prepare for him and his company that he had with him, calling for wines, &c. Mr Craig seeing and hearing all this, was afraid lest this commander should have been sent to apprehend the Huguenots. This commander, after he had walked up and down a little, began to

eye Mr Craig, and to look narrowly to him, which did the more frighten and terrify Mr Craig, suspecting that he was sent to search out the Huguenots. But after that he had for some space of time narrowly eyed and looked to Mr Craig, he said to him, "I believe I have seen you before, and in a better condition than I see you now." Mr Craig answered, "That may be, Sir." The commander replies, "Do not you, Sir, remember that so many years ago you (as I believe, and if I be not mistaken) was in such park with young scholars and your books with you, and that a poor wounded soldier having received a shot in his belly came past, to whom you gave money largely?" "Yes, (says Mr Craig,) I remember very well of that." "Now, (says the commander,) this is a happy rencontre, and we are well met, though I am sorry to see you in this sad condition that I see you into, for I was that poor wounded soldier, and that money which you gave me did I give to the surgeon who cured my wound, so that, Sir, you saved my life; and now the fortune of the wars having favoured me, I being now a commander, I am well able to repay you your money with the interest thereof, and to help you in your sad and desolate condition that I see you into. Tell me how is this I see you so now, whom I saw then in so good a condition when I was in my sad and deadly like danger," &c. Mr Craig, in his heart, blessing God for this second gracious providence, related to him so much of his personal sad condition as in prudence the Lord directed him. This commander, after he had refreshed him with meat and drink, gave him money largely, with which he did put a suit of clothes upon him presently; and then resolving to travel towards France, and so homewards to Scotland, he came on his journey paying for meat and drink as he travelled, and accommodating himself the best way he might, &c. But at last his money began to grow scarce upon him. Two or three days before his money was all spent, coming through a landward town, there did follow him out of the town a pretty dog, fawning upon him as if he had been his master. Mr Craig did boast the dog from him, fearing that he should have been challenged for stealing so pretty a dog, but the dog would not be boasted from him, but followed him a space out of the town. Mr Craig did cast stones, or what came by his hand, at the dog to beat him back again, but by no means would the dog part with him, still growing the more kind the more he was boasted and beaten. At last Mr Craig began to make of the dog, and was content, seeing he would not go back, to take him to bear him company in his travels; and so the dog followed him for some days, and waited carefully on him as his master. At last his money was all spent, and he had not so much as to buy his dog a loaf, as it is in the proverb. Honest Mr Craig was put to new difficulties, and he knew not well what to do. He was ashamed to beg, and he had not will to stay there, being so very desirous to come home. While he is tossing sad thoughts within himself, and being doubtful what to do, he came to the side of a green hill, and it being a very hot day, and he wearied with his journey, did sit down to rest him there. He then lay down upon his face, and began to pour out his heart to God, blessing and praising him who had preserved his life when he was condemned to be burned quick, and who hitherto had graciously and wonderfully provided for him, supplying him

¹ There were four Popes between 1550 and 1560, one of whom, Pope Marcellus II., died the 30th of April 1555, and his successor, Paul IV., on the 18th of August 1559.

with money, meat, drink, clothing, &c. While the honest servant of Jesus Christ is thus praying and begging of God that he would still provide for him and direct his way homewards, his dog, his kind fellow-traveller, came to him, and with his foot scrapes upon his shoulder. After he had scraped once, again, and the third time, Mr Craig looked up and saw in the dog's mouth a full purse. The dog shakes the purse upon Mr Craig, offering it to him; he was astonished, and afraid to touch the purse, but the dog looking kindly in his face, and still shaking and offering the purse to him, Mr Craig took the purse out of the dog's mouth, and opening it, finds it a purse full of gold, all of one kind. Mr Craig wondering and astonished, but blessing and praising God, takes it as sent of God to him for to be his *viaticum*, and blesses God for this third wonderful and gracious providence, and being then well provided, he travels on, and after some stay in France, he comes home to Scotland, and brought with him to Edinburgh the dog, the purse, and some of the gold.]

3. MR WILLIAM AIRD. He was minister at the West Kirk of Edinburgh, who before was a mason, but being pressed in spirit to betake himself to the ministry, went to schools and profited well, especially in the Hebrew tongue. I have heard that one time some two or three days before a General Assembly to be kept at Edinburgh at Holyrood House, wherein king James was to make some innovations, a courtier came to Mr Aird, and told him that the king hearing he was in some outward straits, had sent him a purse with some gold; and the truth was, that the same day there was neither bread, nor meal, nor money, in the house; yet he refused the king's gift, saying, That if the king were not bringing in usurpations upon the church, he would not refuse to take what he sent; but as the case stood, he had not freedom to take anything: and the next morning, when he and his family were at prayer, some who had been sent from a well-affected person of the parish, who knew his straits, had laid down two or three sacks of meal in the entry before the door, and hearing him at prayer, went away, leaving the meal for the use of the family.

4. MR JOHN M'BIRNIE. He was minister at Aberdeen. I heard the lady Culross say, He was a godly, zealous, and painful preacher; and that he used always when he rode to have two Bibles hanging at a leathern girdle about his middle, the one original, the other English; as also a little sand glass in a brazen case: and being alone, he read, or meditated, or prayed; and if any company were with him, he would read and speak from the word to them. And when he died, he called his wife and told her, He had no outward means to leave to her or his only daughter, but he had got good assurance, that the Lord would provide means for them; and accordingly the day he was buried, the magistrates of the town came to the house after the burial, and brought two subscribed papers, one of a competent maintenance to his wife, another of a provision for his daughter.

5. MR ANDREW MELVILLE. He was minister and professor of divinity at St Andrews; a man zealous and bold in the cause of God. When some blamed him as fiery, he said, If you see my fire go downward, set your foot on it, and put it out; but if it go upward, let it go to its own place; meaning, his zeal was not for himself or outward things. He

was long imprisoned in the Tower of London; at last was released, and by the interest of a great man was placed in the university at Sedan, where he taught some years, and died.

[We add an extract or two from Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland:—Morton complained that the Church and the kingdom were kept in a perpetual state of confusion and strife by certain persons, who sought to introduce their own private conceits and foreign laws on points of ecclesiastical government. Melville replied, that he and his brethren took the Scriptures, and not their own fancies, or the mode of any foreign Church, for the rule and standard of the discipline which they defended. Morton said, as Queen Mary had formerly done, that the General Assembly was a convocation of the king's subjects, and that it was treasonable for them to meet without his permission. To this Melville answered, that if it were so, then Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they called together great multitudes, and taught and governed them, without asking the permission of magistrates. The regent, unable to refute the reasoning of Melville, and almost losing command of his temper, biting the head of his staff, growled, in that deep under-tone which marked his occasional fits of cold, black, ruthless anger,—“There will never be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished.” “Tush, Sir,” replied Melville, “threaten your courtiers in that manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. My country is wherever goodness is. *Patria est ubicunque est bene*. I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well expended, at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country two years, as well as in it. Let God be glorified; it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth.”

A deputation, at the head of which was Andrew Melville, was appointed to go to Perth, where the king was then residing, and to present this remonstrance. When information of these proceedings reached the court, the favourites expressed the highest indignation; and an apprehension generally prevailed, that if the ministers ventured to approach the court, their lives would be sacrificed on the spot. Their more timid and wary friends entreated them not to appear; but Melville answered, “I am not afraid, thank God, nor feeble-spirited in the cause and message of Christ; come what God pleases to send, our commission shall be executed.” Having next day obtained access to the king in council, he presented the remonstrance. When it had been read, Arran, looking round the assembly with a threatening countenance, exclaimed, “Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?” “WE DARE,” replied Melville; and advancing to the table, he took the pen from the clerk and subscribed. The other commissioners immediately followed his example. Even the unprincipled and daring Arran was overawed by the native supremacy of religious principle and true moral courage, and sunk from his look of domineering sternness into the sullen scowl of impotent and baffled malice. Lennox addressed the commissioners in a conciliatory tone; and they were peaceably dismissed. Certain Englishmen who happened to be present expressed their astonishment at the bold carriage of the ministers, and could scarcely be persuaded that they had not an armed force at hand to support them.]

6. Mr PATRICK SIMSON. He was minister at Stirling, and was a learned and godly man. I heard him preach while I was at school in Stirling, but could not then have any acquaintance of him. From him I first received the communion. He wrote the history of the church in centuries in English; a man well versed in the fathers and church history, yea, in in all learning.

[Row, in his History, relates the following singular anecdote regarding him:—On Tuesday, March 24, his brother enquired at him, what meant that which he had last written in one of his books, viz. "Remember! Remember! Remember! and never forget the tenth day of August, 1601, and what consolation the Lord gave thee in thine own yard at even; and the Lord actually performed on the eleventh of August in the morning, (Zach. iii. 2,) 'Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?' The angels in the heaven praised God for that mercy which was shown on thee, O wretched sinner, in the earth. Psal. ciii. 20, 21, What have the ministering spirits of the Lord to do with things done in such a mean and contemptible place? O riches of the goodness of the Lord!" Many women being present, his brother persuading himself it was some odd, rare, and special mercy, asked him in Latin what it meant; he answered in Latin, "*Absit mihi gloriari in aliquo, nisi in Domino Deo meo*;" that is, God forbid, that I should glory (or boast) in any thing except in the Lord my God: So humble, modest, silent, and faithful was he to his God, that he might have gloried in that excellent vision of angels, yet he referred the whole praise to God alone.

The true relation to that matter is this:—His first wife, Martha Barron, a gracious woman, the wife of his youth, with whom he had lived in great love and contentment, being visited with sickness long before her death, who had often confessed that the devil had often suggested to her, and cast in her teeth that he should be about with her, and that she should be given over in his hand; her husband replied, that any who had such marks of saving grace as he had seen in her those eighteen years, would certainly be objects of Satan's malice and hatred; but the gates of hell cannot prevail as against the Kirk, so neither against any member thereof. Upon a Sabbath, August 8, she altered and began to speak to her daughter, Lillias Simson, (who being about ten or eleven years of age, had the whole charge of that great family the whole two years her mother was confined to bed,) in an uncouth strain, and in a distracted way; it was in the morning, and her father having to preach twice that day, she was loath to waken him; but he lying in the room above, that which he heard beneath did awake him. And when he came down, hearing her distracted speeches, speaking unreverently to him, (far contrary to her custom,) and seeing her distracted behaviour, sometimes speaking, but to no purpose, sometimes silent, sometimes singing, he stood a good while silent with a sad heavy countenance; hearing some terrible speeches tending to despair of God's mercy, and contempt of the holy ministry, he kneeled down and prayed, but she took no notice of the prayer; yet notwithstanding, he prophesied that those who were witnesses of that sad hour should see a gracious work of God upon this his own servant. He was marvellously assisted that day both in public and private; and said often, confidently, to those who were in the house, for all the devil's malice and

cruelty against this infirm person, he shall be shamefully foiled. Her distraction continued all Monday the 9th day of August. On Tuesday, by the first break of day, he went over the street to his yard barefooted and bareheaded, (as David did when he went up Mount Olivet, fleeing out of Jerusalem from his son Absalom,) he locked the yard door behind him, having charged them that were in the house with Helen Gardener, the bailie's wife, to attend her, sitting quiet beside her. Helen Gardener, a woman that loved him dearly, afraid that he had died, through waking, fasting, and grief, about three o'clock in the morning went to try if she could get into the yard, but she finding the door locked came into the house again. After four o'clock, being impatient of his stay, she went back again, and with the help of a barrow, climbed up and got over the wall into the yard; and coming up the alley she began to be afraid, hearing (doubtless at the departing of those heavenly ministering spirits) a wonderful, strange, loud, confused sound and noise, (Ezek. i. 24, and iii. 12, 13, and x. 5, 6,) the noise of a great rushing, (Acts ii. 2; Rev. i. 15,) and fell down on her knees, praying the Lord to pity her rashness, and with great affection she conveyed to his servant, the instrument of her good. Then she came softly to the head alley, where she found him lying on the ground barefooted, barelegged, and bareheaded. She being astonished, entreated him earnestly to tell her what the matter was, and what it was that had befallen him. He answered, "Helen, women are weak, they are not good keepers of secrets; I will, providing you never divulge it. What was I? what was I? being dust and ashes, that the holy ministering spirits should have been sent to deliver me my message." By this she understood clearly that he had seen a vision of angels, who had revealed the Lord's mind to him concerning the condition of his wife. Then, said she, "Sir, let my promise stand no longer than your life; so that, if I die before you, it shall go to the grave with me, and be buried in oblivion, but if I survive after your death, I shall then divulge it, to the glory of your Lord and mine." After this, in the head alley, he gave thanks and praise to God with her, at which action she got yet greater clearness of that rare vision than before; for he spoke it out plainly in his thanksgiving to God. Coming over to his house with Helen Gardener aforesaid, he prophesied to them all, saying, "Be of good comfort, to-morrow before ten hours this brand shall be plucked out of the fire;" which came to pass accordingly. After he had uttered that speech, he went to pray at his wife's bed-side, she having lain still and quiet a long time; and in prayer mentioning Jacob's wrestling, she sat straight up in the bed, cast the cannobie aside with her hands, and said, "And thou art Jacob to-day, who hast wrestled and prevailed, and God has made good his word spoken this day unto thee; for now I am pulled out of the hands of Satan, and he shall have no more power nor dominion with me." He being interrupted a space was silent, with much melting of heart, and thereafter proceeded in prayer, and magnified the riches of that free love that was bestowed on them, the fruit whereof they had reaped this day in a large measure. After prayer there was betwixt them sweet and Christian embraces. And from that hour she spake most Christianly and comfortably until the hour of her death on Friday, August 13, 1601, at three o'clock in the

morning; and in the moment of her departure, with a loud voice, (which was marvellous,) she cried, "Come, Lord Jesus!" and instantly departed, saying these words, "Into thine hands I commend my spirit!" But her husband was not witness to this last passage, for he confessed he had often begged it of God that he would not suffer him to see her latter end, (great was the love between them;) wherefore, a little before her death, he rose, and came down with his shoes in his hand, lest he should make a noise, and after he had called quietly for a drink from Lillias, his daughter, went forth charging her not to speak anything of his outgoing. After her death, John Shearer, bailie, found him walking in a place where he used often to walk, and he said, "You are come, bailie, to tell me the last of my dear bed-fellow." He replied, "Sir, I am." "Well, (said he,) I often sought this at the Lord, which now he has granted to me; and truly he sent one who, putting on me, awakened me, whereupon I did remove out of the house, taking my advertisement from heaven as the answer of my desire." Now, let the Christian reader judge if a papist or prelate had seen so glorious a vision as this dear saint of God did, and if they had so prophesied, and the matter had come so to pass, if the world had not been annoyed with the noise thereof; but true piety is accompanied with humility and self-denial, meekness and modesty, which virtues were most eminent in this singular servant of God, as a lustre to his great learning, wisdom, and other excellent gifts and graces.

He was of a peaceable disposition, very like his brother-in-law, Mr Robert Rollock, (for their wives were sisters,) and paid a great respect to the King's Majesty; for which, and some exhortations to peace at some public meetings, particularly that at Linlithgow, 1606, he was mistaken, and misreported as a favourer of Bishops and their courses; yea, Spottiswoode, at the meeting at St Andrews, 1617, boasted publicly that Mr Patrick Simson had kept Yule; by which notorious lie, he, the lying prelate, gained more votes to further his wicked purpose than all his other arguments, which were either none or naught. Mr Patrick Simson did indeed preach upon the 25th of December, being an ordinary preaching day in the week, and in his sermon did two things; first, proved that the 25th of December was not Christ's birth-day: told there were three other opinions more probable; but the truth was, the Lord in his deep wisdom would have Moses' burial and the day of Christ's birth concealed, foreseeing that they would have been abused to superstition and will worship; secondly, proved all such observation of days to be unlawful and superstitious now under the gospel. He indeed confessed, in the end of his life, that the wickedness and corruptions of prelates were come, and coming to a greater height than at first he looked for, they being retrenched with such caveats, hemmed in with such cautions and conditions; but they did break all bands, and did cast from them all cords, for oaths and subscriptions are the strongest; yet these to prelates are but as half-burnt thread, cannot bind at all. After the last sermon that he ever made, a brother of the ministry asked him, "Sir, now you grant you are weak, and I fear you abide not long among us, what say you now of the state of our Kirk?" He answered, holding up both his hands above his head, "Alas! I see all the dunghill of

the muck of the corruption of the Church of England coming on upon us, and it will wreck us, if God send not help in time."

7. Mr ALEXANDER SIMSON. He was minister at Dryburgh; one who knew or cared little for the world; but was taken up with the Bible and with prayer, wherein he was unweariable. For his free preaching in Edinburgh, during the time of the Parliament 1621, that ratified the five ceremonies of Perth, he was imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton, where the Lord blessed his prayer and preaching with conversion from Popery of the lady of Sir John Stuart, then captain of the castle. She was one of the house of Abercorn, and was afterwards married to Sir John Seaton, in whose time I was acquainted with her at London in the year 1634. He was thereafter let out of prison, and continued until his death preaching in Dryburgh and Merton. I have heard that one time as he was walking alone, he fell and broke his leg, and was found sitting with his broken leg in his arms, always crying out, "Blessed be the Lord, O blessed be his Name;" and when they enquired why he said so, he answered. We ought to bless the Lord for all that befalls us, and it was a blessing that he broke not his neck.

8. Mr JOHN GILLESPIE minister at Kircaldy. He was a thundering preacher. When I was at school in Stirling, I heard him preach, helping his father-in-law Mr Patrick Simson, when there was a fast that lasted a whole week, and two sermons preached every day.

9. Mr JOHN DAVIDSON. He was minister at Prestonpans.

[We add Row's notice of him:—Next to Mr Robert Rollock, I remember Mr John Davidson, a learned man, and a worthy preacher, yea, a very prophet of God, for he foretold many things which came to pass accordingly, and that often when he was praying or blessing the Lord for refreshment of meat and drink: as a bailie of Edinburgh having invited Mr Robert Bruce and him to dinner, he foretold that that same bailie would incarcerate Mr Robert Bruce, although he was now feasting him. And so it came to pass, the King having sent a charge to confine Mr Robert Bruce in the castle, the magistrates of Edinburgh (to whom the charge was directed) being all by providence out of the town except this bailie, he was necessitated either to incarcerate Mr Robert Bruce, or to be the King's rebel, so he choosed rather to obey the charge. While Mr John Ker was going with a scarlet cloak, he stared him in the face, and charged him in Christ's name, to put off his scarlet, and take to his book; for, said he, "You must be a minister, yea, you shall be a minister here in Prestonpans," which was accordingly performed. There were many who thought little of the man because of his plain and very homely way of delivery of his doctrine; but certainly he was a very worthy man. He remained a long time in England, and seeing the corruption of Bishops there, left England, and coming to Scotland was made minister of Edinburgh, at least he taught ordinarily there every Sabbath; and he, in his own time, seeing the appearance of the rising of Bishops, and enveighing against that corruption at all times as occasion offered, was removed from Edinburgh, and placed at Prestonpans; where he founded and erected a church and school, and to that end sold his own patrimony, (having no children,) and dedicated all the means that he had, with

the charitable contributions that he obtained from others, to so good and profitable a work, for the maintenance of that ministry and school in all time coming.]

[10. Mr JAMES MELVILLE. He was nephew of Andrew Melville, and was born in 1556. He thus speaks of his own early days in his diary :—

"My mother died about three quarters, or at least within a year after I was born, a woman exceedingly beloved by her husband's friends and neighbours. I have divers times heard that my father's brothers, Roger, John, Mr James and Robert, could not satisfy themselves in commending her godliness, honesty, virtue, and affection towards them. And I have often heard Mr Andrew say, that he, being a child very sickly, was most lovingly and tenderly treated and cared for by her, embracing and kissing him oft-times with these words, "God give me another boy like you, and then take me to his rest." She had had two sons before me, but the eldest was dead; and, betwixt him and the second, she had three daughters. At last God granted her desire and gave her one, who, would to God he was as like Mr Andrew in gifts of mind as he is thought to be in proportion of body and lineaments of face, for there is none, that is not otherwise informed, but takes me for Mr Andrew's brother."

Again, "We learned to read the Catechism, Prayers, and Scripture, and to rehearse the Catechism and Prayers, *par cœur*; also, passages of Scripture, after the reading thereof, and there I first found, blessed be God for it, that Spirit of sanctification beginning to work some motions in my heart. Even about the eighth and ninth years of my age, I used to pray going to bed and rising, and, when in the fields alone, to say over the prayers I had learned, with a sweet moving in my heart; I likewise abhorred swearing, and rebuked those that I heard swear. Whereunto the example of that godly matron, when sickly and given to read and pray in her bed, did much profit me, for I lay in her chamber and heard her exercises."

And again, "I remember two benefits, one the reading of the story of the Scripture that winter, which was greatly impressed on my mind; and of David Lindsay's book, which my eldest sister, Isabella, would read and sing, viz., concerning the latter judgment, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven, whereby she would cause me both cry and be glad. I loved her, therefore, exceeding dearly, and so did she me more than the rest. She showed me, one day, among others, a ballad set out in print against ministers, that, for want of stipend, left their charge, beginning—

• Who puts his hand unto the plough,
And therefrom backward goes,
The Scripture makes it plain enough,
My kingdom's not for those,' &c.

With this, she burst forth into tears, and said, 'Alas! what will become of them at the last day? God keep my father, and Mr James Melville, and Mr James Balfour, from this!' And, immediately after, repeats the verses of David Lindsay—

• Alas! I tremble for to tell
The terrible torments of hell,
That painful pit, who can deplore!
Which shall endure for evermore."

With her speeches and tears, she made me to weep bitterly, which left a deeper stamp of God's fear

upon my heart more than anything I had ever heard before."

"I received the communion of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ first at Montrose,—with a greater reverence and sense in my soul, than often thereafter I could find,—in the thirteenth year of my age, where, coming from the table, a pious man, an elder of the church, gave me an admonition concerning lightness, wantonness, and not attending to the preaching and word read, and prayers, which remains impressed on my mind ever since. So God made every person, place, and action, to be my teachers; but, alas! I never used them so fruitfully as the good occasions served, but was carried away in vanity of mind with young and foolish conceits, which is the greatest challenge of my conscience."

He mentions his first opening of the mouth :—
"In the summer of the first of these six years, about the 18th year of my age complete, God opened my mouth first in public upon the exercises, with such commendation out of the mouth of Mr Andrew Hay, Rector and Superintendent, namely, even there in public in his addition, as I was wonderfully encouraged to go forward. In the middle of that week, I dreamed that I had made the exercise in Montrose, and being dismissed from the brethren with comfortable commendation, I came over to Baldow to my father, and entering in the place there was none that knew me: I past up to the hall, and entered in the chamber at the end thereof, where I met with my father, and told him how I had been occupied, who took me in his arms, and, kissing me, said in my ear, 'James, serve God, for thou art beholden to him!' and with that he goes, and sitting down on a bedside, fell over backwards, so that his feet stretched out stiff and dead. With that I awoke, with great fear and commotion, which abode with me the space of an hour. But the burden of the exercise lying upon me, made me to forget it, till going to the lodgings of the Rector, Mr Andrew Hay, to deliver certain books I had borrowed, and at the first sight he takes me in his arms, and thrusting and kissing me, he says, 'My hart, serve God, for thou art beholden to him!' There is my dream! thought I, and told it to my companion going to the College again. But, within two days, my uncle, Mr Andrew, returning from Edinburgh, where he had been taking order with his books just come home; by his countenance first, and after a sweet and comfortable dealing with me, thereafter told me that his brother, my father, was departed this life, and, after inquiry, found it was the very same night I had dreamed. So it pleased God to give me warning, and furnish me comfort against the heaviest news that ever I had heard before in all my life; for, as I have shown before, he was a rare man, and a most loving father to me; at the closing of whose mouth, God thus opened mine."

The following account of the death of his child is most beautiful :—"For conclusion of this marvellous year, I can nothing forget my particular, seeing that it is my special purpose to recount the gracious working of my God with me. He corrected me sweetly in taking from me at the beginning thereof my little son Andrew; but recompensed the same again most bountifully, in giving me another Andrew, born that same year, in the month of August: So the Lord takes, the Lord gives, blessed be the name of the Lord for ever! The child was extremely beautiful, and seemed to be of a fine sanguine constitution till

a quarter after he was weaned ; but since, whether by worms or a hectic consumption, I know nothing, but his flesh and colour failed, and, by the space of a quarter of a year, consumed and died away, keeping always the sweetest and pleasantest eye that could be in any one's head. I was accustomed to set him at the end of the table in time of dinner and supper, as the Egyptians did the picture of death, to acquaint me therewith ; and yet, when he died, I marvelled at my own heart that was so troubled and moved with it, so that yet, when I wrote this, I was not free of the bindings of the bowels of that natural affection. And if we that are earthly worms can be so affected to our children, what a love bears that heavenly Father to his ? He was my first present and offering to heaven. I cannot forget a strange thing at his death. I had a pair of fine milk-white pigeons, which I fed in the house : The one whereof that day of his death could not be holden off his cradle, but stopped from sitting above it, crept in and sat under it, and died with him : The other, at my home-coming the next day, as I was washing my hands, came, lighted at my foot, and piteously crying 'Pipe, pipe, pipe !' ran a little away from me. Then I called for peas and beans to give it ; but they showed me it would not eat. I took it up, and put a little in its mouth, but it shook them out of the throat ; and, parting from me with a pitiful piping, within two or three hours died also."

James Melville died on the 19th of January, 1614, at Berwick, where he had been in exile for seven years. The following is a most interesting narrative of his death-bed by a cotemporary ;—"Being exhausted with the pain, he fell over in a quiet sleep, which lasted till twelve o'clock ; sundries of the chamber went to their bed upon good hopes of his recovery. About one of the night, he awoke extremely sick, and says to his son, "I fear my own weakness ; I cannot last long. Take heed to me, or else I will slip away !" On his awaking, he says, "Go waken the Landlord, Doctor, and Mr Durie." The Doctor coming in in haste to him, he tells him the pain had removed from his side and back, and had come to his heart ; using these words, '*Palpitatio cor.*' The Doctor replies, it was a token his battle was near an end. Fearing this, he cries, with Simeon, 'Now, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace ; mine eyes have seen thy salvation : A light revealed to the Gentiles, and the glory of Israel ;' Luke ii. 29—32.

"He says to the minister, 'Good Mr Durie, give me the last good-night. Commend my soul and body unto the hands of God, my Redeemer.' This being done, he comforteth himself with sundry speeches out of the Psalms, which he rehearsed in Hebrew ; as namely, one speech out of the 4th Psalm, 'Lord, lift up the light of thy countenance upon me ;' the 27th Psalm, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation, what can I fear ?' the 23d Psalm, 'Although I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, yet will I fear none evil, because God is with me ; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.'

"The candle being behind back, he desired that it should be brought before him, that he might see to die. By occasion whereof, that part of the Scripture was remembered, 'Light arises to the righteous in the midst of darkness ;' Psal. cxlii. 4. 'The Lord will lighten my candle, he will enlighten my darkness ;' Psal. xviii. 28.

"For the space of two hours, the pain and sick-

ness held him so at the heart that he was without language ; during which time, his son remembered him of many comfortable speeches of Scripture, which he heard with great joy, and great cheerfulness. In token whereof, he gave every one demonstration, and made a sign with his hands, testifying his inward motion conform, in token of his joy and feeling, when any comfortable sentence of Scripture was uttered to him.

"When the 14th chapter of John was remembered, 'Let not your hearts be troubled, ye believe in God, believe also in me,' he lifted up his hand towards heaven.

"When the five wise virgins were remembered, who had their lamps in readiness to meet the bridegroom, he put his hand to his heart and knocked thrice on it. When he was remembered of Paul's speech, Rom. viii. 35—39 ; 'Who shall separate me from the love of God ? Shall principalities, or powers, things present or to come, life or death ?' he turned the back of his hand to them all ; and rejoiced in this, that in them all he should be more than conqueror through Christ that loved him. So, feeling his pain to work upward, and perceiving his ear to fail him, that he heard not so well as he did before ; after a long silence, when we thought the power of speaking had left him, in very clear terms, he cries out, putting his hand on his ear, 'He is here, he is here ! Welcome, welcome !'—meaning death. Being asked, If he were desirous to turn back ? He answered and said, 'William, William, I am now sure I shall not go again back for twenty worlds !' Comforting himself with that speech, Psal. xxvi. 8, 9 ; 'How excellent are thy mercies to us ; therefore, the children of men trust under the shadow of thy wings : Thou feedest them with the fat things of thine house, and givest them to drink of the rivers of thy pleasures ; for with thee is the well of life ; in thy light I shall see life.'

"Being remembered of Jacob's vision of a ladder that he saw betwixt heaven and earth, God upon the head, the angels going up and down, he says, 'Steepest is the ladder of death, and loath is flesh to climb it !'

"Being remembered of Paul's translation to the third heavens, and of the glorious revelations he got there, he answered, 'Every one was not with Paul, notwithstanding he was assured to be filled with glory.'

"When they told him of the sight of Stephen, how he saw the heavens open, and the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God, he prayed Stephen's prayer, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit ;' Acts vii. 59.

"When a speech of the Canticles was fitted unto him, it greatly rejoiced him, being a part of the Scripture in which he was diligently versed, and which he had paraphrased and turned into pleasant poetry. This was oft in his mouth, 'My well-beloved is mine, and I am his ;' Cant. ii. 16. 'Cover me with the banner of his love ; stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples ;' iv. 5.

"After this manner the morning was put off, his breath drawing upward continually, in as great peace and quietness, as before he had pain.

"When we thought that all his senses were gone, and he almost without feeling, he lay so quiet, his son cried into his ear, and asked 'What he was doing ?' He answered, although with great difficulty, he was 'singing the Song of the Lamb.' At which all then wondered.

"We desired him to give us the last sign of his inward joy, through the sense of God's presence, and his readiness to depart cheerfully: He lifted up both hands, and said, 'Sweet Jesus, receive my soul!' After these words, he never stirred, but sobbed softer and softer, till at length he surrendered the spirit; and that so quietly, peaceably, and insensibly, that none could perceive; and, like the Patriarch Jacob, he ended his days, which were few and excellent, and wholly spent in the service of God, as the story of his life will declare; and he eats the fruits of his labours, (in one part of the soul,) amongst the number of the righteous, till the day of the full redemption of the children of God; when, in body and soul, he shall shine in the heavens, as the sun and moon in the firmament: To which place may the Lord bring me to that everlasting joy and portion, for Christ's sake. Amen."

SECTION III.

1. JOHN WELSH.—2. JOHN LIVINGSTON.—3. ROBERT BRUCE.—4. JOHN SCRIMGEOUR.—5. R. BOYD.—6. ANDREW CANT.—7. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.—8. JOHN DYKES.—9. JOHN ROW.—10. JOHN KEL.—11. DAVID CALDERWOOD.—12. JOHN SMITH.—13. JOHN KEL.—14. JAMES GREG.—15. DAVID DICKSON.—16. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

1. Mr JOHN WELSH. He was son to the laird of Colliestoun, in the shire of Nithsdale, and was born about the year 1670. He was a rich example of grace and mercy; but the night went before the day, being a most hopeless extravagant boy; it was not enough to him, frequently to run away from the school, but after he had past his grammar, he left his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the borders, who lived by robbing the two nations; and amongst them he stayed till he spent a suit of clothes. Then, when he was clothed only with rags, the prodigal's misery brought him to the prodigal's resolutions, he resolved to return to his father's house; but durst not adventure, till he should interpose a reconciler; so in his return homewards, he took Dumfries in his way, where he had a friend, one Agnes Forsyth, and with her he diverted some days, earnestly entreating her to reconcile him to his father. While he lurked in her house, his father came providentially to the house to salute his cousin, Mrs Forsyth; and after they had talked a while, she asked him, Whether ever he heard any news of his son John? He replied with great grief, O how can you name his name to me! the first news I expect to hear of him is, that he is hanged for a thief. She answered, Many a profligate boy has become a virtuous man, and comforted him. He insisted upon his sad complaint, but asked, Whether she knew his lost son was yet alive? She answered Yes, he was; and she hoped he would prove a better man than he was a boy; and with that she called upon him to his father; he came weeping, and kneeled, beseeching his father, for Christ's sake, to pardon his misbehaviour, and deeply engaged to be a new man. His father reproached him, and threatened him; yet, at length, by the boy's tears, and Mrs Forsyth's importunities, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to put him to the college, and there to try his behaviour; and if ever thereafter he should break, he said he would be content his father should disclaim him for ever; so his father carried him home, and put him

to the college, and there he became a diligent student of great expectation, and so he proceeded to the ministry. His first post in the ministry was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young, and the country rude. While he was there, his ministry was rather admired, than received by many, for he was always attended with the prophet's shadow, the hatred of the wicked. Yet it was thought his ministry in that place was not without fruit, though he stayed but a short time there. He boarded himself in the house of one Mitohel, and took a young boy of his to his bed-fellow, who, to his dying-day, retained both a respect to Mr Welch and his ministry, from the impressions Mr Welch's behaviour made upon his apprehension, though but a child. His custom was, when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scots plaid above his bed-clothes, and when he went to his night prayers, to sit up and cover himself negligently therewith; and so to continue; for, from the beginning of his ministry to his death, he reckoned the day ill spent if he stayed not seven or eight hours in prayer; and this the boy could never forget even to hoary hairs.

I had once the curiosity travelling through the town to call for an old man who remembered Mr Welch; he told me that his custom was to preach publicly once every day, and to spend his whole time in spiritual exercises, that some in that place waited well upon his ministry with great tenderness, but that he was constrained to leave that place, because of the malice of the wicked. Afterwards he accepted a call to the ministry at Kirkcudbright, where he stayed not long, but yet he reaped a harvest of converts there which subsisted long after his departure, and were a part of Mr Samuel Rutherford's flock; while he was minister at Anworth; yet when a call to Ayr came to him, the people of the parish of Kirkcudbright, never offered to detain him, so his transportation to Ayr was the more easy. He was transported to Ayr in the year 1690, and there he continued till he was banished. He had a very hard beginning, but a very sweet end: for when he came first to the town, the country was so wicked, and the hatred of godliness so great, that there could not one in all the town be found who would set him a house to dwell in, so he was constrained to accommodate himself the best he might in a part of a gentleman's house for a time. The gentleman's name was John Stewart, merchant, and sometimes provost of Ayr, an eminent Christian, and great assistant of Mr Welch. And when he had first taken up his residence in that town, the place was divided into factions, and filled with bloody conflicts: a man could hardly walk the streets with safety; wherefore Mr Welch made it his first undertaking to remove the bloody quarrellings, but he found it very difficult work: yet such was his earnestness to pursue his design, that many times he would rush between two parties of men fighting, even in the midst of blood and wounds. He used to cover his head with a head-piece, before he went to separate these bloody enemies, but never used a sword, that they might see he came for peace, and not for war, and so by little and little he made the town a peaceable habitation. His manner was, after he had ended a skirmish amongst his neighbours and reconciled these bitter enemies, to cause cover a table upon the street, and there brought the enemies together, and beginning with prayer, he persuaded them to profess themselves friends, and then to eat and drink together;

then last of all he ended the work with singing a psalm. For after the rude people began to observe his example and listen to his heavenly doctrine, he came quickly to that respect amongst them that he became not only a necessary counsellor, without whose counsel they would do nothing, but an example to imitate, and so he buried the bloody quarrels. He gave himself wholly to ministerial exercises; he preached once every day; he prayed the third of his time, and was unwearied in his studies, for he was not only a man of great diligence, but also of a strong and robust natural constitution. But if his diligence was great, so it is doubted whether his sowing in painfulness or his harvest in success was greater, for if either his spiritual experiences in seeking the Lord, or his fruitfulness in converting souls be considered, they will be found unparalleled in Scotland. And many years after Mr Welch's death, Mr David Dickson, at that time a flourishing minister at Irvine, was frequently heard to say, when people talked to him of the success of his ministry, that the gleanings in Ayr, in Mr Welch's time, were far above the vintage of Irvine in his own. Mr Welch's preaching was spiritual and searching; his utterance tender and moving. He did not much insist upon scholastic purposes. He made no shew of his learning. I heard once one of his hearers (who was afterwards minister at Muirkirk in Kyle) say that a man could hardly bear him without weeping, his conveyance was so affecting. There is a large volume of his sermons now in Scotland, but never any of them appeared in print. But his dispute with abbot Brown the Papist, was printed, wherein it appears that his learning was not behind his other virtues. And another piece called *Du Welch his Armageddon*, printed, I suppose, in France, wherein he gives his meditations upon the enemies of the Church, and their destruction.

Sometimes before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders, and tell them he was afraid to go to the pulpit, because he found himself sore deserted: and thereafter desire one or more of them to pray, and then would venture to the pulpit. But it was observed, this humbling exercise used ordinarily to be followed with a flame of extraordinary assistance; so near neighbours are many times of contrary dispositions and frames. He would many times retire to the church of Ayr, which was at some distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer; for he used to allow his affections full expressions, and prayed not only with an audible, but sometimes with a loud voice; nor was that solitude irksome to him all the night over. There was in Ayr, before he came to it, an aged man, a minister in the town, called Porterfield; he was judged no bad man for his personal inclinations, but of so easy a disposition, that he used many times to go too great a length with his neighbours in several things; particularly he used to go to the bow-batts and archery on Sabbath afternoons, to Mr Welch's great dissatisfaction. But the way he used to reclaim him was not bitter severity, but this gentle policy: Mr Welch, together with Mr John Stuart and Hugh Kennedy, his two intimate friends, used to spend the Sabbath afternoon in religious conference and prayer, and to this exercise they invited Mr Porterfield, which he could not refuse: by which means he was not only diverted from his former sinful practice, but likewise brought to be more watchful and edifying in the rest of his behaviour.

Mr Welch married Elizabeth Knox, daughter of the famous Mr John Knox, minister of Edinburgh; and she lived with him from his youth until his death. By her I have heard that he had three sons; the first was a doctor of medicine, who was unhappily killed upon an innocent mistake in the Low Countries, and of him I never heard more. Another son he had most lamentably lost at sea, for the ship in which he was being sunk, he swam to a rock in the sea, but starved there for want of necessary food and refreshments; and when some time afterward his body was found upon the rock, they found him dead in a praying posture, upon his bended knees, with his hands stretched out: and this was all the satisfaction his friends had upon his lamentable death. Another son he had who was heir to his father's graces and blessings, and this was Mr Josiah Welch, minister at Temple-Patrick, in the north of Ireland. He was one of that blessed society of ministers, who were the instruments of that extraordinary work in the North of Ireland, about the year 1626; but was himself a man most sadly exercised with doubts about his own salvation all his time, and would ordinarily say, That minister was much to be pitied, who was called to comfort weak saints, and had no comfort himself. He died in his youth, and left for his successor, Mr John Welch, minister at Irongray in Galloway. But to return to our old Mr Welch; as the duty wherein he abounded and excelled most was prayer, so his greatest attainments fell that way: he used to say, he wondered how a Christian could lie in a bed all night, and not rise to pray; and many times he rose, and many times he watched.

He continued to exercise his ministry in Ayr, till he, with several others of his brethren, were imprisoned by King James VI., because they would not comply with his measures in ecclesiastical affairs. [Afterwards Mr Welch left Scotland. He embarked at Leith in November 1606; and the following account of his and his brethren's embarkation is preserved in a letter lately published in Melville's Diary. It is called "the manner of their parting from Scotland:"—"I wrote a letter to you, Right Reverend, from Leith, the 6th of November, concerning the brethren in Blackness, who embarked the 7th of the same month; whose departure was both joyful and sorrowful to many: Joyful, in that many good people who were present saw their constancy and courage to stand for the good cause they had on hand: But sorrowful, because the land is deprived of such notable lights as they are. The manner of their departure was this: The 6th of November, about four o'clock afternoon, they were desired to come to the boat which was prepared for them, by the water-bailie of Leith and Edinburgh; who, obeying, came accompanied with some of their friends and wives, to the pier, where there was a good number of people waiting on, to take the good-night of them, and to see them; but, after their coming thither, Mr John Welch conceived a prayer, which bred great emotion in the hearts of all the hearers. Prayer ended, they took good-night of their friends, wives, and many other well-wishers who were present, entered into the boat, where they remained a good space waiting on the skipper, who, because he was not ready that night to go aboard, and lying in the ship, they were desired by the water-bailie, either to go aboard and lie in the ship that night without the skipper, or else to go to their lodging that night, and be ready at the next call.

"They, by God's special providence, choosed to go to their lodging; for that night came on a great storm, that the ship was forced to save herself in Kinghorn Road all the night. They were called again by two o'clock in the morning; who, obeying, came to the shore and pier, accompanied as the night before, no small concourse of people being with them, beyond expectation so early, to see them boated. Prayer conceived as before by Mr John Welch, they embarked, giving many exhortations to all to hold fast the truth of the doctrine which they had delivered; for which they scrupled nothing to lay down their lives, much less to suffer banishment; adding thereto, that which they suffered was the great joy of their conscience. In the meantime, the mariners hastened them away, they not being able to speak longer, nor we to hear, that both the courage and joy they had in God might be manifest to all, they departed out of our sight, making us to hear the comfortable joy which they had in God, in singing a psalm. Blessed be God, who made that action glorious, and graced them in the hearts and eyes of all that looked on them, and grant me grace, for my part, never to forget it!

"The bishops, returning from England, presented a proclamation to the presbytery, that no minister should be so bold, under the pain of death, as to pray for them; likewise a letter came from the council, shewing them that it was his Majesty's will, that the ministers of the presbytery should supply their rooms that were put away, till he saw to the planting of their churches. I may well regret the miserable estate of this presbytery, above any of the land, since they and the rest left it. God amend it! To whom we cease not to commend you."

He landed in France, where, in a little time, by the Lord's blessing on his diligence, he was able to preach in the French language, and was speedily called to the ministry, first in one village, then in another; and afterwards was settled in St Jean d'Angely, where he continued the rest of the time he sojourned in France, which was about sixteen years. There were many times persons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a Scots village, which moved Mr Boyd of Troch-Rig once to ask him (after he had preached before the university of Saumur, with such boldness and authority, as if he had been before the meanest congregation) how he could be so confident among strangers and persons of such quality? to whom he answered, that he was so filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehension from man at all: and this answer (said Mr Boyd) did not remove my admiration, but rather increase it.

While Mr Welch was minister in one of these French villages, upon an evening, a certain Popish friar travelling through the country, because he could not find a lodging in the whole village, addressed himself to Mr Welch's house for one night: the servants acquainted their master, and he was content to receive this guest. The family had supped before he came, and so the servants conveyed the friar to his chamber, and after they had made his supper, they left him to his rest. There was but a timber partition betwixt him and Mr Welch: after the friar had slept his first sleep, he was surprised at the hearing of a silent, but constant whispering noise, at which he wondered very much, and was not a little troubled with it. The next morning he walked in the fields, where he chanced to meet a country-

man, who, saluting him because of his habit, asked him where he had lodged that night? the friar answered, he had lodged with the Huguenot minister: then the countryman asked him, what entertainment he had? the friar answered, very bad, for (said he) I always held there were devils haunting these minister's houses, and I am persuaded there was one with me this night; for I heard a continual whisper all the night over, which, I believe, was no other thing, than the minister and the devil conversing together. The countryman told him, he was much mistaken, and that it was nothing else but the minister at his night-prayers. O! said the friar, does the minister pray any? yes, more than any man in France (answered the countryman) and if you please to stay another night with him, you may be satisfied. The friar got him home to Mr Welch's house, and pretending indisposition, entreated another night's lodging, which was granted him. Before dinner, Mr Welch came from his chamber, and made his family exercise, according to his custom; first he sung a psalm, then read a portion of scripture, and discoursed upon it, thereafter he prayed with great fervour (as his custom was:) to all which, the friar was an astonished witness. After the exercise, they went to dinner, where the friar was very civilly entertained; Mr Welch forbearing all question and dispute for that time. When the evening came, Mr Welch made his exercise as he had done in the morning, which occasioned yet more wondering in the friar, and after supper to bed they all went; but the friar longed much to know what the night whisper was, and in that he was soon satisfied, for after Mr Welch's first sleep, the noise began, and then the friar resolved to be sure what it was, so he crept silently to Mr Welch's chamber door, and there he heard not only the sound, but the words exactly, and communications betwixt God and man, such as he knew not had been in the world. Upon this, the next morning as soon as Mr Welch was ready, the friar went to him, and told him, that he had been in ignorance, and lived in darkness all his time; but now he was resolved to adventure his soul with Mr Welch, and thereupon declared himself Protestant. Mr Welch welcomed him, and encouraged him, and he continued a Protestant to his dying day.

After Mr Welch's flock was scattered in France, he obtained liberty to come to England, and his friends made hard suit that he might be permitted to return to Scotland, because the physicians declared there was no other way to preserve his life, but by the freedom he might have in his native air; but to this king James would never yield: so he languished in London a considerable time. Physicians said he had been poisoned. A languor he had, together with a great weakness in his knees, caused with his continual kneeling at prayer, by which it came to pass, that though he was able to move his knees, and to walk, yet he was wholly insensible in them, and the flesh became hard like a sort of horn. But when in the time of his weakness, he was desired to remit somewhat of his excessive painfulness, his answer was, "He had his life of God, and therefore it would be spent for him." His friends importuned king James very much that if he might not return into Scotland, at least he might have liberty to preach at London, which king James would not grant, till Mr Welch was now grown weak; yet as soon as ever he heard he might preach, he greedily embraced this liberty, and having access to a lec-

turer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently, which was the last performance of his life, for after he had ended sermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours quietly and without pain, resigned his spirit into his Maker's hands, and was buried near Mr Deering, after he had lived little more than fifty-two years.

While Mr Welch was prisoner in the castle of Blackness, he wrote an excellent letter to a Christian friend, Jan. 6, 1606, in which he gives vent to his meditations in the following manner. "What is there under this old vault of heaven, and on this old worn earth, which is under the bondage of corruption? what is there I say that should make me desire to remain here? I expect that new heaven, and that new earth, wherein righteousness dwelleth, wherein I shall rest for evermore. I look to get entry into the new Jerusalem, at one of those twelve gates, whereupon are written the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel; I know that Christ Jesus hath prepared them for me, why may I not then, with boldness in his blood, step into that glory, where my head and Lord hath gone before me? Jesus Christ is the door and the porter, who then shall hold me out? will he let them perish for whom he died? will he let the poor sheep be plucked out of his hand, for whom he had laid down his life? who shall condemn the man whom God hath justified? who shall lay anything to the charge of the man for whom Christ hath died? or rather risen again? I know I have grievously transgressed, but where sin abounded, grace will super-abound. I know my sins are red as scarlet and crimson, yet the red blood of Christ my Lord, can make them as white as snow. Whom have I in heaven but him? or whom desire I in the earth besides him? my soul panteth to be with thee; I will put my spirit into thy bands, and thou wilt not put me out of thy presence; I will come unto thee, for thou caestest none away that comes unto thee. Thou comest to seek and to save that which was lost. Thou seeking me hast found me, and now being found by thee, I hope O Lord thou wilt not let me perish. I desire to be with thee, and do long for the fruition of thy blessed presence. I refuse not to die with thee, that I may live with thee. Shall not all things be pleasant to me, which may be the last step by which I may come unto thee. When shall I be satisfied with thy face? when shall I be drunk with thy pleasures? Come, Lord Jesus and tarry not. The Spirit says, come, the Bride says, come, Even so Lord Jesus come quickly and tarry not. Why should the multitude of my iniquities, or greatness of them affright me? Why should I faint in this my desire to be with thee? the greater sinner I have been, the greater glory will thy grace to me be unto all eternity. O when shall I see thy face! how long wilt thou delay to be with me as a roe, or a young hart, leaping upon the mountains, and skipping upon the hills! because of the favour of thy good ointments, thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore desire I to go out of this desert, and to come to the place where thou sittest at thy repast, and where thou makest thy flocks to rest at noon. When shall I be filled with his love? surely if a man knew how precious it were, he would count all things loss and dung to gain it. Truly I would long for that scaffold, or that axe, or that cord, that might be to me the last step of this my wearisome journey, to go to thee my Lord. Thou who knowest the meaning of the spirit, give answer

to the speaking, sighing, and groaning of the spirit; thou who hast inflamed my heart to speak unto thee in this silent language of ardent and fervent desires, speak again unto my heart, and answer my desires, which thou hast made me speak to thee. All glory be unto my God. Angels, and saints, praise ye him; O thou earth, hills, and mountains be glad: you shall not be wearied any more with the burden of corruption, whereunto you have been subject through the wickedness of mankind. Lift up your heads and be glad, for a fire shall make you clean from all your corruption and vanity wherewith many years you have been infected. Let the bride rejoice, let all the saints rejoice, for the day of the marriage with the bridegroom (even the Lamb of God) is at hand.

FROM LIVINGSTON'S MEMOIRS.

2. Mr JOHN LIVINGSTON. I was born in Monyabroch in Stirlingshire, June 21, 1603. The first period of my life, I reckon from my birth to the day I first preached in public, which was January 2, 1625. I observed the Lord's great goodness, that I was born of such parents, who taught me somewhat of God so soon as I was capable to understand any thing; I had great cares about my salvation when I was but yet very young; I had the advantage of the acquaintance and example of many gracious Christians, who used to resort to my father's house, especially at communion-occasions: such as Mr Robert Bruce, and several other godly ministers, the Countess of Wigtoun, lady Lillias Graham, the lady Culross, the lady Bantone, and sundry others. The while I was in Stirling, Mr Patrick Simpson was minister there, a learned man, godly, and very faithful in the cause of God; and in Glasgow, I heard Mr John Bell, a grave serious man, and Mr Robert Scott, who also was once deposed for opposing the corruptions of the time.

I do not remember the time or means particularly, whereby the Lord at first wrought upon my heart. When I was but very young I would sometimes pray with some feeling, and read the word with delight; but thereafter did often intermit any such exercise, I would have some challenges, and again intermit. I remember the first time that ever I communicated at the Lord's table was in Stirling, when I was at school, where sitting at the table, and Mr Patrick Simpson exhorting before the distribution, there came such a trembling upon me that all my body shook; yet thereafter the fear and trembling departed, and I got some comfort and assurance. I had no inclination to the ministry, till a year or more after I had passed my course in the college, and that upon this occasion; I had a bent desire to give myself to the knowledge and practice of medicine, and was very earnest to go to France for that purpose, and propounded it to my father, that I might obtain his consent, but he refused the same. Also about the same time, my father having before purchased some land in the parish of Monyabroch, the rights whereof were taken in my name, and that land by ill neighbours being in a manner laid waste, and Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth one of the lords of session, being very desirous to buy that land, that he might build a burgh of barony upon it at Burnside, my father propounded that I should go and dwell on that land and marry; but finding that that course would

divert me from all study of learning, I refused that offer, and rather agreed to the selling of it, although I was not yet major to ratify the sale. Now being in these straits I resolved, that I would spend a day alone before God, and knowing of a secret cave on the south side of Mouse water, a little above the house of Jerviswood, over against Cleghorn-wood, I went thither, and after many to's and fro's, and much confusion, and fear about the state of my soul, I thought it was made out unto me, that I behoved to preach Christ Jesus, which if I did not, I should have no assurance of salvation. Upon this I laid aside all thoughts of France, and medicine, and land, and betook me to the study of divinity.

The first Christian acquaintance and society whereby I got any benefit, was with a religious gentleman William Cunningham tutor of Bonytoun, who used to be oft at my father's house. Several times he and John Weir of Stockbridges, Alexander Tenant, James Weir, George Matthew, and David Matthew, who were packmen, would meet in my chamber in Lanark, where we used to spend some time in conference and prayer.

The second period of my life, I reckon from the time I preached in public, till the time I was settled in the ministry in Killinchie in Ireland; for having begun to preach in January 1625, I continued in my father's house in Lanark, and for the space of a year and an half or some more, I studied there and preached sometimes there, and sometimes in some neighbouring kirks. About April 1626, I was sent for by my lord Kenmore to come to Galloway, in reference to a call to the parish of Anwoth; I condescended, but some difficulties coming in the way, I hearkened to a call to Torphichen. But thereafter the Lord provided a great deal better for them, for they got that worthy servant of Jesus Christ Mr Samuel Rutherford, whose praise is in all the reformed churches; and I observed afterwards, that several parishes whereunto I had a motion of a call and was hindered, either by obstruction from the bishops, or thereafter refused to be transported by the General Assembly, yet these parishes were far better provided; for Leith got Mr David Forest; again Kirkaldy got Mr Robert Douglass; Glasgow got Mr James Durham; Antrum in Ireland got Mr Archibald Ferguson; Newton there got Mr John Greg; and Killinchie there got Mr Michael Bruce. But at that short time I was in Galloway I got acquaintance with my lord Kenmore and his religious lady, and several worthy experienced Christians, as Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, Alexander Gordon of Knockgray, Alexander Gordon of Knockbren, John his brother, and Alexander Gordon of Garlurk, John Gordon of Barakeoch, the laird of Careltoun, Fullertoun, John M'Adam and Christian M'Adam of Waterhead, Marion M'Naught in Kirkcudbright, and several others; for I preached at a communion in Borge, where were many good people that came out of Kirkcudbright, and was at some private meetings with some of the forementioned in Garlurk, and in the Airds, where Earlstoun then dwelt. By reason of going from place to place, in the summer time, I got acquaintance with many of the godly and able ministers and professors of Scotland, which proved to me a great advantage. The ministers chiefly were, Messrs Robert Bruce, who had been minister in Edinburgh, John Scrimgeour, who had been at Kinghorn, John Chalmers of Auchterdean, John Dykes of Anstruther,

William Scott of Cowper, Alexander Henderson of Leucher, John Row of Carnock, John Ker of Preston, James Greg of Newmills, John Fergusshil of Ouchiltie, Robert Scot of Glasgow, James Inglis of Dalzel, and some others; and of professors, William Rigg of Aithernie, the laird of Hallhill, the laird of Crosshill, the lairds of Cunningham-head, Cessnock, Rowallen, John Stuart Provost of Ayr, William Roger merchant there, John Mean merchant in Edinburgh, John Hamilton apothecary there, James Murray writer, the countesses of Eglington and Loudon, the ladies Boyd, Robertland, Culross, her sister Monwhanny, Hallhill, Raith, Innertail, and many others, all whose memory is very precious and refreshing. I got not much read, nor any settled study followed all that time; only some touches here and there of sundry both ancient and modern divines. These whereby I profited most were the sermons of four men, Mr Robert Rollock, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr John Welch, and Mr David Dickson, whom I thought of all that I had read, breathed most of the Spirit of God, were best affected, most clear, plain, and powerful: several of Mr Rollock's sermons are in print. I got in loan from John Stuart in Ayr, a large book of sermons of Mr John Welch's, in which are almost nothing but unfolding of the inward exercise of a Christian. Mr Robert Bruce I several times heard, and in my opinion never man spake with greater power since the apostles' days. There are five or six of his sermons printed; but the chief that I saw, was some written preachings of his which I got from my father. And Mr David Dickson I often heard, and borrowed from Crosshill, several of his written sermons. Several motions were made of calls to churches during this time; as to Linlithgow, North-Leith, Kirkaldy, in which places upon invitation I preached in reference to a call, but all were obstructed by those in power.

The third period of my life, from the time I entered to the ministry in Killinchie in Ireland till I was settled minister at Stranraer, in Galloway, 1638. In Summer 1630 being in Irvine, Mr Robert Cunningham, minister at Holywood, in Ireland, and some while before that Mr George Dumbear minister at Larn, in Ireland, propounded to me, seeing there was no appearance I could enter into the ministry in Scotland, whether or not I would be content to go to Ireland? I answered them both, if I got a clear call and a free entry I would not refuse: About August 1630, I got letters from the viscount Clanniboy to come to Ireland, in reference to a call to Killinchie, whether I went and got an unanimous call from the parish, and because it was needful that I should be ordained to the ministry, and the bishop of Down, in whose diocese Killinchie was, would require some engagement, therefore my Lord Clanniboy sent some with me, and wrote to Mr Andrew Knox, bishop of Rapho, who when I came and had delivered the letters from my lord Clanniboy and from the earl of Wigtoun and some others, that I had for that purpose brought out of Scotland, he told me he knew my errand, that I came to him because I had scruples against episcopacy and ceremonies, according as Mr Josias Welsh and some others had done before; and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices; that if I scrupled to call him my lord, he cared not much for it; all he would desire of me, because they got there but few sermons, that I would preach there at Ramallen the first Sabbath, and that I would send

for Mr William Cunningham, and some two or three other neighbouring ministers to be present, who after sermon should give me imposition of hands; but although they performed the work, he behaved to be present: and although he durst not answer it to the state, he gave me the book of ordination, and desired that any thing I scrupled at, I should draw a line over it on the margin, and that Mr William Cunningham should not read it: but I found that it had been so marked by some others before, that I needed not mark any thing; so the Lord was pleased to carry that business far beyond any thing that I thought or almost ever desired. That winter following I was often in great heaviness, for although the people were very tractable, yet they were generally very ignorant, and I saw no appearance of doing any good among them; yet it pleased the Lord that in a short time some of them began to understand somewhat of their condition. But the fourth of May 1632, the Bishop deposed Mr Blair and me, and eight days after Mr Dunbar and Mr Welsh. He proceeded against us for nonconformity.

I never had of stipend in Killinchie, above four pounds Sterling by year, and enjoyed that but a short space, yet I bless the Lord I never wanted money to supply my necessity, and to bear my charges in going to and again. My father was not able to supply me, having a great charge of other nine children, whereof seven were daughters. These from whom I got at several times supply of money were, the lady Boyd, the countess of Eglinton, and Wigton, and the lady Innertail. During these two years, I went twice or thrice over into Ireland, to visit the parish and friends there; and last of these times having come to Ireland in February 1634: our friends in Ireland seeing no appearance of being delivered from the yoke, had some mind to transport themselves to New-England, but resolved first to send a minister and gentleman thither to the governor and council, to try the condition of the country, and to agree for a place to settle in, and accordingly they pitched upon William Wallace and me to go straight to London, to go from thence with the first ships in the Spring, and return with the first convenience. Therein I perceived, howbeit I trust the Lord did accept and approve of our intention, yet wonderfully he stopped our design.

During my abode in London, I got acquaintance with my Lord Forbes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Sir William Constable, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Matthew Bonnington, Dr Gouge, Dr Sibbs, Mr Philip Nye, Mr Thomas Goodwin, Mr Harris, Mr Ross, and several others. I was often with Dr Alexander Leighton, who was prisoner in the Fleet.

This Winter 1635, perceiving no appearance of liberty either to preachers or professors, a minister of the North of Ireland, and some few out of Scotland, resolved to transport ourselves to New-England; others of our friends minded thereafter to follow us. We had got letters from the governor and council, full of kind invitations, and large promises of good accommodation. We built a ship near Belfast, called the Eagle-wing, of about 115 tons, and were minded to have set out in the Spring 1636. But through the difficulties that use to arise in such undertakings, in preparing the ship and our other accommodations, it was the September following before we set sail. We were all to go passengers at that time about 140 persons, of whom the chief were, Mr

Blair, John Stewart provost of Ayr, Mr Robert Hamilton afterwards minister of Kirkcudbright, Charles Campbell, John Somervell, Hugh Brown, and several other families and single persons; among whom was one Andrew Brown, of the parish of Leth; born deaf and dumb, who had been a very vicious loose man; but when it pleased the Lord to work a change on several of that parish, a very sensible change was observed in him, not only in forsaking his former loose courses and company, but joining himself to religious people, and all the exercises of God's worship in public and private, and ordinarily morning and evening used to go alone to prayer, and would weep at sermons; and by such signs, these who were acquainted with him, understood, he would express many things of the work of God upon his heart; so that upon his earnest desire, by the consent of all the ministers who used to meet at Antrim, he was at last admitted to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. We had much toil in our preparations, and many hindrances in our out-setting, and both sad and glad hearts in taking leave of our friends; at last about the ninth of September 1636, we loosed from Loch-Fergus; but, after all our endeavours to weather out the storms we met with, we were driven back and came at last on November 3d, to an anchor in Loch-Fergus. Mr Blair went and dwelt at the Stow in Belfast; others elsewhere; I came back and remained at my mother's house, and preached each Sabbath that winter, as I had done before. In February 1637, one Frankhill of Castlerath, who yet used to come some Sabbaths to hear sermon at my mother's house, being in Dublin, informed the state against Mr Blair and me. Order was given to apprehend us. One night one Andrew Young, a servant of Mr Blair's, who dwelt hard by our house, overheard a pursuivant calling to a stabler, to prepare against to-morrow morning, because they had orders to go to the North and bring up two Scottish deposed ministers. This Andrew immediately goes to a stable prepares a horse, and rode all that night, and in two days after brings us word, so that Mr Blair and I went out of the way, and came over to Scotland. When we came to Irvine to Mr Dickson's, he told us, that some good gentlemen in that country had been with him, having heard that we were come to Scotland, and desired him not to employ us to preach, for fear that at such a time, occasion might be taken thereby to put him out of his ministry: But, said he, I dare not follow their opinion to far to discountenance you in your sufferings, as not to employ you as in former times, but would think rather so doing would provoke the Lord, that I might be on another account deposed, and not have so good a conscience. We were very unwilling either to occasion his trouble, or dissatisfy any of the gentlemen of the country; but he urged with such grounds, as we could not get refused. After that, I went by Dean, and Loudon, and Lanark, to Edinburgh, and remained there some space; being at some private meeting every day, and returned to Irvine, the 26th of March. While we were at Irvine, the Lord called home Mr Robert Cunningham, minister at Holywood, March 29, 1637; for both he and all the rest of the disposed ministers were forced to fly out of Ireland. He had many gracious expressions of the Lord's goodness to him, and his great peace in regard of the cause of his suffering, and spoke much and well to the presbytery of Irvine, who came to see him the day before he died. All

that Summer 1637, I had as much work of preaching in public, and exercises in private, as any time before; partly in Lanark, partly in the West, and at communions in divers places, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and presbytery of Stranraer. I was present at Lanark, and at several other parishes, when on a Sabbath after the forenoon sermon, the covenant was read and sworn; and may truly say, that in all my life-time, except one day at the Kirk of Shots, I never saw such motions from the Spirit of God, all the people generally, and most willingly concurring, where I have seen more than a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes.

The fourth period of my life, I reckon from the time I entered into the ministry at Stranraer, till I was transported to Ancrum. I was received at Stranraer the 6th of July 1638, and shortly after transported my family thither, and I remained in the ministry of that place until harvest 1648, when, by the sentence of the general assembly, I was transported to Ancrum in Teviotdale. Because I had some household furniture to carry, and the way was far, I put my family in a boat at Irvine, and put in a tolerable quantity of meat and drink. The wind being the first day very fair, we were like to be soon at our port; the boat's company consumed most of all our provision, so that by a calm and a little contrary wind, being three days at sea, the last day we had neither meat nor drink, nor could reach any coast, and my wife had then a child sucking her breast; yet it pleased the Lord, we came safe to Lochryan. Some of our friends came out of Ireland, and dwelt in Stranraer, and at the communions twice in the year great numbers used to come; at one time five hundred persons. At one time I baptized twenty-eight children brought out of Ireland. Providence so ordered, that I was a member of the general assembly at Glasgow, in November 1638, which established the reformation of religion, and of the rest of the general assemblies even till that in the year 1650, except that only in Aberdeen in the year 1640. When I came first to Stranraer, some of the folks of the town desired to come to our house, to be present at our family exercise: thereafter I propounded, that I would rather chuse every morning to go to the church, and so each morning the bell ringing we convened, and after two or three verses of a Psalm sung, and a short prayer, some portion of Scripture was read and explained, only so long as an half-hour glass ran, and then closed with prayer. The whole parish was within the bounds of a little town. The people were very tractable and respectful, and no doubt had I taken pains, and believed as I ought to have done more fruit would have appeared among them. I was sometimes well satisfied and refreshed, being with some of them on their death-bed.

The people of the North of Ireland sent Commissioners to the general assembly in Scotland in the year 1642, petitioning for ministers to be sent to them, for now they had none at all. The assembly thought not fit to loose any, but for four or five years thereafter, ordered some eight ministers in the year to go over for visits, two for three months, and after them other two, and in the mean time some godly and able young men to be dealt with to go over for settling; and that these ministers might in parishes elect elderships, and with the presbytery of the army, try and admit ministers. The ministers who went used for most part, to separate themselves to divers pa-

ishes in several parts of the country. There being such a great number of vacant parishes, yet so as the one would also visit the place where the other had been; by this appointment I was sent over three months in Summer 1643, and as long in Summer 1645. And in Summer 1646 and 1648, I went thither. For the most part of all these three months I preached every day once, and twice on the Sabbath; the destitute parishes were many; the hunger of the people was become great; and the Lord was pleased to furnish otherwise than usually I wont to get at home. I came ordinarily the night before to the place where I was to preach, and commonly lodged in some religious person's house; where we were often well refreshed at family exercise; usually I desired no more before I went to bed, but to make sure the place of scripture I was to preach on the next day. And rising in the morning, I had four or five hours myself alone, either in a chamber or in the fields; after that we went to church, and then dined and then rode some five or six miles more or less to another parish. Sometimes there would be four or five communions in several places in the three months time. I esteemed these visits in Ireland, the far best time of all the while I was in Galloway. After the year 1647 or 1648, the general assembly sent no more any for visits to Ireland, because by that time several godly and able ministers were settled there. The ministers with whom I kept most society, and by whose council and company I profited most, were my brother M'Clellan at Kirkcudbright, Messrs Robert Hamilton at Balantrae, George Hutcheson at Colmonel, and in the presbytery of Stranraer, Alexander Turnbull at Kirk-maiden, John Dick at Inch, George Dick at Glenluce, and in the presbytery of Wigtown, Andrew Lauder at Whithorn, and John Park at Moohrum, who also succeeded me at Stranraer; and with all these I have been at communions, and most of them have been at communions at Stranraer.

The fifth period of my life, I reckon from the time I was settled in the ministry at Ancrum, to this present February 1666. In Summer 1648 I had a call from the parish of Ancrum, and an invitation from the presbytery of Jedburgh, and a presentation from the Earl of Lothian the patron, and by act of the general assembly, that year was transported thither, and was received by the presbytery. I the rather inclined, because I found they were generally landward simple people, who for some time before, had not had so much of the gospel as to despise it. The people were very tractable, but were very ignorant, and some of them loose in their carriage; and it was a long time before any competent number of them were brought to such a condition, as we might adventure to celebrate the Lord's Supper. But within some time some of them began to lay religion to heart.

Some two or three years after the English had in a manner subdued the land, there began some reviving of the work of God in the land. In several parts sundry were brought in by the ministry of the word; amongst whom there were some also in the parish of Ancrum, and other parts of the South. In Teviotdale and in the Merse, communions were very lively and much frequented. We had several monthly meetings in these two shires. The ministers in that country with whom I kept most correspondence were in Jedburgh presbytery, where I lived, Messrs James Ker at Abbotrule, John Scot at Oxnam, and my

son-in-law John Scot at Hawick. In other presbyteries, Messrs James Guthrie at Lauder (who afterwards went to Stirling) Thomas Donaldson at Smalholm, John Vetch at Westruther, James Kirkton at Mertoun, William Elliot at Yarrow, John Somervail at Ednam, Samuel Rue at Sprouston, Edward Jameson at Swinton, David Douglas at Hilton, James Tweedie at Coudon, Thomas Ramsay at Mordington, Luke Ogle at Berwick. The gentlemen in that country with whom I conversed most, were, Sir Andrew Ker at Greenhead, Sir William Scot of Harding, Sir Gideon Scot of Haychester, Sir Walter Riddall of That Ilk, and his son Sir Walter Pringle of Greenknow, George Pringle of Torwooddie, Alexander Pringle of Whitebank; all these and their ladies also; as also the lady Stobs, the lady Newton, and Mrs Elliot of Craigend, I looked upon as well affected persons, and have been oft well refreshed at worship in their houses, and at communions where some of them had interest, and at communions with several of the ministers before mentioned, all within the province of Merse and Tiviotdale and within the province of Edinburgh, Borthwick, Ormiston, Whitekirk and Innerwick. A motion being made at one communion about Christians honouring God with their substance, these gentlemen above-named, together with most of the ministers before-mentioned, and some few other professors, agreed among themselves, and subscribed to give a certain portion yearly, which came in all to fifty pounds Sterling a-year, and was employed only upon distressed Christians, and breeding up of hopeful youth in learning.

At last, in April 1663, I went on board old John Allan's ship, and in eight days came to Rotterdam. I was many a time in Leith well refreshed in conference and prayer with those that came to visit me, and had the company of very many friends when I went aboard. When I came to Rotterdam, I found before me the rest of the banished ministers viz. Messrs Robert Trail, minister at Edinburgh, John Nevy at Newmills, Robert McQuard at Glasgow, James Simpson at Airth, John Brown at Wamphray, and James Gardener at Saddle. Here I got frequent occasion of preaching in the Scots congregation. In December 1663, my wife came to me and brought two of the children; the other five were left in Scotland. Hitherto I can say, during my abode in Rotterdam, I have been in my body as free of pain and sickness, and in my mind as free of anxiety, as ever I have been in all my life during so long time, and I make account that my lot is a great deal easier, than that of many that are at home.

Now, when I look back upon the whole, as for my spiritual condition, I cannot deny, but sometimes, both in public and private, I have found the Lord work upon my heart, and give confirmations of kindness and engagement to his service, but I do not remember any particular time of conversion, or that I was much cast down or lifted up. I do remember one night in the Dean of Kilmarnock, having been most of the day before in company with some of the people of Stewarton, who were under rare and sad exercises of mind, I lay down in some heaviness that I never had experience of any such thing. That night in the midst of my sleep, there came upon me such a terror of the wrath of God, that if it had increased a small degree higher, or continued a minute longer, I had been in as dreadful a condition as ever living man was in; but it was in-

stantly removed, and I thought it was said to me within my heart, "See what a fool thou art to desire the thing thou couldst not endure." And that which I thought strange was, that neither the horror nor the ease out of it awakened me out of my sleep but I slept till the morning, only the impression of it remained fresh with me for a reasonable time afterwards. As concerning my gift of preaching, I never attained to any accuracy therein. I used ordinarily to write some few notes, and left the enlargement to the time of the delivery. I found that much studying did not so much help in preaching, as the getting of my heart brought to a spiritual disposition; yea, sometimes I thought the hunger of the hearers helped me more than my own preparation. Many a time I found that which was suggested to me in the delivery, was more refreshing to myself, and edifying to the hearers than what I had premeditated. I was often much deserted and cast down in preaching; and sometimes tolerably assisted. I never preached a sermon that I would be earnest to see again in writ but two. The one was at a communion on a Monday at the Kirk of Shots, and the other on a Monday after a communion in Holywood. And both these times I had spent the whole night before in conference and prayer with some Christians, without any more than ordinary preparation: otherwise my gift was rather suited to simple common people, than to learned judicious auditors. Had I in a right manner believed and taken pains, it had been better for myself; but by lazy trusting to assistance, in the mean time I kept myself bare-handed all my days. I had a kind of coveting when I got leisure and opportunity to read much, and of different subjects: and I was oft challenged, that my way of reading was like some mens' lust after such a kind of play or recreation. I used to read much too fast, and so was somewhat pleased in the time, but retained little. It was once or twice laid on me by the general assembly, to write the history of the church of Scotland, since the late reformation, 1638; but, besides my inability for such an undertaking, and my lazy disposition, I could by no means procure the materials for such a work.

Now since I came to Holland, and so had more leisure than before, when I was devising how to employ my time to some advantage, I remembered that I had spent some of my former years in the study of the Hebrew language, and had a great desire that some means might be used, that the knowledge of the only true God might be yet more plentifully had, both by ministers and professors, out of the original text; and for that cause, in as small a volume as might be, the original text of the Bible might be printed in the one column, and the several vulgar translations thereof, in the other column, in several Bibles. For this cause much of my time in Holland I spent, in comparing, Pagnin's version with the original text, and with the latter translations, such as Munster's, the Tigurine, Junius, Diodate, the English, but especially the Dutch, which is the latest and most accurate translation; being encouraged therein, and having the approbation of Voetius, Essenius, Nethenus, and Leusden, and so through the Old Testament wrote some emendations on Pagnin's translation. I also took some time in going through the English Bible, and wrote a few divers readings, and some explanatory notes, and some reconciliations of seemingly contrary places, to have been inserted either among the mar-

ginal readings, or printed in two or three sheets in the end of the Bible : but the death of worthy John Graham, provost of Glasgow, who was ready to have borne most of the charges of printing, stopped both these enterprizes. Therefore on a motion from Dr Leusden, that a printer in Utrecht would print a Latin Bible, having for the Old Testament Pagnin's translation so amended, I sent Dr Leusden all these appers, but as yet have not heard of any thing done. Mr Livingston died in 1672.

I shall here insert some passages of a letter he wrote to his parishoners of Ancrum, in Scotland, from Rotterdam, October 7, 1671. "Notwithstanding of all the sad things that have fallen out of late, I would put you in mind of the many good days we have seen together, both of Sabbath-days, and solemn communion-days, wherein we saw the Lord's power and his grace in his sanctuary; that, in remembrance thereof, we may exalt his name together: for my part, I have challenges, beside many others, that, in my ministry, I did not so stir up or improve the gift, that the Lord had given me, nor so carry myself like a spiritual, grave, diligent, and faithful servant of Christ, as I ought to have done: that, in my ministry among you, I was not more frequent in visiting families, and dealing with persons in particular, to bring them to, and keep them in the ways of God.

As for you, I may reckon you all in three ranks: the first rank, and I fear the far greater number, is of those, who, although in general professors of Christianity yet, so far as could be observed, never laid religion to heart; and some of these, for gross ignorance, and looseness, were always debarred from the Lord's supper; others, although having some knowledge and civil walk, yet, upon good grounds were always suspected to be void of the love and fear of God, continuing in their natural unrenewed condition, neglecting the worship of God in their families, and alone; and shewing, by all their carriage, that their thoughts and desires were never beyond the world: these, no doubt, are glad of the change now come, that they may cast off Christ's yoke, and be free of the word and discipline, which terrified and tormented them; and may now both swear terrible oaths, and drink drunk, which by some will be expounded, as an evidence of their loyalty; they may now, after the example of many great ones, walk in the lust of uncleanness, mind nothing but how, justly or unjustly, to get the world, and then how to spend it on their lusts, and hate, and, to the utmost of their power, persecute all, who will not run with them to the same excess of riot. Now as I have, often in public, with as great earnestness and tenderness as I could, warned these to flee from the wrath to come; so I would yet desire them to stand still a little before they go to the pit, and hear from a truly loving friend a few words, which I am confident, in the day of the great reckoning, shall be found a message from the living God. Do you believe there is a God, or Heaven or Hell? Or can you with all your will and strength scrape the thoughts of these out of your sleeping consciences? Or do you in such sort hate God, that because ye are his creatures, ye will so far be avenged as to sell yourselves to his enemy, the devil, for nought, to be tormented in all eternity? I am most sure, none of you all can be sure that you are reprobates; and I can give you assurance, greater than the stability of heaven and earth, even the sworn word of him that liveth and reigneth for ever, that if you will forsake

your wicked way, and yet betake yourselves to the only Saviour of lost sinners, ye are no reprobates. Oh! what advantage have ye, when ye have gained all the world, and all the pleasures, all the riches, and all the favour of it, and have lost your immortal and precious souls? It is utterly impossible, but that sometimes your own heart tells you, there will be bitterness in the end. Doth not whoredom and drunkenness waste the body, take away the judgment, and leave a sting in the conscience? Can any avoid the curse, that goods gotten by falsehood or oppression bring upon the man, and all he hath, yea, on his posterity? Is it not sad, that Satan can prompt man to swear, curse and blaspheme, and utter that which he dare not utter himself? And although ye were free of all outbreakings, doth not an unrenewed estate, the neglect of commanded duties, Sabbath-breaking, and such evils, bind you over to the wrath of him, who is coming there in flaming fire to take vengeance on them, who know not God, and obey not the gospel?

Ye may possibly think ye are so far gone on, that there is no retreat, and the ways of the Lord are such as your disposition can never agree with; but how can your disposition agree to burn and consume, and never consume, in everlasting flames, where each of all your sins shall have their own particular torment? How can ye agree to dwell with infernal furies? Or will ye add to your other wickedness despair, and despising of all the Lord's loving, long, and loud continued invitations? What shall you answer, if hereafter the Lord shall say to some of you: I would have given thee both grace and glory, if thou hadst but sought it; thou wouldst not give once two or three knocks at my door; thou wouldst not open, when I knocked oft and long at thy door. By so doing, thou hast subscribed thine own condemnation.

O, let me obtain this much of all and every one of you, for all the pains I have taken among you in preaching for all my nine years' banishment from you for all the prayers I have put up for you, for all the love which he who knoweth all things knoweth I bear to you, yea, let your own souls, and the love ye have to your own welfare here and hereafter, obtain it, or rather let him, who for sinners shed all his most precious blood at Jerusalem, obtain this of you, that you will take one day each of you alone from morn to evening, forbearing both meat and drink, and go apart either into some quiet room in an house, or unto some part of the fields, where you may be most quiet, and having before-hand marked in the Bible such places as are fit to be read at such a time, as also having somewhat searched your way toward God, and his ways toward you, there set yourselves in his sight, spending the time in confession of sins, and prayer for pardon and grace to serve him, and save your own souls: and if (which is not readily to be supposed) ye get no access on such a day, yet continue thereafter in such exercise and suits; for deliverance from hell, enjoying of Heaven and the favour of God, are worth more pains than you can take all your life. Now if this so easy and necessary advice shall be rejected, without prescribing time and place, or measure and manner, but if the main intent of taking some time to humble yourselves before God, and turning unto him be rejected, I take instruments, before sun and moon and all the creatures, that I have left this warning as an indorsed summons fixed on the door of your consciences, to be called and judged before him, who is ready to judge the quick

and the dead, at his appearing, and in his glory; when beside the witnessing of all your sins, of your own consciences, and of all the creatures, I also as your lawful minister, sent to procure your reconciliation with God, shall appear to witness that ye got fair warning, but did reject the same, and would needs chuse death. Therefore while it is called to-day, take a trial of Christ's yoke, do but put him to it, and see whether or not he will open the windows of Heaven, and rain blessings and righteousness upon you; come and see and taste the goodness of the Lord: ye shall be made to say, he is a rich and loving Master, once engage your hearts to him, and ye may defy Satan, and all the allurements and terrors of the world to draw you from him. Glad would my heart be to hear, before I go to the grave, that some of you have begun a new course; and if ye begin indeed ye will not get it suppressed, it will be heard: I shall, as I can pray for it, and desire others here to pray for it; it is not needful to multiply words; I leave it with you, as ye shall answer to Jesus Christ, when He shall come in the clouds, &c.

3 Mr ROBERT BRUCE. He was minister at Edinburgh, and began to preach about the year 1590. He was second son of the laird of Airth, from whom he had the estate of Kinnaird, was bred in France at the laws, designing to have been one of the lords of session, but coming home was moved by the spirit of the Lord to set to the ministry. And having studied some time at St Andrews, when he began to preach, there were found more than ordinary gifts in him, so as he was most earnestly and unanimously called to be minister at Edinburgh, but for a long while only preached, and could not be moved to take on the charge. No man in his day spoke with such evidence and power of the spirit; no man had so many seals of conversion; yea, many of his hearers thought that no man since the apostles' days spoke with such power. He had a notable faculty of searching deep in the scriptures, and of making the most dark mysteries most plain, but especially in dealing with every one's conscience. He was much exercised in conscience himself. He was at first imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, after that confined in Inverness, yet at last he got liberty to dwell in his own house in Kinnaird, where the parish of Larmor having neither church nor stipend, he repaired the church, and discharged all the parts of a minister; and many from other parts came to hear him: I was there his hearer for a great part of the Summer 1627. He told me once in private that in a dream he had seen a great long book with black boards flying in the air, and all the black fowls flying about it; and that as it touched any of them, they fell down dead, and that he heard a voice, which he said was as audible as I heard him speak: THIS IS THE IRE OF GOD UPON THE MINISTRY OF SCOTLAND; and that he presently fell a-weeping, and crying to God, that he might be kept faithful, and not be one of those that were stricken down dead: and he said when he awaked, he found all the pillow wet with his tears.

One day when I came to his house, it was late before he came out of his closet; he had heard that day of Dr Alexander Leighton's censure at London, and when he came out, all his face was foul with weeping; he told me what he had heard, and that his grief was not for Dr Leighton, but for himself; for, said he, If I had been faithful, I might have got the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ

as well as he; but he hath got the crown from us all.

He was both in public and private very short in prayer with others, but then every sentence was like a strong bolt shot up to heaven; yea, I have heard him say he hath grown weary when others were longsome in prayer, but being alone, he spent much time in prayer and wrestling. I went once with the tutor of Bonnington to see him at Andrew Ainslie's house in Edinburgh; it was about eight in the morning; he was in bed and said to us, You must go and leave me at this time; I thought last night when I lay down I had a good measure of the Lord's presence, and now I have been wrestling this hour or two, and have not yet got access, and therefore I am not for any company.

He had a very majestic countenance, and whatever he spoke in public or private, yea, when he read the Word, I thought it had such a force as I never discerned in any other man. I heard him once say, "I would desire no more for one request but one hour's conference with King James; I know he hath a conscience, I made him once weep bitterly in his own house at Holyrood House." I heard him say in the year 1627 or '28, "I wonder how I am kept so long here; I have lived two years in violence," meaning he was 72 years old.

Fleming, in his *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, Part i., says of Bruce, "Whilst he was in the ministry at Edinburgh, he shined as a great light through the whole land; the power and efficacy of the spirit most sensibly accompanying the word he preached. He was a terror to evil-doers, and the authority of God did so appear upon him, and his carriage, with such a majesty in his countenance, as forced fear and respect from the greatest in the land, even those who were most avowed haters of godliness. Yea, it was known what an awful impression King James had of him, and did once give him that testimony before many, that he judged Mr Bruce was worthy of the half of his kingdom. He was a man that had much inward exercise about his own personal case, and had been often assaulted about that great foundation-truth, the being of God; which cost him many days and nights wrestling: and when he hath come up to the pulpit, after being some time silent, which was his usual way, he would have said, "I think it is a great matter to believe there is a God," telling the people, it was another thing to believe that than they judged. But it was also known by his friends with whom he was familiar, what extraordinary confirmation he had from the Lord therein; what near familiarity he did attain in his secret converse with God: yea, truly some things I have had from persons worthy of credit thereanent, that would seem so strange and marvellous, that I forbear to set them down. The great success of his ministry at Edinburgh, Inverness, and other places whither Providence called him, is abundantly known. Whilst he was confined at Inverness, that poor dark country was marvellously enlightened; many brought in to Christ by his ministry, and a seed sown in those places, which even to this day is not wholly worn out. I shall here set down one passage of Mr Henderson, who, at his first entry to the ministry at Leuchars, was by the Bishop of St Andrews brought in against the parish's consent, so that the day of his admission, the church doors being shut by the people, they were forced to break in by a window to get him entrance; but a little after this, upon the

report of a communion, where Mr Bruce was to help, he would needs, from a longing he had to hear and see such a man, go secretly there, and placed himself in a dark part of the church where he might not be known; when Mr Bruce was come to the pulpit, he did for a considerable time keep silence, as his manner was; which did some way astonish Mr Henderson, but much more when he heard the first words wherewith he begun, which were these: "He that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber;" which did, by the Lord's blessing, at the very present take him by the heart, and had so great an impression on him, that it was the first mean of his conversion.

I had attested by sober and grave Christians, who were familiar with him, that divers persons distracted, and of these who were passed all hope of recovery in the falling sickness, were brought to Mr Bruce, and after much prayer by him in their behalf, were fully recovered: this may indeed seem strange, but it is also true. Mr Bruce was a great wrestler, who had more than ordinary familiarity with God. If there were a full collection of these remarkable passages, which have been known to others in his life, it would further witness what an extraordinary man he was. I shall only shut this up with the testimony of learned Didoclausius in the preface to his *ALTARE DAMASCENUM: Robertus Brusius, vir genere et virtute nobilis, majestate vultus venerabilis, qui plura animarum millia Christo lucrificavit, cujus anima, si ultius mortalium absit verbo invidia, sedet in celestibus. Anima mea, cum anima tua, Brusi, si ex aliena fide esset pendendum.*

[Such are the brief notices of this extraordinary man, as given by Gillies from Livingston and Fleming. He is one, however, who deserves a far fuller memorial, and this we shall supply from the *Presbyterian Review*, of July 1843:—

"He began his public life well. He was not like those of whom the Lord writes, 'I sent not these prophets, yet they ran.' Till he was converted he did not bend his thoughts to the ministry. 'As touching my vocation to the ministry,' he says, 'I was first called to my grace, before I obeyed my calling to the ministry. He made me first a Christian before he made me a minister.' Few truths need to be more impressed on students, than what is contained in this sentence; and Bruce, in a sermon on Heb. xii. 1, refers to this subject again: 'If the Spirit be not in me, the spirit of the hearer will discern me not to be sent, but only to have the word of the commission, and not to have the power; for the power is the evident argument that a man is sent. Therefore, many start to teach this word, who are not sent.' 'Except I myself be sanctified in some measure, I am not able to sanctify others.' Oh that Scotland was filled with men really sent of God.

"His conversion was remarkable, and is narrated by himself. For ten years before, he had plainly been under the strivings of the Spirit, but continued to resist. 'Ten years at least, I never leaped on horseback nor lighted, but with a repugnant and justly accusing conscience.' It was in 1681, that the Lord brought him to himself. So deep and awful was his conviction of sin, that he 'would have been content to have been cast into a cauldron of hot melted lead, to have had my soul relieved of that insupportable weight.'

"His soul being brought to God, his studies for the

ministry began. 'I cast my clothes from me, my vain and glorious apparel, sent my horse to the fair, and emptied my hands of all impediments, and went to the new college.' His studies, however, never superseded his attention to his soul. He brought to his books a soul deeply imbued with the truth. His chief care still seems to have been to keep himself in the presence of God, then to pursue whatever study he could carry on in his presence. Hence, his holy proficiency at St Andrews, especially in the Scriptures. Calderwood speaks of his period of study, as the time when 'it pleased God to train up that most notable preacher for the restitution of his decayed and captivated Jerusalem. Blessed shall they be among our students who shall thus study, and be thus prepared for future days! May they see the good of Jerusalem, and peace upon Israel.'

"He was licensed to preach, but seemed not to know his own gifts. It was while feeding his own soul on the pastures, that many eyes observed him. He could not be persuaded to take a charge, till led on, at a communion, through necessity—a necessity laid on him by the minister, who knew his gifts and grace—to serve the tables, though he was not ordained. He spoke with such singular assistance, and elevated affections on the part of the people, as had never been known there before. From that day he believed that God had ordained him to the ministry; and so fully persuaded was he of his call from God, that he never could consent to be ordained by imposition of hands. Some men seek ordination in order to acquire the ministerial character; but in him we see the true order observed. Aaron's rod blossomed over him; he had all the qualities of the ministry; and, therefore, he is called to the office. And when called to Edinburgh, his soul trembled at the duty laid upon him. He did agree at last, 'I advised with my God, and thought it meet to obey; but not to take on fully the burden, but to essay only how the Lord would bless my travails for a while; for I found in me such a parpan (i. e. division wall) of iniquity, dividing betwixt his Majesty's comfortable presence and me, that I thought it was not his Majesty's pleasure that I should take the full burden upon me till this parpan was demolished, and impediments removed.' There was no seeking after honour, no ambition except to see and perform the Lord's will, no selecting of the sphere of labour according to carnal inducements. There is too much of these things among us. We look to our own case, or to our own preconceived schemes, and then we fancy that a call from the Lord must be in the direction of our previous inclinations. 'Arise, go to Nineveh,' would still excite the murmuring of many a Jonah. We are not like Isaiah, in his resigned offer of himself, 'Here am I, send me,' because we do not lie so low as he, and feel undone.

"This man of God, shortly after being settled in Edinburgh, in 1689, was one of the persons to whom the king entrusted the care of the realm during his absence in Norway; and the king repeatedly acknowledged that to him he owed very much of the peace that prevailed in his absence. He had qualities that fitted him for this difficult and burdensome duty; and of these, calmness and faith were part. In Israel, the name 'shepherds' applied to kings and rulers, as well as to priests and prophets; and Bruce seems to have felt equal ease in managing the affairs of the kingdom, and the concerns of his flock in Edinburgh. The Lord's design in this

matter seems to have been to make all men notice his servant as one remarkably filled with the Spirit, and near his God. Just as his well-known influence with the king gave him no common authority among the people at large; so his intimacy with the King of Glory gave all he said and did a weight and power which few else possessed. An historian says of him, 'Cujus anima, si ullius mortalium, sedet in cœlestibus. Anima mea cum animâ tuâ, Bruci, si ex aliena fide esset pendendum.' P. 143.

"His preaching was very close and faithful. In 1591, he exhorted the king to call upon God every day, before he eat or drank, that the Lord would give him a resolution to execute justice on malefactors; for every where there was a complaint of the king's carelessness in executing the laws. On another occasion, he spoke thus:—'If you do this, no doubt you will stand, and the Lord will preserve you; if you do it not, I will not say what became of Saul.' Meanwhile his labours were abundant, and yet he found time for parochial duties.

"In 1592, the town was divided into eight parishes, Mr Bruce and the other ministers declaring that in this way only could they superintend so great a population. It would appear that he was in the habit of visiting the streets and lanes of Edinburgh, searching out the lost and abandoned, and seeking to bring them to the fold. It was the experience he thus gained of the state of the town that led him and others to propose the subdivision of the place, to each one his district. The document (p. 32) which tells us of this, speaks of the ministers having observed many people on Sabbaths spending their time in ale-houses, and at 'profane games in back-sides, or in open street.' How interesting to follow such men, and see them in these days thus acting as pastors amid all their numerous vocations. We are often told of the awe and terror that Mr Bruce's very presence cast on the ungodly. There was something of true apostolic character in this (Acts ii. 43); but there is yet more of the Master's grace exhibited, when we find such an apostolic man not disdainful to use his holy power among the outcasts of the city, and setting apart time for those aggressions on the kingdom of Satan.

"And all the while he kept up his studies. He says, in his latter days,—'I have been a continued student, and I hope I may say it without offence, that he is not within the isle of Britain, of my age, that takes greater pains upon his Bible.' (P. 137). This glance of him, in his latter days, connected with what we have of his earliest days of study in reference to the same subject, with his own remark, 'that he has been a *continued student*,' may afford us a view of how his soul was nourished. He retired to the Word of God when wearied and vexed with public cares and pastoral trials. He was driven farther into the secret place of the Most High by the experience of distracting influences. And so his spirit was revived. He was like David, the shepherd of Israel, amid his cares; he was like a tree planted by the waters, whose leaf never fades, because he delighted in the law of his God, and made it his meditation day and night. Weary ministers might oftener than they do, find recreation and refreshment here. One clause of the precious word may be as a leaf of the tree of life to them, and would prevent their souls becoming dry and sapless by reason of too much and too incessant action.

"Peculiar exercises of soul were generally the

forerunners of peculiar trials. He told this to Mr Blair, who has transmitted it to us, calling him 'that ancient heroic servant of Jesus Christ.' (P. 142). His trials were very many. In 1596, after the tumult, he thus speaks in anticipation of what came on: 'I look never to see the banners of grace displayed as they were wont to be. In the mean time, brethren, *our victory must break out of our great patience, and our triumph out of our long suffering.*' (P. 54). He was forced to flee to England, but was soon allowed at that time to return. But the Gowrie Conspiracy brought him into troubles that never were allayed to the day of his death. The king never was reconciled to him for his refusal to own the conspiracy. He was banished to France, and then permitted to return to England. He was allowed to come to Scotland again, but compelled to remove to Inverness, where he remained four years. During all these trials the flow of his soul is ever heavenward. He seems to carry heaven with him in every place. He lived prepared for all events, his loins girt, his lamp burning. On one of these occasions he prayed (p. 118) in prospect of a new trouble, 'that, if it was the Lord's good pleasure to exercise him with a new temptation, and to pull the people and ministry from him, it would please God, instead of prince, priest, or people's favours, to *triple his Spirit upon him*, and let him see in his heart, his face brighter and brighter—a threefold measure of his favour to supply his outward wants.' If our ejected ministers in the present day receive this blessing in their time of trial, none of them all will ever repent the day wherein they stood faithful to their Master. They should expect it fully, for the eternal promise runs in these terms:—'If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for *the Spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you.*' (1 Pet. iv. 14). It has been enjoyed by other sufferers in other days; is it not to be realised now as our inheritance in a suffering time. Our fathers knew it, and shall not their children? We know not if any of the godly men who have stood fast under reproach and trouble in these days may have had an experience beforehand similar to Mr Bruce. He tells us (p. 135) 'There comes never thing to me, trouble or alteration, but He gives me warning before, mollifying my heart so notably, and gives me such tears of joy, that I am ever ashamed of myself that I cannot be thankful.' One night, when the affair of Gowrie was bringing on him much trouble, he had a very supporting discovery in his sleep. He thought he saw in his sleep 'great difficulties represented to him in his way, and that he behoved either to pass through them, or die by the way. At last he resolved to hazard all in following what he thought obedience to God; and when passing on he felt a strong emotion on his spirit to say, In and through Michael, the captain of the Lord's host, I shall prevail; O Michael, Michael, who is like the strong God!' (P. 122). We see the fulness of his heart even in his dreams, and how the Lord refreshed and revived his warriors, while he gave them the sleep of his beloved.

"If our days soon darken into blacker clouds, we shall need even more than at present, to possess our souls in patience. We shall require to betake ourselves, not to more of external activities, or more of human policy, but to deeper and more continued fellowship with God. It was thus, that Mr Bruce remained so calm, so placid, so heavenly. When

banished to Inverness, in 1622, he set forth unruffled and undisturbed. The rest of the company were mounted, and were riding softly on; his horse was brought out last. He set his foot in the stirrup, and there stood with his eyes fixed towards heaven, apparently in a muse, for about a quarter of an hour. A friend asked what he was doing, in the great muse he was in; Mr Bruce replied, 'I was receiving my commission and charge from my Master, to go to Inverness; and he gave it to me himself, before I set my foot in the stirrup; and thither I go to sow a seed in Inverness, that shall not be rooted out for many ages.' (p. 147.) And it was so; his ministry there during four years, was singularly owned of God. He preached faithfully, and lifted up his voice as a trumpet to show the people their sins, and summon them to the glorious Sacrifice. The ungodly hated him; one man aimed a shot at him in the public street; yet the Lord preserved him and blessed him still. It will not be the first time that Scotland's waste places have been blessed by the very efforts used to hinder the truth, should our scattered ministers carry with them a blessing such as this, to the heathenish spots of our land. Let us take courage. The Lord is honouring us, by dealing with us as he did with our fathers, if only we shall possess their faith and holy love and prayerful soul.

"The unweariedness of the man of God is to be well noticed. He was in season and out of season, ready for the service of his Lord. If silenced in one place, then the next place he was driven to, heard his voice proclaiming salvation. In 1613, when permitted to return to his own house at Kinnaird, he forthwith repaired the church of Larbert, and preached there,—assisting also at communions all around, attending meetings of presbytery, (p. 149,) and often supplying vacant pulpits. When sent away from this spot to Inverness the second time, in 1622, he describes himself thus: 'I am become so feeble and weak, and my aged and wearied person is so far worn and wasted with grief and care, and other visitations, wherewith it has pleased the Lord in his mercy to chastise me, that hardly do I travel any where without hazard of my life.' Yet he behaved faithfully and actively, even at this age, though so worn out, and though so persecuted by the ungodly, that at first he could not get a house to take for money. He felt that he must labour till the sun should go down, and he did labour well; yet often he looked for the shadows of evening. Mr Livingston heard him say in 1627, 'I wonder how I am kept so long here; I have now lived two years in violence;' meaning that he had by that time passed the threescore and ten, by two years. But we find his state of mind in his old age, best described by himself, in a letter of his, dated 1629. 'Surely, I cannot say, that ever that day goes over my head, wherein I get not a sign and a sense of his comfortable presence. I got two within the town, also very significantly. Mr C. came in the middle of the first of them in my own chamber. I was reading, and on my meditations; and so, although man has left me, yet, my sweet Lord has not left me. I never foregathered with a better master; I never got a sweeter fee and better wages; and I look for a very rich reward. So ye have cause not only to pray, but to praise greatly God for me, that he is so bountiful, and that he meets me above my very expectation.'

"We might have noticed more especially than we have done, his unceasing spirit of prayer. He lived

'praying without ceasing;' and in this, he exhibited one other characteristic of a faithful and true pastor, belonging to the true Apostolic line. (See Acts vi. 4.) Fleming tells us that it was well known that Mr Bruce was 'a great wrestler, who had more than ordinary familiarity with his Master;' Livingston was one morning at his house, when he came out of his closet. (p. 144.) 'His face was swollen with weeping, and one might easily have guessed what work he had been taken up with.' He had been praying for Dr Leighton, who was pilloried in London; but his distress was in part for himself, because he had not been counted worthy to suffer. That night he prayed again for Dr Leighton, asking mostly for *humility* to him, under the weight of such honour bestowed on him by his heavenly Master. So truly was he one of those that 'sigh and cry for the iniquity of the land,' that one night having in his dreams heard a voice pronouncing the ire of God upon the ministry of Scotland, he presently fell a weeping and crying to God to be kept faithful; and when he awoke, he found his pillow all wet with his tears. (p. 147.) In public prayer he was short, but 'every sentence was a strong bolt shot up to heaven,' (p. 142.) Before preaching, his custom was to wrestle much with God; and it was on such an occasion at Larbert Kirk, that the bellman overheard him, and thought some one was with him in the room, because he repeatedly declared, that 'he would not—he could not—go, unless he came with him.' At prayer meetings among brethren and fellow Christians, he was sometimes remarkably answered while still praying. A little before his death, while on a visit to Edinburgh, at a private meeting for prayer, there was such a movement of the Spirit as he prayed, that scarcely any were able to restrain themselves; and one minister afterwards exclaimed, 'O what a strange man is this! for he knocked down the Spirit of God upon us all.' And he was one of that praying company, who spent the most of five days and nights in prayer at the kirk of Shotts, during the week that preceded the amazing shower of the Spirit, (p. 140.) Is there need, in such a man of God, for Apostolic succession? He gives himself to prayer, and to the ministry of the word, (Acts vi. 4,) and the Lord confirms his word by signs following. And need we wonder at the success that followed him, when such was his intercourse with God? Are there not ministers among us who would wonder, on the other hand, if success attended their preaching,—because they are aware that few hours are spent with God, before appearing before their people?

"Mr Bruce's success was very great in all places. Many testify to this; some speak of 'thousands' converted by him. Calderwood uses the expression '*plura animarum millia Christo lucrifecit*,' (p. 143.) The famous Henderson owed his soul to him; and in many places, much of the next generation's piety sprang from seed he had sown. The people of the land felt his holiness so deeply, that it was usually believed he had prophetic endowments, and that miraculous occurrences took place in regard to him. Men felt his heavenliness; and an interpretation was put upon providences that regarded him, which they would not have put on those that befel other men. It was easy to believe that such a man would receive special marks of favour from above. This truly is a blessed ministry, when its effects are felt in the present, and in the future; in the conversion

of souls by thousands, and in the widespread, profound reverence of a whole people. Shall this ever be the ministry of our Free Church? Shall its pastors be men of this high bearing? Shall the land feel that they belong to God? Shall they themselves live in the feeling of Elijah, that God is he 'before whom they stand?'

"The Lord called him to his rest and to his crown in a very easy manner. He had begun breakfast. After he had eaten, as his use was, a single egg, he said to his daughter 'I think I am yet hungry; you may bring me another egg,'—and instantly fell silent; and after having mused a little, he said, 'Hold, daughter, hold; my Master calleth me.' With these words his sight failed him, and he called for the Bible. But finding he was not able to read, he said, cast me up the 8th chapter of Romans, ver. 28, 29. Much of this he repeated, particularly, 'I am persuaded that neither life nor death shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus my Lord.'—and caused them to put his finger on the words. 'Now,' said he, 'Is my finger upon them? They told him that it was. Then he said, 'God be with you, my children. I have breakfasted with you, and shall sup with my Lord Jesus Christ this night,'—and straight gave up the ghost, without one groan or shiver. (p. 156.) In full assurance of eternal life, he entered the valley of death; and now rests from his labours in the bosom of his Lord. He died in August 1631, in the 77th year of his age.]

4. Mr JOHN SCRIMGEOUR. He was minister at Kinghorn. He went minister with king James to Denmark; a man rude-like in his clothing and some of his behaviour and expressions, but one of a deep reach of natural wit; very learned, especially in the Hebrew language; who often wished most part of books to be burnt except the Bible and clear notes on it; one of a most tender loving heart, especially fitted to comfort such as were cast down. His expressions in preaching seemed sometimes too familiar but always very pressing. A little before his death I went to see him at his own house in Auchterderran. He was troubled with the gravel, and several times forced to go to another room, and was made to cry out bitterly for pain. One time when he came back to me he said, "Joannes, I have been a rude stunkard man all my days, and now by this pain the Lord is dantoning me to make me as a lamb before he take me home to himself." Just the like pain, and crying, and subduedness, I found in Mr Jeremy Whitaker while he was lying in Southwark a little before his death in the year 1654.

Fleming, in his *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, Part i. says, "Concerning Mr John Scrimgeour minister at Kinghorn; there was a godly woman under his charge, who fell sick of a very lingering illness, and was all the while assaulted with strong temptations, apprehending she was a castaway, (yet had she not only given ground for charity, but her Christian conversation for a long time had put the reality of the grace of God in her beyond debate with the more discerning who knew her) Mr Scrimgeour often visited her, while in this deep exercise, conferred with her, prayed over her, but her trouble remained notwithstanding; and the terrors of God still lodged with her. When she drew near her dissolution, she became worse both in body and spirit, and sent for Mr Scrimgeour, who at that time took two of his elders with him, and in their presence,

first endeavoured to comfort her by exhortation and conference; then he prayed, and seeing her the nearer her end, seemingly the worse, he made some of the elders to pray, and again he himself prayed: but Satan still ragged the more, and her soul was the more removed from peace. Then he sat in a muse a little space, and said, "What's this! our laying before her grounds of comfort, will not do it; conference will not do it: prayer will not do it; we must use another remedy; sure I am, this is a daughter of Abraham; sure I am, I am the elder; sure I am, she hath sent for me: and therefore in the name of God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent him to redeem sinners, in the name of Jesus Christ who obeyed the Father, and came to save us, in the name of the Holy Ghost and blessed Spirit, our quickener and sanctifier, I the elder command thee a daughter of Abraham to be loosed from these bonds," and immediately peace and joy succeeded. An example it is of God's power in that time, to make our hair to stand at the force of faith and boldness of spirit rather than to be imitated by such, as wanting the ancient holiness would rather have a spirit for miracles, than for salvation.

5. Mr ROBERT BOYD of Trochrig, who was first minister at Vercal in France, afterwards professor of theology in Saumur, and at last settled principal of the college of Glasgow, and minister of Govan; a man thoroughly endued with all sort of learning, as his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians testifies: and a poet, as his *Hecatombe Christiana* and other poems not yet printed show. He spoke and wrote Latin most fluently, yet I have heard him say, if he were to chuse a language wherein to deliver his mind with the most ready freedom, it would be the Greek tongue: one of an austere like carriage, but of a most tender heart. Notwithstanding of his rare abilities, he made no account of himself, but an high account of every other man's parts, when he perceived any spark of grace and ingenuity; but where these were not, no man such a severe censor. All that he preached he wrote fair and full before hand, and marked it in the margin, yet delivered it in the pulpit with as great action and affection as if all had been given him in the mean time.

6. Mr ANDREW CANT, first minister at Pitsligo, afterwards at Newbottle, and last at Aberdeen: one who preached with great authority, and spared not to deliver the whole counsel of God before king or state. He died about the year 1661.

7. Mr ALEXANDER HENDERSON, minister first at Leuchars in Fife, afterwards at Edinburgh, a learned, wise, grave man, who gave great proofs of piety and ability, being moderator of the general assembly at Glasgow 1638, and at other assemblies, and a member of the synod of divines at Westminster. He was employed in great matters for the church of Scotland, and was faithful therein. I was several times with him on his death-bed in Edinburgh in the year 1646, where he expressed great peace of mind.

[I am well informed of a very remarkable passage a few days before he died. Upon his return to Edinburgh he was invited to dine with his good friend Mr, afterwards Sir James Stewart, after Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and was extremely cheerful and hearty at dinner. After dinner was over, in conversation, he asked Sir James, if he had not observed him more than ordinarily cheerful? He answered, he was extremely pleased to find him

so well as he was. Well, said the other, I am near the end of my race, hasting home, and there was never a school-boy more desirous to have the play than I am to have leave of this world; and in a few days (naming the time) I will sicken, and at such a time die. In my sickness I will be much out of case to speak any thing; but I desire you may be with me as much as you can, and you shall see all will end well. All fell out as he had foretold. I think it was a fever he fell into, and during much of it he was in much disorder; only when ministers came in he would desire them to pray, and all the time of prayer he was still, composed, and most affectionately joined. And, at the time he spoke of, he died in the Lord, with some peculiar circumstances extremely affecting to Sir James. This I had from a person of honour, who heard Sir James more than once relate it.

While he and many other ministers were groaning under the corruptions got and getting into the Church, they used frequently to meet in Fife for prayer and conference. Mr James Wood, afterwards Professor of Divinity at St Andrews, was educated in the Episcopal way; and, by his learning and great abilities, in case to say as much in the favours of Episcopacy as the argument was capable of. He came to Mr Henderson and visited him frequently. Mr Henderson, after his close observation of his learning and parts, took him with him to one of their meetings for prayer and conference in the neighbourhood, where generally the Lord, at that time, very much countenanced his servants, with a suitable effusion of the Spirit. Mr Wood was much affected with what he was witness to, and, in returning with Mr Henderson, owned there was a singular measure of the Divine presence, far beyond what he had been witness to; and that his affections and inclinations to join himself with them were much moved; but added, his judgment was not yet satisfied, which behaved to be before he could leave the way he had been educate in. The other owned this highly reasonable, and referred him, for full conviction, to Mr Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum*, upon reading of which Mr Wood owned that his reason was fully satisfied; and, from that time, he left the prelatical sentiments.

I find, likewise, from very good hands, that during the sitting of the Assembly at Glasgow, Mr Henderson, notwithstanding of the vast fatigue he had through the day, yet, with some other ministers, used to spend the night-time, at least a great part of it, in meetings for prayer, and conference upon matters then in dependence; and that those meetings were remarkably countenanced of God; and that the Marquis of Argyll, and several others who sometimes joined in them, dated their conversion, or the knowledge of it, from these times.]

8. Mr JOHN DYKES, minister at Kilrennie in Fife: one well acquainted with the scriptures, who had great facility in understanding, expounding and applying the same. Every morning he publicly expounded a chapter; and so went several times through the Bible with his hearers. Mr John Scrimgeour used to say, that Mr John Dykes will get more meditation in a place of scripture, during the time he is combing his head, than some others will get in a whole day. I have heard him go through a long chapter in less than an hour and pertinently handle every purpose thereof.

9. Mr JOHN ROW, minister at Carnock in Fife,

a son of Mr John Row of St Johnstone who was one of the reformers: a godly zealous man, who was careful to collect the most observable passages of providence in his time. I have seen when he had some other ministers to help him at the communion, he would hardly do any thing himself, but put all the work on others. He helped at the general assembly at Glasgow 1638, to discover sundry corruptions of the former time.

10. Mr JOHN KER, minister at Prestonpans, whom Mr John Davidson designed to be his successor, one who had a great hand in keeping sundry of the nobility and gentry straight, as having near relation to several of them, and being for his generous carriage much favoured by all.

11. Mr DAVID CALDERWOOD. He was first minister at Crailing in Teviotdale; and lived long in Holland, where he wrote and printed *Altare Damascenum*, and some other pieces in English, that helped to keep many straight in that declining time. After that he came privately home to Scotland, and lurking in Edinburgh, strengthened the hands of the nonconformists, and was also a great opposer of sectarianism. After the reformation in the year 1638 (whereunto he contributed much) he was received minister at the kirk of Penkailand in East-Lothian. He wrote the history of the Church of Scotland, beginning where Mr Knox left, but it is not yet printed. He died in the year 1661.

12. Mr JOHN SMITH, minister at Maxton in Teviotdale. He had all the Psalms by heart, and always when he gave thanks before meat he repeated a Psalm, or some part of a long Psalm. When he met with young men intending the ministry, he used to draw them aside and seriously and gravely exhort them, and heartily bless them. He once took me off the street of Edinburgh, into a house for that purpose.

13. JOHN KER, minister of Lyne in Tweeddale; a man that cared nothing at all for the world; lived most soberly; painful among the people; he gave almost all that he had to the poor: he catechised all the beggars that came along, and then gave them liberally.

14. Mr JAMES GREG, minister at Newmilns in Cunningham; he, with Mr Nathan Inghish, were, for non-conformity, imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton: but thereafter restored. He preached with a great deal of earnest and urging vehemency; so that sometimes with striking two fingers of the one hand, on the palm of the other hand, the blood hath come out from the top of the fingers. I heard him say, that in one winter, about forty persons in that parish of Newmilns, (who each of them were more than forty years old) had learned to read, so that they might read the Bible.

15. Mr DAVID DICKSON, after some years profession of philosophy in the University of Glasgow, was first minister at Irvine, about the year 1619-20, and thereafter transported to be minister at Glasgow, and professor of theology in that college; and at last transported to be minister at Edinburgh, and professor in the college there, about the year 1649-50.

He was the only son of John Dickson, in Glasgow. His parents were religious persons, of considerable substance, and many years married before they had this child, and he was the only one ever they had, as I am informed. As he was a Samuel, asked of the Lord, so he was early devoted to him and the ministry; yet afterwards the vow was for-

got till providence by a rod and sore sickness on their son, brought their sins to remembrance; and then he was put to resume his studies which he had left; and at the university of Glasgow he made very great progress in them. I have some of Mr Dickson's sermons at Irvine, taken from his own mouth: they are full of solid substantial matter, very scriptural, and in a very familiar style; not low, but extremely strong, plain and affecting. It is somewhat a-kin to Mr Rutherford's in his admirable letters. I have been told by some old ministers, that scarce any body of that time came so near Mr Dickson's style and method in preaching, as the reverend Mr William Guthrie minister of Fenwick, who equalled, if not exceeded him here.

As Mr Dickson was singularly useful in his public ministrations, so I could give many instances of his usefulness more privately; both to Christians in answering their perplexing cases of consciences, and students who had their eye to the ministry, while he was at Irvine. His prudent directions, cautions and encouragements, given them were extremely useful and beneficial. I could also give examples of his usefulness to his very enemies, and the Lord's making what he spoke to one that robbed him in the road to Edinburgh of a considerable sum of money, the occasion of the poor youth's change of life, and at length of real conversion: the account of which I have from a worthy person, who had it from himself.

Great was the friendship and familiarity between Mr Dickson and Mr Durham; and among other effects of their familiar conversation, which still turned upon profitable subjects and designs, we have the *Sum of Saving Knowledge* which hath been so often printed with our Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This, after several conversations, and thinking upon the subject, and manner of handling it, so as it might be most useful to vulgar capacities, was, by Messrs Dickson and Durham dictated to a minister (who informed me) about the year 1650. It was the deed of those two great men, and, though never judicially approved by this church, deserves to be much more read and considered than I fear it is.

He was concerned in, and I am ready to think one principal mover of that concert among several worthy ministers of this church, for publishing short, plain, and practical expositions upon the whole Bible. I cannot recover all their names who were engaged in this work; but I know Mr Robert Douglas, Mr Rutherford, Mr Robert Blair, Mr G. Hutcheson, Mr James Ferguson, Mr Alexander Nisbit, Mr James Durham, Mr John Smith, and some others, had particular books of Holy Scripture allotted to them.

He was a man singularly gifted with an edifying way of preaching, and whose painful labours were eminently blessed with success, especially while he was in Irvine. His conversing with those persons in Stewarton, and other places in the west, on whose hearts the Spirit of the Lord had wrought in an extraordinary manner, enabled him with much experience to deal with awakened consciences: and therefore he was resorted to by such from all parts: yea, Christians from many other places of the country, resorted to the communions at Irvine twice in the year.

[The following extract from Wodrow's life of him may be inserted here:—At Irvine, Mr Dickson's ministry was singularly countenanced of God. Multitudes were convinced and converted; and few

that lived in his day were more honoured to be instruments of conversion than he. People under exercise and soul concern came from every place about Irvine and attended upon his sermons, and the most eminent and most serious Christians from all corners of the Church, came and joined with him at his communions, which were indeed times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Yea, not a few came from distant places and settled in Irvine, that they might be under the drop of his ministry. Yet he himself used to observe, that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings, and not once to be compared to the harvest at Ayr, in Mr John Welch's time, when, indeed, the Gospel had a wonderful success in conviction, conversion, and confirmation.

Mr Dickson had his week day's sermon upon the Mondays, the market days then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings, many persons under soul distress, used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down, in all which he had an extraordinary talent; indeed, he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall he had in his house at Irvine, there would have been, as I am informed by old Christians, several scores of serious Christians waiting for him when he came from the Church. Those, with the people round the town, who came in to the market at Irvine, made the Church as thronged, if not thronger, on the Mondays, as on the Lord's-day, by these week days' sermons. The famous Stewarton sickness was begun about the year 1630, and spread from house to house, for many miles, in the strath where Stewarton water runs, on both sides of it. Satan, indeed, endeavoured to bring a reproach upon the serious persons who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some, seemingly, under serious concern, to excesses both in time of sermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr Dickson, and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, that Satan's design was much disappointed, and solid serious practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time, under the hardships of Prelacy.]

He was for non-conformity summoned before the high commission court, and because he gave to them in writ, a declinature, asserting that he could not acknowledge them as a competent judicature over him in his ministry, he was removed from Irvine, and was confined to Turreff, in the north; where yet Mr Thos. Mitchell, the minister, employed him to preach every Sabbath. I also heard him tell how some friends procured that he should come to Glasgow, in hopes that he might be reponed to Irvine; and when he came thither, it was propounded, that if he would take up his declinature, he might immediately go to Irvine. But he perceived that that would prove a receding from his testimony, which he had given to the truth and cause of God. For many days, several friends, and many of them both wise and gracious persons, dealt with him to condescend: but he resolved, without clearness and light from God, he would not yield. He said, that all those days he went in bonds, and got not access to God in prayer as formerly, only the light of the word and Spirit remained not to forsake his testimony; and he determined, whatever way they urged him, all day to keep by that light he had by prayer in the morning, till he took it, and all

other reasonings before God at night. And finding no clearness from the Lord to change, although he said he was oft put by their reasonings that he had nothing at all to say, he continued so all these days. It was at last propounded, that he, with any friend he pleased should only go to the castle, and not see the bishop at all; but the paper lying on the hall-table, he should either lift it, or desire his friend to lift it, and go his way to Irvine; but finding such dealing to be a juggling in so weighty a matter, he refused any more meddling: and although he was within sixteen miles of Irvine, he took his horse and went back to Turreff. He said he was hardly a mile out of Glasgow, till his soul was filled with such joy and approbation from God, of his faithfulness, that he scarcely ever had the like in all his life; and within some time, by the dealing of some friends, without any conditions from him, he was restored to Irvine; but all the time of his absence, many Christians from Irvine and the West dealt earnestly with God for his restoration. After his return to Irvine, he was the instrument of conversion and confirmation to many; and thereafter, in Glasgow and Edinburgh, did breed many godly and able men for the ministry. He made great help at the reformation in the year 1638 and thereafter. Some of his books printed both in Latin and English, declare in part what a man he was. When in December 1662, for refusing the oath of supremacy, I was sentenced by the council to banishment, and within forty-eight hours ordered to depart out of Edinburgh; I went to visit him then lying on death-bed. He told me that as our acquaintance had continued near to forty years, he was glad that now we suffered for the same cause; for he also upon that account was removed from his own place in the college of Edinburgh. I inquired how he found himself; he said, I have taken all my good deeds, and all my bad deeds, and cast them together in a heap before the Lord, and have betaken me to Jesus Christ, and in him have full and sweet peace. I enquired also what were his thoughts of present affairs. He said he was sure Jesus Christ would not long sit with such indignities done against his work and people. Within a few days after he died. He made a little sweet poem of the love of Christ, which hath been oft printed. He wrote, says Wodrow, some short poems on pious subjects which have been very useful, such as *O mother dear Jerusalem*, and one somewhat larger in 1649 entitled *True Christian Love*.]

16. Mr SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, a most learned man, a most plain and painful minister, and a most heavenly Christian, as was in his time. He was first a professor of philosophy in the College of Edinburgh, afterwards minister at Anwoth in Galloway, thereafter by the general assembly at Glasgow 1638 he was transported to be minister and professor of theology at St Andrews, where he continued in the work of the Lord, till the year 1661, at which time, with great peace and joy he died. He had a most sharp piercing wit, and fruitful invention, and solid judgment. He used ordinarily to rise by 3 o'clock in the morning. He spent all his time either in prayer, or reading, or writing, or in visiting families; in private, or in public employments of his ministry and profession. While he was at Anwoth, he was the instrument of much good among a poor ignorant people; many of whom he brought to the knowledge and practice of religion; and was a great strengthener of all the Christians in that country, who had been the fruits of the ministry of

Mr John Welch, the time he had been minister at Kirkcudbright. While Mr Rutherford was at Anwoth, he published his *Exercitationes de Gratia*, for which, and for his non-conformity, he was summoned before the high commission: and because he declined them, he was confined in Aberdeen, where he remained two years; from whence he wrote many letters, all of them breathing much of heaven, many of which are since his death printed. In that place he wanted not some fruits of his ministry by his private labours, although he was not there permitted to preach in public. When the change came by renewing the covenant, in the year 1638, he returned to Anwoth, where he continued in his ministry till he went to St Andrews, where he bred many godly and able youths for the ministry, and took great pains, both in public and private among the people. He was also very useful, being sent commissioner with some others to the assembly of divines in England. By his preaching, and by his pen, he opposed all the corruptions of his time.

Mr Fleming, in his *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, Part i., says, "I shall also mention that great servant of Christ, Mr Rutherford, whose Letters (now published) can witness what solemn days of the Spirit, and sensible out-lettings thereof, he oft had in his experience; though books can tell but little of what he really felt and enjoyed. I shall only set down some of his last and dying expressions, which I had from these who were then present, and caused write down the same from his mouth, that they may see how lovely he also was in his death, and how well that did correspond with his former life; some of his words are these, "I shall shine, I shall see him as he is, and all the fair company with him, and shall have my large share of it: it is no easy thing for me to be a Christian; but as for me I have got the victory, and Christ is holding forth his arms to embrace me. I have had my fears and faintings as another sinful man, to be carried through creditably; but as sure as ever he spake to me in his word, his Spirit witnessed to my heart; saying, fear not; he had accepted my suffering, and the outgate should not be matter of prayer, but of praise." He said also "Thy word was found, and I did eat it, and it was to me the joy and rejoicing of my heart." And a little before his death, after some fainting, he saith, "Now I feel, I believe, I enjoy, I rejoice:" and turning to Mr Blair, then present, he said, "I feed on manna, I have angels' food; my eyes shall see my Redeemer; I know that he shall stand at the latter day on the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air:" and afterwards had these words, "I sleep in Christ, and when I awake, I shall be satisfied with his likeness; O for arms to embrace him:" and to one, speaking of his painfulness in the ministry, he cried out, "I disclaim all; the port I would be in at is redemption, and forgiveness of sins through his blood." And thus full of the Spirit, yea, as it were overcome with sensible enjoyment, he breathed out his soul, his last words being, "Glory, glory, dwelleth in Emmanuel's land."

SECTION IV.

SOME OF THE FAITHFUL AND ABLE MINISTERS OF CHRIST IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, OF MY ACQUAINTANCE, WHO ENTERED INTO THE MINISTRY AT OR AFTER THE BLESSED REFORMATION IN THE YEAR 1638.—*VIZ.*: 1. GILLESPIE.—2. DURHAM.—3. GRAY.—4. BINNING.—5. WILLIAM GUTHRY.—6. ROBERT FLEMING.

FROM LIVINGSTON'S MEMOIRS.

1. Mr GEORGE GILLESPIE, minister, first at Kirkcaldy, afterwards at Edinburgh, the son of Mr John Gillespie, minister at Kirkcaldy, a learned, sober, judicious man: being sent commissioner from the Church of Scotland, to the Assembly of Divines at London, he promoted much the work of reformation, and attained to a gift of clear, pressing, strong, calm debating, above any man in his time. Once when both Parliament and Assembly were met, and a long prepared speech was delivered for Erastianism, so as it was thought no man in a short space could answer it; he, being urged by the rest of the Scots commissioners, rose up, and repeated the speech, almost word by word, and refuted it, to the admiration of all. And whereas every man used to take notes, in a little book, of the heads of what was spoken, that, if need were, he might answer in order: when his book was looked into, there was nothing of the speech within it, but here and there, Lord send light! Lord give assistance! Lord defend thy own cause! He was moderator of the Assembly at Edinburgh, 1648, when the engagement against England was condemned. Shortly after, he sickened and died. I heard him once say, that when he went to London, he was hardly a month there till he was in danger to turn a malignant, and hardly again a month in Scotland but he was in danger to turn a sectary. This he said, because sectaries so abounded in England, and malignants in Scotland. He wrote and printed *Aaron's Rod Blossoming*.

2. Mr JAMES DURHAM, minister at Glasgow, a prudent, pious, and humble divine. He was Laird of Powrie in Angus; but after he had been married and had children, being pressed in spirit, and urged by godly and able ministers, and private Christians, he came to the University of Glasgow, and studied divinity, where in a short time he profited so as he might have been a professor of divinity in any university in Europe. He was presently fixed minister at Glasgow, and in the year 1650, when King Charles II. came to Scotland, he, as most fit, for his gravity, learning, wisdom, and piety, was unanimously chosen by the General Assembly, to be minister of the king's family, where he continued for some time, not without great approbation, and some success, as might have been expected at such a time in such a place. Yea, he offered to go with the king when he went towards Worcester, but not finding suitable acceptance he returned to Glasgow, and continued in his ministry till the year 1658, when he died, being about thirty-six years old. His Book of *Scandal*, his *Exposition of the Revelation*, and of the *Song*, with many other pieces not yet published, show what rare gifts the Lord had bestowed on him.

His conversion took place as follows:—Going with his lady to visit her mother in the parish of Abercorn, some miles west from Edinburgh, it happened to be the time of the Lord's Supper being administered in that parish. Upon Saturday, his mother-in-law earnestly pressed him to go with them

to church, and hear sermon; he showed at first a great unwillingness, but was at last prevailed with to go along with them. The minister that preached that day was extremely affectionate and serious in his delivery, and though the sermon was but a plain familiar discourse, yet his seriousness fixed Mr Durham's attention very closely, and he was much affected therewith, but the change was to be reserved for the morrow. When he came home, he said to his mother-in-law, the minister has preached very seriously this day, and I shall not need to be pressed to go to church to-morrow. Accordingly on Sabbath morning, rising early, he returned to church, and Mr Ephraim Melvil preached from 1 Pet. ii. 7; "To you that believe, he is precious." In that sermon the minister so sweetly and seriously opened up the preciousness of Christ, and the Spirit of God wrought so effectually upon his spirit, that in the hearing of that sermon he first closed with Christ, and then went to the Lord's table and took the seal of God's covenant. He ordinarily called Mr Melvil father when he spake of him.

He was one of great integrity, authority, and respect in the country where he lived, and among all his neighbouring gentlemen; inasmuch that in all debates and differences that fell out, Mr Durham was chosen by both parties as their arbitrator and judge, to whose sentence they submitted.

In the time of the civil wars, many gentlemen were in arms for the cause of religion, amongst whom Mr Durham was chosen, and called to be a captain, in which station he behaved himself like another Cornelius, and prayed to God always with his company; yea, he sometimes acted more like a minister than a captain, standing at the head of his company, and giving them many serious exhortations, advices, and counsels for their souls, and prayed before them so powerfully and effectually, that not only all his company, but strangers who passed by and heard, were greatly affected and surprised, looking on him as a man in whom much of the Spirit of God was. His call and coming forth to the holy ministry was remarkable. The Scots army being to engage with the English, he judged it meet to call his company and soldiers to prayer before the engagement. And as he was beginning to pray, it happened that Mr Dickson, professor of divinity then at Glasgow, came riding by the army, who seeing the soldiers addressing themselves to prayer, and hearing the voice of one praying, drew near, and lighted from his horse, and joined with them. He was so much taken with Mr Durham's prayer, that, after prayer, he called for the captain, and having conversed with him a little, he did solemnly charge him, that so soon as this piece of service he was engaged in was over, he should devote himself to serve God in the holy ministry, for to that he judged the Lord called him. But though, as yet, Mr Durham had not clearness to hearken to Mr Dickson's desire, yet two remarkable providences falling out just upon the back of Mr Dickson's solemn charge, served very much to clear his way. The first was,—In the engagement his horse was shot under him, yet he himself was mercifully preserved. The second was,—In the heat of battle, an English soldier was ready to strike him down with his sword, but apprehending him to be a minister by his grave carriage, black clothes, and band, as was then in fashion with gentlemen, asked Mr Durham, if he was a priest? to which Mr Durham answered, Yes, and so his life was spared by

the soldier. Upon after reflection, Mr Durham considering with himself how wonderfully the Lord had spared him, and preserved his life, and that his saying, he was a priest, had been the means of his preservation, resolved, therefore, as a testimony of his grateful sense of the Lord's mercy to him henceforth to devote himself to the service of God in the holy ministry, if the Lord should see meet to call and qualify him for the same.

Accordingly, having studied divinity under Mr Dickson at Glasgow, he was licensed, in the year 1646, and ordained a minister in Glasgow, November, 1647. When Cromwell and his army were in Glasgow, on the Sabbath-day, Cromwell heard Mr Durham, who preached against the invasion to his face. Next day Cromwell sent for Mr Durham and told him, "That he always thought Mr Durham had been a more wise and prudent man, than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons." To which Mr Durham answered, "That it was not his practice to bring public matters into the pulpit, but that he judged it both wisdom and prudence in him to speak his mind upon that head, seeing he had the opportunity of doing it in his own hearing." Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting upon that subject in public. And at the same time sundry ministers both in town and country met with Cromwell and his officers, and represented in the strongest manner the injustice of his invasion.

Upon a certain day when Mr Durham, and Mr Andrew Gray were to preach, as they were walking together, Mr Durham observing multitudes thronging into that church where Mr Andrew Gray was to preach, and but here and there one dropping into that church where he himself was to preach, said to Mr Gray, "Brother, I perceive you are like to have a strong church this day," to which Mr Gray answered, "Truly brother, they are fools to leave you and come to me." To which Mr Durham replied, "Not so, dear brother, for a minister can receive no such honour and success in his ministry, except it be given from heaven. I rejoice that Christ is preached, and that his kingdom and interest is getting ground, and that his honour and esteem doth increase, though my esteem in people's hearts should decrease, and be diminished, for I am content to be anything, so that Christ may be all in all." He was a person of the utmost composure and gravity, and scarce smiled at any thing. When Mr William Guthry and he were together at dinner in some gentleman's house, Mr Guthry was exceeding merry, and made Mr Durham smile, yea, laugh, with his pleasant facetious conversation. It was the ordinary custom of the family to pray after dinner, and Mr Guthry was desired to pray, which he did with the greatest measure of seriousness and fervency, to the astonishment of all present. When they rose from prayer, Mr Durham came to him, and embraced him, and said, "O William, you are a happy man, if I had been so merry as you have been, I could not have been so serious, nor in any frame for prayer, for eight and forty hours."

As Mr Durham was devout in all the parts of his ministerial work, he was more eminently so at communion occasions. Then he endeavoured through grace to rouse up himself to such a divineness of frame, as very much suited the spiritual state and majesty of that ordinance, greatly fearing lest himself or any of the people to whom he dispensed the

same, should fall under the grievous guilt of the body and blood of the Lord. Then, in a manner, his face shone, as being in the mount of communion and fellowship with God, and at some of those solemn and sweet occasions, he spake someway as a man that had been in heaven, commending Jesus Christ, making a glorious display of the banner of free grace, holding forth the riches of it very clearly and convincingly, and bringing the offers of it very low, wonderfully low: so that in the hearing of some of his sermons at those occasions, particularly that on Matth. xxii. 4. some of his hearers were made to think, that the cord of the offer of salvation was let down and hung so low to sinners, that those of the lowest stature among them all, might have caught hold of it, who, through grace, had any mind to do so; and so home, so vehement and urgently pressed, on so sweet and easy terms to be embraced, that it was a wonder to some, how they could refuse or shift them. Mr Durham gave himself much to meditation, and usually said very little to persons that came to propose their cases to him, but heard them patiently, and was sure to handle them in his sermon. His healing disposition and great moderation of spirit remarkably appeared, when this church was greatly divided betwixt the resolutioners and protesters. As he would never give his judgment on either side, so he used to say, That division was by far worse than either of the sides. He was equally respected by both parties, so that at a meeting of the synod of Glasgow, when those of the two different sides met separately, each of them made choice of Mr Durham for their moderator; but he refused to join with either of them, until they would both unite together, which they accordingly did. At this meeting Mr Durham gave in overtures for peace.

His lectures on the book of the Revelation were revised and put to press by himself, but he died before it was finished. All the while he was lecturing upon this scripture, it is said, he kept two days a week for fasting and prayer, for discovering the Lord's mind therein.

When on his death-bed, he was under considerable darkness about his state, and said to Mr John Carstairs, "Brother, for all that I have preached and written, there is but one scripture I can remember or dare grip unto, tell me, if I dare lay the weight of my salvation upon it? whosoever cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out." Mr Carstairs answered him, "You may depend on it, though you had a thousand salvations at hazard." It is said he cried out a little after, "He is come, he is come."

3. Mr ANDREW GRAY minister at Glasgow. He was a son of Sir William Gray of Crichty, who had twenty two children, all of them living to the age of men and women: the first lord Gray was one of them. Mr Andrew Gray (for whose memory his relations have deservedly a great value) was but nineteen years old, going twenty, when he was ordained a minister in Glasgow; and died before he was twenty-two. He was of a very lively and cheerful spirit.

When he was first drawn to the ministry, he was far within that age, that by the constitution of this church (except in case of more than ordinary abilities, which indeed he had) is required for entering into that great and holy calling; and for the space of two years after (which was all the time that the church enjoyed his labours) he was helped to press the truths and threatenings of God so home upon the

consciencs of his hearers, that (as was observed of him by the most learned and pious Mr Durham, who is now in glory with him) he did many times cause the hair of their head to stand up. The Lord was not only hereby verifying his word, that "He can take the weak things of the world to confound the strong," but designing also, as would seem, of purpose to send a boy out of school for a reprover of the sluggishness of his people, that thereby the aged might be the more ashamed, and the younger more afraid. Neither do we think that this was all, but truly when we consider what measure of graces, gifts, and experiences, the Lord did bestow upon so young a person; and then with what humility, self-denial, gravity, prudence, diligence, authority, and moderation, he was helped to manage these talents during the short time of his ministry: it may be justly conceived that the Lord brought him forth to be a great conviction even to many of us in the ministry, who came into our Master's vineyard long before him, and will go out behind him: and indeed to us it looketh somewhat like the Lord's taking up of the little child, and setting him amongst the midst of his contending disciples in those times: that even they who would be greatest amongst us, might be least, and see somewhat of their own weakness.

As to this little piece, whatever ye shall find in it, it hath this to say for itself, that whereas many writings in the world do intrude themselves upon the press, yet this the press hath violently thrust into the world, &c.

4. Mr HUGH BINNING, minister at Govan. He was early acquainted with the scriptures; and, from a boy, had been under much deep and spiritual exercise, until the time (or a little before it) of his entry upon the office of the ministry, when he came to a great calm and lasting tranquillity of mind, being mercifully relieved from all those doubtings which had for a long time greatly exercised him; and though he was of a tender and weakly constitution; yet love to Christ, and a concern for the good of precious souls committed to him, constrained him to such diligence in feeding the flock, as to spend himself in the work of the ministry. It was observed of him, that he was not much averse at any time from embracing an invitation to preach before the most experienced Christians, even the learned professors of the university, and the ministers of the city: and when one of his most intimate friends noticed herein a difference from that modesty and self-denial, which appeared in the whole of his way and conduct, he took the freedom to ask him, how he came to be so easily prevailed with to preach before persons of so great experience and judgment, whose eminent gifts and graces he highly valued and esteemed? He replied, That when he had a clear call to mention his blessed Master's name in any place, he had no more to say, but here am I, send me: what am I that I should resist his heavenly call? And when he, whose name is holy and reverend, is spoken of and to, and is there present, the presence of no other person is to be regarded or dreaded; and under that impression, I forget who is present, and who is absent. Upon the day on which he was to be married, he went accompanied with his friends (amongst whom were some grave and worthy ministers) to an adjacent country congregation, upon the day of their weekly sermon. The minister of the parish delayed sermon till they should come, hoping to put

the work upon one of the ministers he expected to be there; but all of them declining it, he next tried if he could prevail with the bridegroom, and succeeded, though the invitation was not expected, and the nature of the occasion seemed to be somewhat alien from his being employed in that work. The great divine, Mr James Durham, an excellent judge of men, gave this verdict of him, that there is no speaking after Mr Binning; and truly he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season. Mr M'Ward says in his letter, "That as to the whole of Mr Binning's writings, I know no man's pen on the heads he hath handled more adapted for edification, or which with a pleasant violence will sooner find or force a passage into the heart of a judicious experienced reader, and cast fire, even ere he is aware, into his affections." And in another part of the same letter he says, "The subjects he discourses upon are handled with such a pleasant and profitable variety of thought and expression, that the hearer or reader is taken with it, as if he had never met with it before." Mr Binning and some young ministers in the same presbytery, who had been students of divinity, when he was professor of philosophy, did keep private meetings for Christian fellowship, and their mutual improvement. He was a great student in the books of creation and providence, and took much pleasure in meditating upon what is written in these volumes; the wonders he discovered in both led him up to the infinitely wise and powerful Maker and Preserver of all things. Once when he came to visit a gentleman of good learning, and his intimate acquaintance; the learned gentleman took him to his garden, and in their walk he discoursed with him, to his great surprise, of the wisdom and goodness of God, particularly in clothing the earth with a green garb, rather than with a garment of any other colour, and having plucked a flower, he made a most savoury spiritual discourse; he so dissected and anatomized the same, as to set forth the glorious perfections of its Maker in a most taking and entertaining manner. But the main object of his pious contemplations, was God in Christ reconciling the world to himself. And his sermons are the very transcript of what had passed betwixt Christ and his own soul. After he had laboured four years in the ministry, he died of a consumption, when he was scarce come to the prime of life, entering on the twenty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him a sweet savour after he was gone.

5. Mr WILLIAM GUTHRY, minister at Fenwick, a man of a most ready gift, and fruitful invention, with most apposite comparisons, fit both to awaken and pacify consciences; straight and stedfast in the public cause of Christ. He was a great light in the West of Scotland. He was much troubled with the gravel, of which he died in the year 1665.

He was eldest son to the Laird of Pitforthie, in the shire of Angus, where he was born in 1620. He studied divinity, for some years, under Mr Samuel Rutherford. He was licensed to preach the gospel in 1642, at which time he quitted his paternal estate to the only brother of the five, who was not engaged in the sacred office, that thereby he himself might be perfectly disentangled from the affairs of this life. He was ordained minister in the new erected parish of Fenwick in 1644. The people there had been very much neglected, and had not enjoyed the means of grace with that ease and advantage which others were favoured with: the melancholy effects whereof

were evidently discernible in the rudeness and gross ignorance of many of them; and consequently in a too general neglect of God and religion. But that heavenly zeal for the glory of his great Master, which animated the labours of this excellent minister, his fervent love to the souls of men dying in their sins, and his holy wisdom and diligence in reclaiming and instructing them, were so honoured by God, and accompanied with the powerful influences of his Holy Spirit, that in a little time a noble change was wrought upon a barbarous multitude: They were almost all persuaded to attend the public ordinances, to set up and maintain the stated worship of God in their families; and scarce was there a house in the whole parish that did not bring forth some fruits of his ministry, and afford some real converts to a religious life. And thus he was made the instrument of many notable triumphs of victorious grace.

The state of his health made it necessary for him to use frequent and vigorous exercises; and this made him choose fishing and fowling for his common recreations: but as he was always animated by a flaming zeal for the glory of his blessed Master, and a tender compassion to the souls of men; and, as it was the principal thing made him desire life and health, that he might employ it in propagating the kingdom of God; so the very hours of recreation were dedicated to this purpose, which was so endeared to him, and he knew how to make his diversions subservient to the nobler ends of his ministry; he made them the occasions of his familiarizing his people to him, and introducing himself to their affections; and, in the disguise of a sportsman, he gained some to a religious life, whom he could have little influence upon in a minister's gown; of which there happened several examples.

Great multitudes resorted to him from all parts of the west country; his large church was crowded with hearers from Glasgow, Paisley, Lanark, Hamilton, and other distant places, and his strong and clear voice enabled him to extend the profit of his discourses to the many hundreds who were obliged to keep without doors. An extraordinary zeal then enlivened the souls of sincere Christians, and this made them despise the difficulties that lay in their way, and bear cheerfully with many inconveniences, which attendance upon the sacred ordinances was then accompanied with: so that we are assured by several worthy persons who enjoyed Mr Guthry's ministry at that time, that it was their usual practice to come to Fenwick upon Saturday, spend the greatest part of that night in prayer to God, and conversation about the great concerns of their souls, attend on the public worship on the Sabbath, dedicate the remainder of that holy day to religious exercises, and then on the Monday go home ten, twelve, or twenty miles, without grudging the fatigue of so long a way, and the want of sleep and other refreshments, or finding themselves less prepared for any business throughout the week, so much was their heart engaged in the attendance they gave to the sacred administrations. And the fruits of righteousness discovering their beauty and excellency in a holy conversation, were a glorious proof of the sincerity of their profession, and the wonderful success of Mr Guthry's ministry. And there are some of those yet alive, of whose conversion to a religious life God honoured him to be the instrument, who are ready to attest much more than hath been just now said; and can never think with-

out an exultation of soul upon the memory of their spiritual Father, and the power of that victorious grace which in those days triumphed so gloriously. His brother, to whom he had made over his paternal estate of Pitforth, dying in the summer of 1665, Mr Guthry's presence there was necessary for ordering private affairs, which made him and his wife take journey for Angus about that time. He had not been long in that country, till he was seized by a complication of distempers, particularly the gravel; and after eight or ten days illness, died in the house of his brother-in-law, Mr Lewis Skinner, minister at Brechin, October, 1665, aged 45. He died in the full assurance of faith, as to his own interest in the covenant of God, and under the pleasing hopes that God would return in glory to the church of Scotland.

His small treatise of the Christian's Interest hath been blessed by God, with wonderful success in our own country. Several have owed their conversion to the reading of this treatise. Nor hath it less regard paid it in England, Dr John Owen said of it, "It is my *Vade Mecum*. I carry it and the Sedan New Testament still about with me. I have written several folios; but there is more divinity in it than in them all." Foreigners also valued it, translated it, and were eminently profited thereby. It was translated into Low Dutch by the Rev. Mr Kochman, and was highly esteemed in Holland, so that Mrs Guthry and one of her daughters met with uncommon civilities and kindness when their relation to its author was known. It is also translated into French and High Dutch: and we are informed, that it was translated into one of the Eastern tongues, at the charge of that noble pattern of religion, learning, and charity, the honourable Robert Boyle.

[6. ROBERT FLEMING, minister of the Gospel at Cambuslang, author of "*The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*," was born in 1630, at Yester. Of his parentage, says one, suffice it to be said, "he was the seed of God's friends." His family was honourable in his relations, and most eminent for religion. As to worldly substance, his share seems to have been according to Agur's desire. Of his own laying up, there is good warrant to say, he had no treasure but in heaven. His life was made up of great outward trouble and great inward comfort; and "I never found (said he) more comfort than when I was under affliction." His conversion was early. It was but a little while he had dwelt in this world before God dwelt in him, and he in God; and that so evidently, by the appearance of all Christian virtues, that there seemed little more doubt of his being "born of God," than of his being "born of a woman." His always serene countenance declared that it was enlightened by the Divine One: his always gracious speech showed from what altar the coal touched his tongue. What might *Cambuslang* testify of his labours? What might *Edinburgh*, and adjacent places? What might *Rotterdam*, where from 1678 to 1694 he burned and shined?

His success in his ministry was not ordinary; he had a numerous spiritual progeny. He has noted down "that great and conspicuous seal given to his ministry at his first entrance, in the conversion of several persons, and the marvellous power that then accompanied the word on the hearts of the people." Also, "the Lord's marvellous assistance and countenance at the two communions of *Cathcart* and *Dunlop*; with the great enlargement I had at the last of these places, at the last table."

He speaks of his conversion thus:—"That solemn and memorable day of communion at Gray Friars, in the entry of the year 1648, when I had so extraordinary a sense of the Lord's presence; yea, whence I can date the first sealing evidence of my conversion, now forty years past." And near the close of life, he thus records:—"O let me never forget the 25th of December, when, *after sixty years* under the Lord's special conduct, he gave me so sweet and remarkable a visit never to be forgotten. O what a night was it! when I went home pressed to sing the 100th Psalm!" On July 25, 1696, this renowned eagle took flight to the mountain of spices. And now go, reader, go and do thou likewise; for blessed is that servant whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. Matt. xxiv. 26.1]

[7. JAMES FRASER, (of Brea.) He was born in 1639, in the North of Scotland, afterwards became minister of Culrose, and died at Edinburgh in 1698. His last words were,—"I am full of the consolations of Christ." The following extracts from his diary will give the reader an insight into his life and experience:—

"For any thing I could learn of myself, or discern, I had the seeds of grace and faith before this time; but yet I lived more by sense than any other way, and, therefore, I fell and rose as sense was up or down, and so never came to any settlement, like a wave tossed up and down. And so the Lord, intending to settle me, did beat me from sense, and made me learn a more excellent way, even to live by faith. I knew there was a rest, whereof I knew little; only I thought it was an estate of constant joy and life, wherein the Spirit would evermore triumph against the flesh; and wherein all actions would be pure and cleanly. And thus, like the Jews and disciples, I dreamed of a heaven on earth, though not of an earthly kingdom. But that which was indeed my rest, to which he that believeth hath entered in, I never so much as dreamed of it; for I thought faith was some extraordinary rapture, and seeing of Christ with great splendour and glory; this I thought to be faith, or the ground of it. But the Lord came in the calm voice, and Christ grew like a tender plant out of a dry ground. And, indeed, the foundation of this second temple was far less glorious in appearance than the first. Oh, how was I mistaken! It was less in my thoughts that such a dead, blind, carnal, sinful soul should be called to believe and depend most confidently on Christ, and that without any sign from heaven, but upon the bare warrant of his Word in Scripture. The way and manner whereof, as I remember, I shall set down.

"Finding, therefore, no rest in my exercise of self-resignation, I began to be very sorrowful and disconsolate, till one day, as I was reading in my ordinary, I read these words in Hag. ii. 17, "I smote you in all the labour of your hands, yet ye turned not to me, saith the Lord." I applied this spiritually; God, thought I, hath smitten me in all my labours, duties, resolutions and vows; and for all this I turned not to God; but wherein am I not turned? Wherein shall I return? How so? Have I not left my sins, mourned, prayed, read, and meditated? What remains yet to be done? What duty or mean do I slight? What means in my power

have I withholden? I, therefore, cast mine eyes upon all duties; and while I was thus searching, some blessed motion was suggested to me, that I had all my lifetime slighted the duty of believing, and had not turned to God by faith; and, therefore, until this thou do, God will ever continue in smiting thee in all the labours of thy hand; for without faith 'tis impossible to please God. And it hath been the want of this, and this only, that hath blasted thee in all thine endeavours. Faith, quoth I, astonished, what is this? What! me believe, that am so wild, so unprepared, so dead, so little prizing of Christ? It cannot be. Lord now keep me from a delusion. Yes, faith, of which so much is spoken in Scripture, of which thou knowest so little, that is the main grace, said the Spirit. These things made me some way apprehensive of the matter.

"I, therefore, in the second place, was made to consider the matter, and I found that faith had a great place in religion; and withal, looking to myself, I found that I had very little practised it, and was as great a stranger to it as these disciples were to the knowledge of the Holy Ghost. I knew not what it was, nor had formerly exercised it, or distinctly and expressly heard of it, nay, knew not that it was my duty; for this ill principle remained with me, viz., I believed that none should believe but persons so and so qualified, and that the ground thereof was some sensible manifestation of glory, which until I could find, I thought I was to lie in my prison, and mourn.

"The Lord did convince me fully, that I should believe, and that it was the duty of every one; for, as I said before, I thought that only persons so and so qualified, were bound to believe; but the merciful Lord himself did unloose this knot, by calling me to him, convincing me that it was my duty so to do; and thereby the chains wherewith Satan had for a long time bound me, and kept me from the distinct exercise and life of faith, were broken. And that which is wonderful is, I heard it an hundred times pressed in sermons, to believe; and yet until that day, was never persuaded it was my duty to believe, nor ever minded that exercise at all. The grounds whereby I was then persuaded to believe, or that believing was my duty: yea, and that all were bound to believe, which was the first point, were these: 1st, That Scripture, 'This is his commandment, that ye believe on the name of the Son of God.' Then 'tis commanded, concluded I; and why is it not duty? Nay, is it not the great command? Doest thou question that prayer is thy duty? Truly, 'tis thy duty, because commanded. Then faith, or receiving of Christ, being commanded likewise, it is thy duty as well as prayer. 2dly, Wicked unregenerate men are commanded to believe; and 'tis the great duty, more acceptable and well pleasing to God than any thou canst perform, 'What is the work of God, that we should work it?' The answer, verse 29th, was very contrary to their expectations and thoughts, 'This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent; this is the first, the great command, and a command tying graceless persons, such as were the Jews. 3dly, That Scripture was brought to my mind, Abraham by believing glorified God, compared with Num. xx. 12, 'Because ye believed not, to sanctify my name before this people, therefore ye shall not bring this people into the land promised.' Now, seeing believing glorifies God, thou art bound unto it; so,

1 From some Memoirs of his Life, by Mr Daniel Burgess, prefixed to his work "Scripture Truth Confirmed and Cleared."

every man is bound to glorify God. Who questions this? Now, believing glorifies God, in acknowledging his power, goodness, and rich grace. 4thly, The Spirit urged this argument. The wicked are punished for not believing, therefore 'tis their duty to believe. 'He consumed their days in vanity, because they believed not on him; and so shall he do with thee if thou do not believe.' 5thly, This was confirmed to me by the first Scripture, and by the language of some Providences. What else could I call my continual disappointments, and fruitless labours, but a call to me to try what this might do? My days were consumed; and, therefore, by my stroke I might read my sin.

"The Lord having by these persuaded and convinced me that it was my duty to believe, and rolled this stone away from the sepulchre; he proceeded next to answer my manifold objections, which then did begin to swarm, and keep me from believing. The main were, 1st, I cannot believe; and therefore, why am I called to believe? 'Tis the gift of God, and why should I hammer out a faith of my own bowels? This will not be accepted. It was answered, The Lord, by thus drawing and inviting thee, gives thee power to come, as it was when he called on dead Lazarus to live and come forth. And besides, thou canst not sanctify a Sabbath, nor pray; yet 'tis thy duty, and thou goest about it as thou canst. So do here. Yea, to the wearied and loaded, and called thus, 'tis not impossible. A second objection was, I fear I may presume. It was answered, To believe, in obedience to a command, is no presumption. When thou receivest Christ, and in this act, believest on and retest in Him for pardon, this being obedience cannot be presumption, for 'tis no presumption to obey God; to believe uncalled, is presumption or unwarrantable. Objection 3d, I am not enough humbled, my heart is dead and hard, and I am altogether insensible of my condition; and therefore, how can I be called to believe? For 'tis the weary and heavy-laden that are called to come. It was answered, It may be so, but this gives no right to come; 'tis the call and command of God, and Gospel offers, which give a right and not any qualification. And besides, I read in Mr Gray at the same time, that these that are weary and laden, are rather these that will come, than those that ought to come. Thou art miserable and naked, and wild; all is true; but how can it be otherwise, when thou hast lived at such a distance with Christ who is the fountain of life? If thou wouldst believe, he would give thee what thou wantest; there is no other way of receiving life but by coming to him. Objection 4th, But I cannot prize Christ, nor am I prepared. It was answered, That as faith fetches all from Him, so it fetches prizing of Him too; for if faith fetches all from Christ, then it brings nothing to Christ but deadness, blindness, and sinfulness. Come to Him for grace to prize Him; if thou once wouldst believe, then Christ would be precious to thee. Emptiness is the best qualification; 'the hungry he filleth with good things, but the rich He sendeth away empty.' There is no more required than what makes thee be willing to accept Him; if therefore thou be willing to accept Christ, thou prizest Him sufficiently, thou art sufficiently prepared. Objection 5th, Thou findest no glorious power drawing thee. It was answered, Yet I find the Lord in his Word, really calling me; and this is as sufficient a ground to thee, as though He came

personally and visibly here, and desired this of thee; and, therefore, do now what thou wouldst do then. His word is the more sure word of prophecy, surer than the voice that came down from heaven. Objection 6th, But I find no good after I believe. It was answered, No more do saints at first, "After two days will He come and revive us." 'Tis not by coming to Him, but by abiding in Him, that fruit is brought forth. I confess, by the answering of these objections, and by other arguments, the Lord did sensibly and seasonably, and with a strong hand, convince me that it was my duty to believe. Oh, will He take such a vile worm as I! Yea, He will; for thou art the fittest person in the world for Him to glorify his grace on. The Lord did incessantly follow me with these thoughts, yea, I found a sensible power dealing with me.

"I was now come as it were to a new world; and there was such a stir upon my spirit, as I never found the like before. Fain would I believe, but ah, I could not! I found a spirit of resistance, there was a blindness upon my eyes; I knew not what believing was, nor on whom. On the one hand, the Lord by his commands, motives, earnest, and real invitations, promises, and answering objections, yea, and terrible threatenings in case of unbelief, hastening me and pushing me forward, and that speedily; for all doors were shut but this of faith; for I could neither pray nor do any thing, in respect of the sinfulness of it without faith, and therefore this behoved to be my first work. On the other hand, ignorance of Christ, and of the duty of believing, and fear of presumption, and believing on my own strength, did toss me like a ball; I knew not what to do, but like a weak child, stuck in the birth. Oh, said I, how can I believe? Lord, help my unbelief, and pity me, thou that hast been with me so wonderfully through the great and terrible wilderness, and brought me even to the borders of the good land. Oh, help here. Sometimes I would think it were better I had never come this length. My greatest objection was that I did not see the glory of Christ; and though I should believe, yet without this it would not be an effectual believing, and so would prove but a dead faith; and likewise I knew not what faith was. Well, said the Lord, do but rely on Christ for life and effect with some confidence that He will help thee, and I seek no more. In this and to this I found some strength; and then I endeavoured it, and said Behold I come to thee, Lord; do not thou cast me off. But the Lord said, Come not only to see what Christ will do with thee, but likewise rest upon, and believe from his goodness, that He will do all that thou stands in need of. Well then, answered my heart, since it is so, I will take my hazard, and on thee I cast myself, come of it what will. And verily, that which seemed in my most serious exercise to be the notion of faith by which I closed with Christ, was, a certain kind of persuasion and rest in it, that I had, the Lord would do me good. And help me in all things. And the great thing that was pressed upon me was, not to doubt of Christ, especially his good-will; in which in some measure I rested.

"I was afterward more confirmed in this; for in this case I continued for fourteen days much after one way, still looking for some great thing, but found nothing. And then a new objection came in, which was this: though it was my duty to believe, yet if I had really believed, there would something have followed; but oh, I find nothing after my

closing. Surely I have laid my pipes short of the fountain. I am as blind, as dead, as unholy as ever. I will to my prison again, till Christ himself come and redeem me with a strong hand; for it seems I have come forth without a warrant, and so became discouraged, and did pull up the roots, and razed the foundations again. But the Lord tryed me with a suitable word from Mr Shepherd to this objection, shewing that a soul may come to Christ, and yet at first find nothing; and then, saith he, the same reason (viz. emptiness,) that moved thee to come, the same should make thee stay with Christ. This cured the wound something: but the fresh apprehensions of presumption, and catching hold of a lie, with the sense of unworthiness; and believing in my own strength, did like a violent storm raze all foundations, so as through pettishness, fear, unbelief, and impatience, I said, I will to my prison again, I will pluck up my anchor again; and therefore resolved I would make a doleful and heavy complaint to God; but when I was going to my knees, ere ever I had spoken a word to the Lord, it was suggested to me thus: dost thou think, seeing thou rejected my Son, and wilt not trust in Him, that ever thy crying or sorrows will be accepted by me? Is not every thing that is not done in faith, abomination? Thou mayest well think by prayer to offend God more; but never think that the Lord henceforth will do anything for thee, seeing there is no faith; for God hears no prayers but in Christ. I saw by this a necessity of believing, and doing what I could. Well, said I, O Lord! since it is so, that I must of necessity believe, against sense and reason; and as I can, I do trust my soul to thee, and trust thou wilt save me from all my sins; and though this be counted presumption, yet I will trust in Him; and was much strengthened herein from Job xiii. 15, 'Though he kill me, yet will I trust in him;' though all things seem to cry despair and die, and though for my presumption He should kill me, yet I will trust in Him; and now, Lord, since I have sealed this bargain, and closed with thee, send strength, not for any thing in me, but because now I am thy servant, that I may honour thee my Master.

"Then were my eyes opened to see love in all dispensations. Oh, this was a heart-ravishing consideration! The Lord that followed me many a weary day, never rested till He had completed his work with me, and till he had engaged me to believe. Oh, the love of Christ! If Christ had no power to help a poor sinner, but had love, He would even die over it, such is His love.

"I was thinking whether this was but a common work, or was it special saving grace? And I am induced to believe and to think it a saving sincere faith, by these grounds: 1st, It was a faith wrought by the Lord himself, though small and weak; it was a faith of the operation of God. It was not of my own making and devising; and I shall not think that a presumption which he warranted me to do, and which I did in obedience to his command, nor that a delusion which his Spirit wrought. 2ndly, It was grounded on the word, not on sense; on the word of his command. And 'tis no presumption to believe what he commands. 3rdly, It purified the heart, and made me prize and desire grace, and made me desire that mainly for Christ's ends, to honour him. 4thly, It filled me with joy and peace, so as I was satisfied with my condition, and went

about the fields singing songs of triumph over Satan; oh, said I, did I ever see this day, or expect to see it? 5thly, I was sitting and prepared for it; for it was after much humiliation, burdening, and wearying. 6thly, It strengthened me; for I cried out, What shall I now do for the Lord, who hath heard my sorrows and afflictions? 7thly, This joy of the Lord was my strength: It made the Lord Jesus precious; I was made to see a glory, an excellency and loveliness in Him; and 'tis a token of a sound faith that exalts Christ. 8thly, I was made to resolve to pay my vows which I made in afflictions and straits once when at the college under convictions; and another time in confirmation of this when in the wilderness, which was this: that if the Lord would deliver me out of that condition in which I was, and give me assurance of his love, and acquaint me in some measure with the ways of God and Christian exercise, especially faith and patience, that thereby I might better inform others, and that before I was twenty-five years of age, that then, if I were in the kingdom, I should serve him in the ministry. The Lord heard me, so that I thought I was bound. Then did I set myself wholly to serve the Lord. And in this frame I continued for a week, though not in ecstacy of joy, yet in tranquillity of mind; my heart, being staid by faith, was kept in perfect peace.

"Some time after, I began to discover the marvellous depth of the covenant of grace. I was much enlightened in the extent, freedom, and excellency thereof. I saw it a very rational thing to believe. I saw that God required no other thing than to be content; (satisfied with what Christ had done,) so that if I were content, I did not need to doubt. One night, the Lord applied this very strongly and clearly. It was a night to be much remembered for ever. After going to bed, the Lord seemed to say to me,—when I was dull and weak, why dost thou not delight thyself in fatness? Thou complainest of want of life, strength, and comfort, why dost thou not come to the fire that thou mayest be warm? Here is the Lord's security for what thou wantest. May not Heaven, Christ, and holiness, satisfy thee? And with this there came such a mighty gale of the Spirit, that took away all my confusions, that made my soul apply Christ and all his benefits, answered all my objections so fully and clearly, and made me strongly to apply the promises; inasmuch that I found Christ a sweet and satisfying thing. I found his flesh meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed: All fears were driven away; the gospel-privileges appeared exceeding sweet, so as I spent the whole night in prayer, and praising, and rejoicing, wishing now for the morning, that I might do mightily for the Lord. My very body was weakened with the abundance of the joy of faith, arising from a sense of an interest in God."

[8. JAMES HOGG. He was minister at Carnock, and died about the end of the 17th century. He thus speaks of himself:—

"The Lord began his saving work on my soul, with a deep conviction of my singular and unparalleled sinfulness and guilt. Apprehensions of my being chargeable with the guilt of Adam's first sin, and of the corruption of my nature, so impressed my mind with a sense of my loathsomeness and danger, as filled me with strong fears, lest the Lord should, even in time, make me a terror to myself, and all

about me, a monument of his dreadful indignation ; as an awful warning to future generations against their abusing such advantages of education, and other valuable mercies, as I had enjoyed. These convictions preserved me, even when very young, from the common irregularities of children ; and made me diligent in using the Lord's instituted means of grace, public, private, and secret, which were sometimes attended with no small inward sweetness and enlargement. Some of my near relations told me, that they thought they observed evidences of the real grace of God about me, in my most tender years. But, regardless of their accounts, I looked upon myself as an heir of hell, a child of wrath, an alien from the commonwealth of Israel, a stranger from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without Christ, and without God in the world, Eph. ii. 12. This fearful pressure of my heart was produced, by conviction of such sins as could not be much observed by others.

" I had read nothing on conversion, and had little inclination to converse with any about my case. Such as did converse with me also, either took my distress to be no more than a natural melancholy, or thought too favourably of me. None, except Mr Thomas Hogg, whom I met with in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, among other prisoners persecuted for righteousness sake, searched me in answerableness to my real condition. I afterwards, when in great distress of mind, endeavoured to have access to converse with him, when he was prisoner in the Bass, but was refused it. Nevertheless, I got a letter conveyed to him, to which he returned a most profound, clear, and encouraging answer. Though my former heaviness was removed, I had no settled persuasion of my saving interest in Christ : but was tossed hither or thither, as my frames and exercise appeared favourable, or not. I got into familiar acquaintance with some godly persons, with whom I used a great deal of freedom ; and, by prayer and converse with them, received much light and pleasant instruction, which I greedily drank in. As we were all of one mind, I had little inclination to converse about the debates of the times, (between 1660 and 1688) ; but my chief concern was about that which related to the eternal salvation, and the particular case of my soul.

" After I had, for a considerable time, lived in great suspense, sometimes better, and sometimes worse, when I was not so much as thinking on my case, light suddenly broke into my heart. I immediately retired, sweetly meditating on that text, ' Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eye to behold the sun,' Eccl. xi. 7. O how sweet the light was to me, who had long shut up in a dark dungeon ! For some time, I could do nothing, but cry, O for light, for light, for more light ! ' O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me to thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles !' Psal. xliii. 3. After I had thus cried, not without some experience of a gracious answer, and expectation of more, I quickly found my soul brought out of prison, and breathing in a free and heavenly air ; altogether astonished at the amazing mercy and grace of God in Christ, and the surprising manifestations of it, which I enjoyed. But alas ! I was soon tempted to think it all delusive, because I had not, immediately before, been under any spiritual exercise about my case ; and to think none of my preceding concern had proceeded from the spirit of

adoption, and so this could not be an answer to former prayers. In answer to these suggestions (1), I readily granted, that I, and all my best works, instead of meriting any regard from God, did more than deserve his most dreadful judgments, Is. lxiv. 6. (2) I saw the unsearchable riches of his grace, shining more clearly in the freedom of this mercy. Thou hast bought me no sweet cane with money ; neither hast thou filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices ; but thou hast made me to serve with thy sins ; thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities. I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, &c. Is. xliii. 24, 25. (3) I saw that the Lord thus prevented me from having any temptation to sacrifice to my own net. Had this singular manifestation immediately followed any fervent prayer of mine, my proud heart, and Satan, would have taken advantage against me, which now they had not. And the Lord of the mercy was the more endeared to my soul, as I saw him only in it ; and that the whole praise belonged only, and wholly to him. And nothing has been more heavy to my soul, than my miscarriages under soul-exercise, and my hard thoughts of the Lord, and risings of heart against him, and my desponding fears that he would answer my prayers by terrible things in righteousness, Psal. lxxv. 5. Never any in the world had less shadow of ground, to be taken up with any exercise of their mind, than I ; and yet I had need to be weaned from this form of idolatry.

" Having opportunity of a providential retirement, I, for almost three or four days on end, had my soul filled with the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ, 2 Cor. iv. 6. O the inexpressible and ravishing beauty which I was made to behold in his person, offices, yoke, and cross ; and in every thing by which he maketh himself known ! Formerly, I had little more than an opinion, or rational deductions, concerning these things ; but now, my soul was filled with the most glorious and delicious irradiations from the word, by the spirit of wisdom and revelation, in the knowledge of Christ. Having formerly much hurt my soul, by a legal and selfish manner of personal covenanting with God, at this time I did not incline to such dealing with him. But (1) I was not only firmly persuaded of Jesus Christ's infinite ability and willingness to save to the uttermost, Heb. vii. 25 ; but I found the beginnings of salvation already wrought in me, in a deliverance from the power of sin and Satan, and giving me such views of the Pearl of great price, that I was in some measure ready to part with all things for him. (2) By this manifestation, my soul was exceedingly engaged to him, and to his way ; earnestly desirous to know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings. (3) As I had destroyed myself, my desire was to be entirely under his hand, that he might recover me, and finish the work which he had begun in me, with shoutings of grace, grace unto it, Zech. iv. 6. (4) I humbly requested, that he would not let me lie as an useless weight upon the face of the earth, but graciously fit me for any service, however mean.

" Thus my transporting view of his stupendous condescension, and love in wooing, and offering, and giving himself, and all his fulness, to such a wretch as I am, did so delightfully overwhelm my soul, that I shall not say I gave myself wholly to him ; but rather that he, by his Almighty power,

and efficacious persuasion, did invincibly seize upon, and render me his most willing captive.

"Before this time I had much, but perversely, delighted in reading the *Life* and *Letters* of Mr Joseph Alleine; his applauded conduct being so like my own legal exercise. But I now saw, that his exorbitant complaints and labours, and his disabling of his body for the Lord's service by them, or by his carelessness about it, flowed from his legal Baxterian principles. I was enabled more clearly to discern a legal spirit, doctrine, or book. And I earnestly beseech my friends to avoid, to the uttermost, whatever is of a legal strain. These subtle and soul-ruining distempers, will most insensibly insinuate themselves, and poison both heart and practice, even under the choicest means for battering them down; and much more by legal sermons, or books, which shelter and feed them. Such doctrines are not the channel of kindly convictions, or sanctifying comforts. My soul, being now revived, began to learn a more excellent way.

"I perceived, (1) That all that which God hath testified concerning himself, is really to be found in him, and that not by parts, but by perfect unity; his holiness being nothing but himself, an holy God, &c. Deut. vi. 4. (2) Hence, it must be the want of the knowledge and faith of what God is in himself, that maketh us so ready to stagger concerning his truths, providences, or our duty, or any other spiritual thing, especially when we are sore tempted. If we beheld the beauty of the Lord, we would never fear, but only believe, Mark v. 36, Psal. xxvii. 4-13, Job xl. 2, 4, 5, and xlii. 2-6. (3) In perfect suitability to their circumstances in this world, the Lord so reveals himself to all his people, as they see his glory in his word and providence, and know the truth in Jesus Christ, according to the measure of the light bestowed upon them, Luke x. 21. (4) As all divine truths centre in God himself, it is manifest, that according to the measure of saving light, the knowledge of him, and of his truths and ways, go together, John xvii. 3. The Lord is one, and his name, the manifestation of himself is one, Zech. xiv. 9. And, however, we may answer the quibbles of our spiritual enemies, by our reasonings, yet, till the Lord give eyes to see, there will be no real deliverance; no change, making us children of the light, and of the day, not of the night, nor of darkness, 1 Cor. ii. 14, 1 Thess. v. 5. (5) Spiritual light, by manifesting God in Christ, who is all in all, fills the soul with correspondent joy, 1 John i. 1, 4, 5, John xvi. 22, Rom. xiv. 17, with Col. ii. 9, 10. And as the discoveries of his being God, and of his being our God and our all in the promise, are inseparably connected in all the declarations, offers, and invitations of the gospel, there can be no real believing of God's testimony concerning himself, without some assurance included in it, though a poor tossed believer do not discern it."

After he was ordained to the ministry, he speaks thus of himself:—

"My own sad experience of all mixtures of the covenants of work and grace, in legal doctrines and tempers, led me to the utmost earnestness in discovering those deceptions; and in shewing, that the law hath not the promises, nor can be the ministration of the Spirit, or the mean of faithfulness to God in heart or life. The Lord even led me to discern the legal strain of some books, which were in great repute, and which I had highly esteemed, before the

Lord had more clearly shown me his new covenant, Psal. xxv. 14, Luke xvi. 15. Though I was, in every respect, the most weak, sinful, and unworthy, that ever the Lord had thrust forth to labour in his vineyard, and before him, was fearfully guilty of sloth and carelessness, as to a previous digesting, in my own spiritual exercise, the matters which I preached to others, he made my practical discourses useful to the godly in my own congregation, and in other places in which I sometimes sojourned. But they wrought in others a secret disgust; and the more plain they were, my hearers, who contented themselves with a form of godliness, held them to be the more dark and unintelligible. My sincere endeavours to discover the lie that was in their right hand, exceedingly galled them.

"After he had laboured in the congregation of Carmock between thirty and forty years, and his ministrations had remarkably blessed to exercised souls, he died at Edinburgh, amidst the prayers and supplications of his Christian friends."

[9. THOMAS HALYBURTON. He was born in 1674, and died in 1712.

After deep and protracted convictions of sin in his youth he was brought to peace through the one Peace-maker, and he thus describes the effects of this:—

"The effects of this discovery were many and delightful. (1) It made me in a cordial and fixed manner, approve of God's method of saving sinners by Jesus Christ, to the praise of the glory of his grace. It made me fixedly adhere to this truth, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son, 1 John v. 11. It led me to a fixed and resolute rejection of all other ways of relief, Hos. xiv. 8, John vi. 68. In all my after exercises about my guilt, it led me to Christ alone, Phil. iii. 8, 9. It led me to rejoice in Christ Jesus, so as nothing could disturb me, while I, at any time, beheld his glory, 2 Thess. ii. 16, Rom. v. 2, Phil. iii. 3. In all my bad cases, I was satisfied, that a manifestation of the Lord would rectify matters, Job xxiii. 3, 6. I could never approve myself, but when I found my soul moulded into a compliance with the design of the gospel, emptied of self, subjected to the Lord, and careful to have him alone exalted."

He has very fully recorded his own experience; but it is impossible to give a proper idea of it in brief extracts. We shall only add a few paragraphs from the narrative of his death-bed experience, than which we scarcely know of anything more blessed and glorious in all biography:—

"These fourteen or fifteen years I have been studying the promises; but I have seen more of the book of God this last night, than in all that time. I know, a great deal, from a dying man, will go for canting and raving. But I bless God, I have been capable to reflect with composure on his dealing with me. I am sober and composed, if ever I was sober. The operations and influences of the Spirit of God, in religion, are now maligned; but if we take them away, I know not what is left in religion. Am not I a man wonderfully upheld by God, under affliction and death! The death of the saints is made a diversion in our day; but if they laugh at me, I can laugh at them; and I have far better reason. I will rejoice in my God, and joy in the God of my salvation, though the fig-tree should not blossom, and there should be no fruit in the vine, and the labour of the olive should fail. I am pro-

vided. God is a good portion. I want death to complete my happiness. Being laid here I must speak: it is the last service which the Lord Jesus calls for at my hand. And I owe him so much, that I cannot but commend him. I must proclaim him the best Master that ever I saw; I cannot bestow my strength better. I am like to be overwhelmed, when I think on what I am to be, and what I am to see! When shall the day break and the shadows flee away? Turn, my beloved, and be thou like a rose or a young hart upon the mountains of Bethel. I am longing to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is far better.

"It was the delight of my soul to preach the gospel, and to contribute to the saving of a soul. I desired to decrease that the Bridegroom might increase; and to be nothing, that he might be all. I have got no length; I would fain have gone much further. Much study, much prayer, temptations, and outgates from them, are useful helps. I was fond enough of books; but what the Lord let me see of my evil heart, and what was necessary against it, was more useful to me, in the course of my ministry, than all my books. But this is the best pulpit that I ever was in. I am now laid on this bed, that I may commend my Lord. He commended himself first to me. I am hastening to the coming of the day of God, waiting for the salvation of God. I have reason to desire the help of all to praise him. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, magnify his holy name. I have pair with this flux, but I have no complaint. I will soon get my wine fresh and new in his kingdom of glory. I dare scarcely allow my thoughts to run directly upon it, lest I should be overwhelmed. Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. It is but a little, and I will get God himself. I have found his love shed abroad in my soul. Who is like him? O what he hath allowed me this night! I know now the meaning of, Ask what ye will in my name, and ye shall receive it. Stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples; for I am sick of love. I am come to Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant. What shall I render to the Lord? he hath done wonderful things for me! I long to launch out in his praise. It is an ocean.

"Come, Lord Jesus; sweet Lord Jesus; I have waited for thy salvation more than they that watch for the morning. He is trying my patience. I am like to faint with delays. Alas! I am like to be shipwrecked into health again. I desire to be patient under his hand; but he must open my heart to glorify him. I am glad to be gone, not that I am wearied. He hath not allowed a fretting thought to vex me. My great desire, for many years, has been to suffer for the truth of our religion; and now God hath given me the greatest honour, to be a living witness to it, and a monument of it. I will be in heaven shortly, by the word of my testimony, and by the blood of the Lamb. All is of grace. He hath chosen me, called me, justified me, and sanctified me by his grace. He gives grace and glory. O what am I, that he hath brought me hitherto! I bless his name I am much composed, and have solid clear manifestations of God, and the things of God. My body complains of pain, but I complain of none. I was never more myself, all my life, than in this sickness. I was never more indebted to grace. O cursed self! I would have been over-easily away, without all this scouring of my

flux; and yet I am scouring away to heaven, the Lord will have me purged from all my dross, and as gold purified seven times, before I go hence. I will get clean garments, washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb; yet not unto us, not unto us be the glory. Here is the mark of a true Christian, to strike at the bearing down of self, in all its most subtle workings. I am full of sores, but all my bones shall praise him. In heaven we shall have a more glorious and abiding sight of Christ than on the mount of transfiguration. We shall behold his glory, we shall be made like him; for we shall see him as he is. Lo this is our God, and we have waited for him! I am full of matter; I know not where to begin or end. The Spirit of the Lord hath been mighty with me. O the book of God is a strange book. It is written within and without. I never studied it half enough. But now God hath given me much of it together. Never was I more uneasy in my life, and yet never more easy! All my bones are like to break; they stick through my skin, my hand is a burden, my mouth is a burden, &c. and yet all easy. Not unto us, not unto us, be the glory. O who would not lie in this afflicted condition till they be all washed away! I have no sores. He hath bound up all my wounds. I am more than a conqueror. Not I, but the grace of God in me. By the grace of God, I am what I am. The God of peace hath bruised Satan under my feet. I could not have believed that I could have borne, cheerfully borne, this rod so long. This is a miracle, pain without pain. And yet, all this that I enjoy would not make me stand, without new supply from God. That which I rejoice in is, that God is altogether full; and that, in the Mediator Christ Jesus, there is all the fulness of the Godhead; and it will never run out.

"I am going to the land where there is a calm. Within a little I will be in Jesus' bosom; and I am sure of goodness and mercy, in great store, to follow me. O he is good to a poor worm, the chief of sinners! How sweet hath even this bed been, though sin remain, and my trouble be great. My bones are rending my skin, and yet all my bones are praising him. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? There is no curse of a broken law here. I am dying in a way which may confirm that God is good. I am near heaven. Glory to God in the highest, that there is peace on earth, and good will towards men. Life and immortality are brought to light. Help me to put a crown on the Mediator's head, on Grace's head. It will be our glory to eternity, to run deeper and deeper in his debt. Glory to God, that such a vile worm, the chief of sinners, is singled out to be a monument of his grace, and trumpeter of his praise! Who is a God like unto thee, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin! If there be such glory in his conduct about me now, what will be in that, to see the Lamb in the midst of the throne; to see the Lamb that was slain in the midst of the throne? This is no raving of a sick man. I bless God, I never had my judgment more distinct all my days;—an evidence of the reality of religion. Every messenger of death is pleasant to me. I am only detained here that I may trumpet forth his praise a little longer. It will not be all my sore bones that will make me weary of preaching his gospel. Strange, I cannot say that there is the least decay of judgment or memory! O such vigorous workings of my spirit toward God, and

things which are not seen ! Not I, but the grace of God in me. I am near the crown I have been wrestling for so long. Free grace ! free grace ! Not unto me, not unto me be the glory !

" Amidst these and many other like expressions, he intermingled the most earnest and affectionate exhortations and encouragements,—to his wife to trust in the Lord her God, and to bring up their children for God ;—to his children, to know, fear, and follow the God of their fathers ;—to physicians and friends, to study the inward reality and liveliness of revealed religion ;—to the students of divinity, to study an experimental knowledge of the mystery of God, and of Christ, and that the word of Christ might dwell in them richly ; to beware of curiosities and novelties in religion, and of an assuming boldness in the matters of God ; to choose Christ, cleave to him, serve him, and live in communion with him ;—and to his brethren in the ministry, to be serious, diligent, faithful, and harmonious, in the work of the Lord ;—in order that He might be glorified, and precious souls saved through him. When he could speak no more, he clapped his hands ; and died triumphing in Christ."

[10. Mr THOMAS HOG was born in 1628, in Tain, Ross-shire ; died in 1692. Though he was adorned with those natural and acquired accomplishments which constitute a truly amiable person, heightened with the lustre of an unblemished life, and strong appearances of sincere piety, he still, as himself acknowledged to Messrs Stuart and T. Hog, remained a stranger to the saving operations of the Spirit of God. This, however, the divine goodness soon after made him acquainted with, at a time when the arm of the Lord was gloriously revealed in the revival of a work of reformation in this land, which commenced from the year 1638, and the influences of his grace were plentifully poured out upon multitudes through the nation.

He was brought under a very deep and severe law-work ; his convictions were very close, particular and pointed ; his sins were set before him with much of awful majesty, which produced amazement and deep abasement on his part ; and during this work, which was of long continuance, whole crowds of sins were charged home upon him without number and measure, insomuch that he concluded it would be an endless business, and was nigh to despair.

As to the manner of his relief, we learn in general, that from a conviction of actual sins he was carried up to original sin, as the fountain-head, and to a conviction of unbelief, as the seal on this fountain, and found himself concluded in unbelief or in a state of sin, according to Rom. xi. 32 ; John iii. 16-38. The Lord having in this manner laid a solid, clear, and excellent foundation, Mr Hog was at length blessed with faith's views of the glory of Christ in his person and offices ; and the light of the knowledge of the Glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ did so ravish and satiate his soul, as to render him most willing, through grace, to forego, endure, and in his strength, adventure upon any thing in his cause and for his sake.

He was licensed to preach the Gospel in the 26th year of his age, and ere one year elapsed, several parishes were competing for him, from some of which he might have had a greater living than ever he had at Kiltarn ; but he preferred that parish to the rest, because he understood that sovereign grace was pur-

suing some elect vessels there, and he knew that several gentlemen in it were friends to religion, especially the Baron of Fowls, a worthy gentleman, truly zealous for religion, as that family had been from the beginning of the reformation. There Mr Hog was ordained minister, in the year 1654, or 1655, with the unanimous consent and approbation of all concerned.

Mr Hog having been thus settled, he applied himself heartily to his work, taking heed to himself and to his doctrine, that he might both save himself and them that heard him.

Concerning himself ; he was temperate both in diet and sleep. Gluttony, said he, is a great incentive to lust ; and rising betimes is not only good for the health, but best adapted for study, wherein he had much pleasure. His more serious work, his necessary diversion, as visiting of friends and acquaintances, and even meaner things, were all gone about by rule : He kept time and measure in every thing ; However lively the frame of his own soul was, he never insisted long in social duties, though he frequently enjoyed the breathings of the Holy Spirit to a very high degree. He often expressed his dissatisfaction with the length of social exercises, (a fault very common amongst formal professors) as what could not be managed by many to a good account, and as encroaching upon other necessary duties belonging to our respective stations ; yet he utterly disliked a coming reeking hot from the world into the presence of God, and it was his constant practice, both before and after family-worship, to retire a little into his closet. In self-examination he was very exact, and set time apart for it once a month, and sometimes oftener, accounting, that without this spiritual book-keeping, a trade with heaven could not be carried on to great advantage ; and, amongst his other properties, that of singular humility and modesty did excel. He was most reserved as to every thing that tended to his own reputation, and averse from speaking of such things as the Lord had wrought in him, by him, or for him, except to some few of his most entire acquaintances, or when the case of distressed souls did require it.

But he was more especially remarkable in his public character : His concern for, and sympathy with the ignorant, was exceeding great ; the bulk of the people in that parish having, through the long infirmity of their former pastor, and the intervening vacation, been neglected in their examination, and become very ignorant, Mr Hog was at great pains to spread the Catechisms, and other abstracts of our received principles amongst them, and going about from house to house, he prayed with, exhorted and instructed them in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.

As an ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ, his deportment was attended with as much majesty, proper to that function, as had been observed in any ; and no wonder, for few are favoured with so many testimonies of the Divine presence in the discharge of their ministry, as it appears he had. His people, says his successor Mr Stuart, ' were awakened to hear, and he was encouraged to preach Christ Jesus unto them, so that the dry bones began to revive, and pleasant blossoms, and hopeful appearances displayed themselves every where through the parish.'—In like manner, after he was forced from his charge by persecution, he having come south to Moray, and settled for a time at a place called Knockgaudy, near

Oldearn, and preached the gospel in his private house, he was greatly owned of God, and became the happy instrument of converting, or confirming many souls. Mr N——o observes, concerning Mr Hog, "That though the Lord did not bless Mr Hog with children, he once gave him the powerful assurance of that promise, Isa. lvi. 5. I will give thee a name better than of sons and of daughters, which he signally fulfilled to him, in making him the instrument of begetting many sons and daughters to the Lord; to do which the Lord assisted him more I judge than any in his day." Mrs Ross also gives a large testimony to the success of Mr Hog's ministry, in the memoirs of her life. When speaking of Satan's being let loose upon her with his temptations, by which her hope was almost vanquished; "The Lord, says she, sent Mr Thomas Hog, an interpreter, one of a thousand, who was directed to put me upon a right way of recovery, and quieting my mind under present trouble, which was, when I could not resist temptation, to suppose all true that Satan could charge me with, and then make application to the blood of Jesus, that cleanseth from all sin; and he taking me to his house, where I staid for the space of a month, the Lord thoroughly restored my soul before I returned." "Again, speaking of Mr Hog's liberation from person, (which I learn elsewhere was first at Forbes,) she says, he preached for eight years thereafter in his own house, was the instrument of converting many, and ministers about did also wax bold by his example to fall above the work of preaching." And to carry this account down to the latter period of his life, "I have (saith Mr James Hog) had the desirable occasion to hear him preach at the Hague, and his sermons were accompanied with the greatest measure of life and power I have ever had the opportunity to observe in my poor life.—This is he (says the writer of the remarkable passage) of whom I may truly, and without disparagement to any, say, that he was the father of the most eminent, as well ministers as private Christians, in the land, viz. The famous and judicious John Munro in Ross, who had been before a great enemy to him, but at length was by his labours, begotten unto God; also the learned and faithful Mr Thomas Taylor had a most deep, distinct, and long exercise under Mr Hog's ministry, and in the end got a clear and safe outgate, and was thereafter an eminent and burning light both in Scotland and Ireland.—As also that brand plucked out of the burning, Mr Angus MacBean minister at Inverness: the Lord had indeed begun to work on Mr MacBean, and brought him out from among the curates before he saw Mr Hog in the face, but he never had any distinctness in his exercise, far less outgate from his trouble, till the Lord brought him to this eminent seer, who, by converse and otherwise, was the instrument of opening his eyes, and of drawing him most effectually to Christ, after he had been about four years under a deep and heavy exercise of law-work. But time would fail me to speak of the strength, settlement, and establishment in Grace, and in the ways of God, that holy Mr Thomas Ross, and zealous Mr John Welwood, together with several others, did get by his ministry and means, and of the many eminent Christians in every place to which the Lord called and sent him, who were converted, or confirmed, by his ministry."

So soon as it pleased the Lord, to bless Mr Hog's parochial labours with a gracious change wrought

upon a considerable number of the people, he took care to join the more judicious amongst them in a society for prayer and conference; these he kept under his own special inspection, and did heartily concur with, and assist them in exciting and edifying one another.

In prayer he was most solemn and fervent; and profoundest reverence, the lowest submission, and yet a marvellous boldness and intimacy with God, attended his engagements in this exercise. It might be truly said of him, as of Luther when he prayed, it was *tanta reverentia, ut si Deo*, and *tanta fiducia, ut si Amico*, with so much reverence, as if he was praying to God, and with so much boldness, as if he had been speaking to his friend. The strength of his faith was proof against discouragement; none ever beheld him perplexed on account of difficulties. Having once committed his cause unto the Lord, he could wait with assurance of a happy event; and he obtained many remarkable, and even extraordinary returns.

His last sickness was considerably long, and accompanied with great pain. One time his judicious servant hearing the heavy moans he made, humbly asked him, whether it was soul or bodily pain that extorted such heavy groans from him? To which he replied pleasantly and composedly, "No soul trouble, man, for a hundred and a hundred times my Lord hath assured me that I shall be with him for ever; but I am making moan for my body;" and thereupon he entertained him agreeably, concerning the Lord's purging away sin from his own children in this manner, Isa. xxvii. 7. At another time he said, "Pity me, O ye my friends, and do not pray for my life, you see I have a complication of diseases; allow me to go to my eternal rest;" and then with deep concern of soul he cried, "Look (O my God) upon mine affliction and my pain, and forgive all my sins." And yet, says his servant, never was his conversation more heavenly and spiritual, than when he was thus chastised. Toward his end he was much feasted with our Saviour's comfortable message to his disciples, John xx. 17: "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." To the writer of the remarkable passages he said, "He could not give a look to the Lord, but he was fully persuaded of his everlasting love." And to Mr Stuart he said at another time, "Never did the sun in the firmament shine more brightly to the eyes of my body, than Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined on my soul. Some time after this, continues the same writer, "When I understood that he was very low, I made him my last visit, and when I asked how he did, he answered, 'The unchangeableness of my God is my rock.' Upon Sabbath evening, for I staid with him that week, when I came in from the church, his speech was unintelligible to me, but his servant said, he desired me to pray, and commit his soul and body to his God. After prayer I retired a little, and when I returned, I found all present in tears at his dissolution, especially his wife and his faithful servant William Balloch." Mr James Hog and the writer of the remarkable passages add, that as Mr Thomas Hog had many times foretold that his Lord and Husband was coming, so in the end he cried out, "Now he is come, he is come, my Lord is come, praises, praises to him for evermore, Amen." And with that word death closed his eyes.]

SECTION V.

SOME PRIVATE CHRISTIANS IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
 EMINENT FOR GRACE AND GIFTS.—1. HUGH KENNEDY.—2.
 BARTHOLOMEW FLEMING.—3. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM.—4.
 WILLIAM BIG.—5. ROBERT GORDON.—6. ALEXANDER GORDON.
 —7. — CATHCART.—8. JOHN MEAN.—9. JOHN STEWART,
 &c. &c.

FROM LIVINGSTON'S MEMOIRS.

1. HUGH KENNEDY, provost of Ayr. John Stewart, provost of Ayr, told me, that one day a man in that town had thrown in the water and sleek a sea-chest of one of the provost's sons; the provost meeting him, said to the man, "Were it not for the awe of God, and place that I bear, I judge that you deserve that I should tread you under my feet." The night after, about two or three of the clock in the morning, the provost came to John Stewart, and called him up, desiring him to go with him, showing him he could not eat nor sleep, because he had spoken such injurious boasting words to that man; and therefore, as he had confessed his fault to God, he behoved to go and confess to the man. They went to the man's house; the man hearing it was the provost, drew his sword, and laid it naked in the bed behind him, fearing to be assaulted; the provost fell down on his knees before the bed, and said, "Brother, I wronged you, and the office I bear, in boasting and threatening you, and I can get no rest till you forgive me;" and would not rise till the man solemnly forgave him.

2. BARTHOLOMEW FLEMING, merchant in Edinburgh, a most religious man, and a great entertainer and encourager of all honest ministers and Christians in his time.

3. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM of Dolphingtoun, tutor of Bonningtoun, who spent ordinarily the most part of every forenoon only in prayer, reading, and meditation on scripture. When some inquired, how he could stay so long at prayer? he answered, if he got not access to God, he could not come away till he obtained it; and when he got access, it was so sweet, he could not leave it. He told me he was present with John of the Score, when he was executed at Edinburgh, one of the robbers in Annandale, so ignorant of God, that he had scarce heard of Jesus Christ, but who proved at his end a most remarkable example of repentance. He told me also he was present when William Carmichael of Redmyre (or Rowantree-cross, for I remember not which of the two was his style) was executed at Douglas; one who had an estate of his own, but, out of very vanity and wickedness, fell to rob and spoil his neighbours, and so being in danger of his life by the law, fled to Ireland, and returning was seized on by the earl of Angus, and adjudged to be hanged the next day. When the tutor went to speak to him in prison, he would not believe they would take his life, because he was a gentleman, and a-kin to the earl of Angus, and desired the tutor to go the earl, and try his mind; when the tutor came back, and told him he behoved to die, he said, "Ah! it is the saddest news that ever came to a man in the strength of flesh and blood, to tell him he must die; I have much to do in a

short time!" And all that night he was in a fearful wrestling like one distracted; but, about four of the clock in the morning, he desired the tutor to be called to him, and told him he had got assurance of salvation, and desired my father to be sent for from Lanark to be with him; and when he was brought forth to execution, spoke much and well to the melting of the hearts of many; and, being on the ladder he desired the executioner not to throw him over, until he with his elbow gave him a sign; and then spoke out, "Lord, I hope thou wilt not let me perish and the name of thy sweet son Jesus Christ in my mouth; and that name shall not go out of my mouth so long as I have breath, Jesus Christ have mercy upon me! Jesus Christ receive my soul!" and so continuing, gave with his elbow a sign to the man to throw him over.

4. WILLIAM BIG of Adderny, one much exercised in spirit, and experienced in the cause of God, and most zealous in the cause of God. When he was bailie of Edinburgh, he gave great evidence, that he had the spirit of a magistrate beyond many, being a terror to all evil doers. He had a good patrimony, and employed it well. I have heard Big of Carberry say, "I have been on his accounts; and, to my certain knowledge, he spends, yearly, more in pious uses than all my estate is worth, and mine will be towards eight or nine thousand merks by year;" and yet he would hardly ever give any thing at all to the vagrant sturdy beggars. I have been often with him at private meetings, when he prayed, and observed, that always he began with most heavy and bitter complaints and confessions deeper than any that I have heard; and sundry times before he ended, he expressed unspeakable assurance, and joy, and thanksgiving; but sometimes also he continued and ended just as he began. I heard him say, when after the reformation 1633, something seemed to appear in general assemblies, as tending to restrain private meetings of Christians for mutual edification; "I think, saith he, the church of Scotland is just like Adam in paradise, that cannot continue in integrity a moment."

5. ROBERT GORDON of Knockbrax, a single-hearted and painful Christian, much employed at parliaments and public meetings after the year 1638. He had also two brethren, very gracious persons, John Gordon of Garleburgh, in whose house I was once at a private meeting, where were, beside Earlestone and Knockgray, John Gordon of Barskeugh, John M'Adam, and some others, all eminent Christians.

6. ALEXANDER GORDON of Earlestone, a man of a great spirit, but much subdued by inward exercise, and who attained singular experiences. Alexander Gordon of Knockgray, a rare Christian in his time. His chief put him out of his land mostly for his religion; but he was restored by that man's son: and he told me, the Lord had blessed him with great prosperity.

7. — CATHCART of Carleton in Carrick, an old experienced Christian. I heard once Mr Cunningham, minister at Holywood, say, that, being once at a communion in Daylie, he and some others being in conference with Carleton, that he thought that all the doubts and questions that they propounded to him, were but like poor questions of raw flesh soldiers propounded to an old commander in war.

8. JOHN MEAN, merchant in Edinburgh, a solid and steadfast professor of the truth of God. He used

1 The two first he had only heard of: the rest were of his acquaintance.

to rise about three in the morning, both Summer and Winter, and sing psalms as he put on his clothes, and spend till six o'clock alone in religious exercises. At six he worshipped God with his family, and then went to his shop.

9. JOHN STEWART, provost of Ayr, a godly and zealous Christian of a long standing. He was one in that intended voyage from Ireland to New-England, who were all put back again. He had a great impediment in his speech and stuttering, so as one could hardly understand what he said; but I have often heard him pray as distinctly as any man could speak.

Fleming says of him, "I must add a word upon the death of this worthy man. When his friends came to see him, he oft used this word, be humble; and, as to his own case, he said, 'I go the way of all flesh; and it may be some of you doubt nothing of my well-being; yea, I testify, that except when I slept, or was on business, I was not these ten years without thoughts of God, so long as I could be in going from my house to the cross; and yet I doubt myself, and am in great agony, yea, at the brink of despair.' But a day or two before he died, he turned his face to the wall from company for two hours, and then Mr John Ferguson came in, a grave and godly minister of that place, who asked what he was doing; upon which he turned himself, with these words, 'I have been fighting and working out my salvation with fear and trembling; and now, I bless God, it is perfect, sealed, confirmed, and all fears are gone.'"

ELIZABETH MELVILL, lady Culross, daughter of the laird of Hallhill. She was famous for her piety, and for her dream about her spiritual condition, which she put in verse, and was by others published. Of all that ever I saw, she was most unwearied in religious exercises; and the more she attained of access to God, she hungered the more.

FLEMING, lady Robertland, one deeply exercised in her mind, and who often got as rare out-gates; a great help to the poor people of Stewarton when they were awakened. She had a strange way of continuing a spiritual discourse under the similitudes of outward and worldly things. I heard her say, speaking of God, "With him the most of moists is lighter than nothing; and without him the least of leasts is more than my burden." After she had attained for many years to as much assurance and stability as any in her time; yet I found her in Edinburgh about the winter of 1619, in as great doubts and darkness as ever before: but many battles brought many victories.

CHRISTIAN HAMILTON, lady Boyd, a rare pattern of Christianity, grave, diligent, and prudent. She used every night to write what had been the case of her soul all the day, and what she had observed of the Lord's dealing.

ANNA LIVINGSTON, countess of Eglintoun; although bred at court, yet proved a humble and eminent Christian; an encourager of piety and truth.

SECTION VI.

OF THE WORK AT STEWARTON AND IRVINE, ABOUT THE YEAR 1625, &c.

From the FULFILLING OF THE SCRIPTURES page 185, Folio.

I must here instance a very solemn and extraordinary out-letting of the Spirit, which about the year

1625, and afterwards, was in the west of Scotland. This by the prophane rabble of that time, was called the Stewarton sickness, for in that parish first, but after through much of that country, particularly at Irvine, under the ministry of Mr Dickson,¹ it was remarkable; where it can be said, (which divers ministers and Christians yet alive can witness) that for a considerable time, few Sabbaths did pass without some evidently converted, or some convincing proofs of the power of God accompanying his word; yea, that many were so choaked and taken by the heart, that, through terror, the Spirit in such a measure convincing them of sin, in hearing of the word, they have been made to fall over, and thus carried out of the church; who after proved most solid and lively Christians. And, as it was known, some of the most gross, who used to mock at religion, being engaged upon the same that went abroad of such things, to go to some of these parts where the gospel was then most lively, have been effectually reached before their return, with a visible change following the same. And truly this great spring-tide (as I may call it) of the gospel, was not of a short time, but for some years continuance; yea thus like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another, which put a marvellous lustre on these parts of the country, the savour whereof brought many from other parts of the land to see the truth of the same.

FROM BLAIR'S LIFE.

I preached sometimes (while a regent in the college of Glasgow) to the people of Stewarton, a parish in Cunningham, where the Lord had a great work in converting many. Numbers of them were at first under great terrors and deep exercise of conscience; and afterwards attained to sweet peace, and strong consolation. I preached often to them in the time of the college-vacation, residing at the house of that famous saint the lady Robertland, and had much conference with them, and profited more by them, than I think, they did by me: though ignorant people, and proud secure livers called them "The daft people of Stewarton." Mr Robert Boyd of Trochrigg came from his house in Carrick to meet with them, and having conferred with both men and women, he heartily blessed God for the grace of God in them. The countess of Eglintoun did much countenance them, and persuaded her noble lord to spare his hunting and hawking some days, to confer with some of them, whom she had sent for to that end: her lord after conference with them, protested, "That he never spake with the like of them, and wondered at the wisdom they manifested in their speech." So

¹ Of Mr Dickson, see Sect. IV. of this Chap. He had been a regent in the College of Glasgow, and was ordained minister in the town of Irvine in 1618, and laboured there about twenty-three years.

² Some place this work in 1625; others in 1630: the difference may be owing to its continuance. It began, it seems, about 1625, and lasted till after 1630, and spread from house to house, for many miles, on both sides of Stewarton-water. The minister of Stewarton, at that time, was one Mr Castlelaw, who encouraged the Stewarton people to attend on Mr Dickson's sermons on Monday's at Irvine; and often employed Mr Blair to preach at Stewarton, and accompanied him from Glasgow to Dumbarton, singing Psalms along with him most of the way, when Mr Blair was leaving Glasgow. But the chief instrument the Lord made use of, in that blessed work at Stewarton and Irvine, seems to have been Mr Dickson.

many of them as were able to travel, went to the Monday market at Irvine, the next parish, with some little commodities, such as they had; but their chief design was to hear the Monday-lecture by Mr Dickson, minister at Irvine, which was so prudently ordered by him, that it ended before the market began: and by their example, many of that parish, (their minister, Mr Castledaw, encouraging them to it) and some out of other parishes, went thither, whereby the power of religion was spread over that part of the country. I ble-s the Lord that ever I was acquainted with that people; and for the help I had by interchanging letters with Mr Dickson. Hereby I was helped, according to my power, to relieve them that were in need, and to sympathize tenderly with such as I knew to be tempted, and lying under heavy pressures of conscience; whereby I still learned more of the wicked wiles of Satan, and of the blessed ways of God.

FROM WODROW'S PREFACE TO DICKSON'S TRUTH'S VICTORY OVER ERROR.

At Irvine, Mr Dickson's ministry was singularly countenanced of God. Multitudes were convinced and converted; and few that lived in his day were more honoured to be instruments of conversion, than he. People under exercise and soul concern, came from every place about Irvine, and attended upon his sermons, and the most eminent and serious Christians from all corners of the church came and joined with him at his communions, which were indeed times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Yea, not a few came from distant places and settled at Irvine, that they might be under his ministry, yet he himself used to observe that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings, and not once to be compared to the harvest at Ayr in Mr John Welsh's time, when indeed the gospel had wonderful success in conviction, conversion, and confirmation.

Mr Dickson had his week-day sermon upon Mondays, the market days then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings, many persons under soul distress used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down, in all which he had an extraordinary talent. In a large hall he had in his house at Irvine, there would have been, as I am informed by old Christians, several scores of serious Christians waiting for him, when he came from the church. Those, with the people round the town, who came into the market at Irvine, made the church as throng, if not thronger on the Monday, as on the Lord's day by these week-day sermons. The famous Stewarton sickness was begun about the year 1630, and spread from house to house for many miles in the strath where Stewarton water runs, on both sides of it; Satan indeed endeavoured to bring a reproach upon the serious persons, who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some seemingly under serious concern, to excesses, both in time of sermon, and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr Dickson, and another minister, who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, as Satan's design was much disappointed, and solid, serious, practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time.

SECTION VII.

OF THE SERMON AT THE KIRK OF SHOTTS ON MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1630.—AND THE REVIVAL IN 1636, &c.

From the FULFILLING OF THE SCRIPTURES, page 185, folio.

I MUST also mention that solemn communion at the Kirk of Shotts June 20, 1630, at which time there was so convincing an appearance of God, and down-pouring of the spirit, even in an extraordinary way, that did follow the ordinances, especially that sermon on the Monday, June 21, with a strange unusual motion on the hearers, who in a great multitude were there convened of divers ranks, that it was known, which I can speak on sure ground, near five hundred¹ had at that time a discernible change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterwards. It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so as many of the most eminent Christians in that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation in their case, from that day; and truly this was the more remarkable, that one, after much reluctance, by a special and unexpected providence, was called to preach that sermon on the Monday, which then was not usually practised; and that night before, by most of the Christians there, was spent in prayers, so that the Monday's work might be discerned as a convincing return of prayer.

FROM LIVINGSTON'S LIFE.

The only day in all my life, wherein I found most of the presence of God in preaching, was on a Monday after the communion, preaching in the churchyard of Shotts, June 21, 1630. The night before I had been in company with some Christians, who spent the night in prayer and conference. When I was alone in the fields about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, before we were to go to sermon, there came such a misgiving of spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the multitude and expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stolen away somewhere and declined that day's preaching, but that I thought I durst not so far distrust God; and so went to sermon, and got good assistance about one hour and a half upon the points which I had meditated on Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, 26. And in the end, offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time in a strain of exhortation and warning, with such liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the

¹ As to the credibility of Mr Fleming's testimony, it may be sufficient briefly to mention the following things:—1. His eminent character for integrity and piety; for which, see the attestation prefixed to the fifth edition on his *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, by Watts, Neal, Ridgley, Bradbury, Wilcox, and many others; and the *Memoirs of his Life* by Mr Daniel Burgess prefixed to the same. 2. As to his opportunities of good information; during the whole time of his ministry in Scotland, viz. from 1653 to 1661, he was minister at Cambuslang, within twelve miles of the Shotts, which two parishes are not only in the same Synod, but in the same Presbytery. He could not therefore fail to have frequent opportunities of conversing with ministers and others, who had occasion to know the subjects of that work, and the evidences of their perseverance, for so considerable a time as betwixt the years 1630 and 1661. Besides his opportunities, when at Rotterdam, of conversing with such men as Mr Livingston, Mr McWard from Glasgow, and other Scotch ministers.

like in public all my life-time. Some little of that stamp remained on the Thursday after, when I preached in Kilmarnock; but the very Monday following, preaching in Irvine, I was so deserted, that the points I had meditated and written, and which I had fully in my memory, I was not for my heart able to get them pronounced: so it pleased the Lord to counterbalance his dealings, and to hide pride from man. This so discouraged me, that I was resolved for some time not to preach, at least not in Irvine; but Mr David Dickson would not suffer me to go from thence, till I preached the next Sabbath, to get (as he expressed it) amends of the devil. I stayed, and preached with some tolerable freedom.

Some farther particulars which the Compiler has credible information of.

There was a great multitude of divers ranks, and from different corners of Scotland (many of them of eminent piety) who attended that communion. By credible information conveyed through a few hands from persons who were Mr Livingston's contemporaries, the following facts appear to be well attested as to the occasion of such an uncommon gathering of pious people, and their getting the assistance of several of the ministers who were most esteemed at that time. As the Kirk of Shotts lies on the road from the West to Edinburgh, and is at a good distance from any convenient place of entertainment; some ladies of rank who had occasion to pass that way, met, at different times, with civilities from the minister at his house, which was then situate where the public inn is now. Particularly once, when through some misfortune befalling their coach or chariot, they were obliged to pass a night in the minister's house; they observed, that besides its incommodious situation, it much needed to be repaired. They therefore used their interest to get a more convenient house built for the minister, in another place. After receiving so substantial favours, the minister waited on the ladies, and expressed his desire to know if any thing was in his power, that might testify his gratitude to them. They answered, it would be very obliging to them if he would invite to assist at his communion, certain ministers whom they named, who were eminently instrumental in promoting practical religion. The report of this spreading far and near, multitudes of persons of different ranks attended there, so that for several days before the sacrament there was much time spent in social prayer.

It was not usual, it seems, in those times, to have any sermon on the Monday after dispensing the Lord's Supper. But God had given so much of his gracious presence, and afforded his people so much communion with himself, on the foregoing days of that solemnity, that they knew not how to part without thanksgiving and praise. There had been, as was said before, a vast confluence of choice Christians, with several eminent ministers, from almost all the corners of the land, that had been many of them there together, for several days before the sacrament, hearing sermon, and joining together in larger or lesser companies, in prayer, praise, and spiritual conferences. While their hearts were warm with the love of God, some expressing their desire of a sermon on the Monday, were joined by others, and in a little the desire became very general. Mr John

Livingstone, chaplain to the countess of Wigtoun, (at that time, only a preacher, not an ordained minister, and about seventeen years of age) was with very much ado, prevailed on to think of giving the sermon. He had spent the night before in prayer and conference; but when he was alone in the fields, about eight or nine in the morning, there came such a misgiving of heart upon him under a sense of unworthiness and unfitness to speak before so many aged and worthy ministers, and so many eminent and experienced Christians; that he was thinking to have stolen quite away, and was actually gone away to some distance; but when just about to lose sight of the Kirk of Shotts, these words "Was I ever a barren wilderness or a land of darkness?" were brought into his heart with such an overcoming power as constrained him to think it his duty to return and comply with the call to preach: which he accordingly did with good assistance, for about an hour and a half on the points he had meditated from that text Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26. "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a spirit will I put within you, and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh." As he was about to close, a heavy shower coming suddenly on, which made the people hastily take to their cloaks and mantles, he began to speak to the following purpose. "If a few drops of rain from the clouds so decomposed them, how decomposed would they be, how full of horror and despair, if God should deal with them as they deserved; and thus he will deal with all the finally impenitent. That God might justly rain fire and brimstone upon them, as upon Sodom and Gomorrah and the other cities of the plain. That the Son of God by tabernacling in our nature, and obeying and suffering in it, is the only refuge and covert from the storm of divine wrath due to us for sin. That his merits and mediation are the alone screen from that storm, and none but penitent believers shall have the benefit of that shelter." In these or some expressions to this purpose and many others, he was led on about an hour's time (after he had done with what he had premeditated) in a strain of exhortation and warning, with great enlargement and melting of heart.

The following particular instances are well attested, and, if it were proper, some of the persons could be named. On that remarkable Monday, three of our young gentlemen in Glasgow, had made an appointment to go to Edinburgh, to wait upon the public diversions there. They alighted at Shotts to take breakfast. One of their number proposed, as there was a young man to preach that day, (Mr Livingston, the lady Wigtoun's chaplain) if the rest would agree, they might go and hear sermon, probably more out of curiosity than any other motive. And, for the more expedition, they proposed to come away just at the end of the sermon, before the last prayer. But the power of God was so felt by them accompanying that sermon, that they could not come away till all was over. When they returned to the public house to take their horses, they called for some drink before they mounted; but when the drink was set upon the table, they all looked to one another: none of them durst touch it till a blessing was asked; and as it was not their manner formerly to be careful about such things, one of them at last proposed, "I think we should ask a blessing to our drink:" the

other two readily agreed, and put it upon one of the company to do it, which he readily did. When they had done, they could not rise until they should return thanks. They went on their way more sober and sedate than they used to be, but none of them mentioned their inward concern one to another, only now and then they would have said, "Was it not a great sermon we heard?" another would have answered, "I never heard the like of it." They went to Edinburgh, but instead of waiting upon diversions or company, they kept their rooms the most part of the time they were in town, which was only about two days, when they were all quite weary of Edinburgh, and proposed to return home. Upon the way home, they did not yet discover themselves to one another; and after they were some days in Glasgow, they kept their rooms very much, and came seldom abroad. At last one of them made a visit to another, and made a discovery of what God had done for him at Shotts: the other frankly owned the concern that he was brought under at the same time. Both of them went to the third, who was in the same case, and they all three agreed directly to begin a fellowship meeting. They continued to have a practice suitable to their profession, (so far as my informer heard) as long as they lived. And some of them lived to an advanced age, and were eminent and useful men in the place.

Another instance was of a poor man, a horse-hirer in Glasgow, whom a gentlewoman had employed to carry her to Shotts. In time of sermon he had taken out his horse to feed at a small distance from the tent, when the power of God was so much felt in the latter part of the sermon, he apprehended that there was a more than ordinary concern amongst the people; something he felt strike him in such a way as he could not account for; he hastily rose up and ran into the congregation, where he was made a sharer of what God was distributing among them that day.

A minister yet alive, who had occasion to observe that Andrew Gray of Chrystoun, an eminently pious aged gentleman, some miles north-east from Glasgow, was furnished with valuable materials relating to the success of the gospel in that part of the country about that time, entreated him to put down some of them in a letter, in which he writes to the following purpose. "Notwithstanding of the blessed reformation from Popery which God brought about by the endeavours of a few, the bulk of the country continued in much ignorance and immorality. But two springs of the revival of religion in this corner were the famous sermon at the Kirk of Shotts; and the labours of Mr Robert Bruce. As, at that sermon at Shotts a good number of people were by grace made acquainted with the life and power of religion, so several of them were eminently good men, and remarkable not only for a pious inoffensive behaviour, but also for their abounding in all these good fruits which pure and undefiled religion enables its sincere followers to perform. This not only made them esteemed and revered by many of their neighbours, but likewise procured some respect for religion itself, from which they reaped many advantages, its followers being readier to do them all kind of good offices, than other people. Among other good fruits, you cannot doubt a strong inclination to promote the spiritual good of others was a principal one. As the labourers were then few in this part of God's vineyard, he seemed to have inspired these private Christians, with an uncommon degree of love to the souls

of men, inciting them to labour by all proper methods, to bring others acquainted with that grace which had produced such blessed effects on themselves: and their labours were not without a considerable effect. They were called the Puritans of the mair of Bothwell; perhaps by way of reproach, by those that were ill affected towards them. Some relations of mine were much the better for having conversed with them; especially an elder brother of my father's (who died young) as appeared by a paper left by him. I have seen some of these people myself, who lived to a great age, and conversed with many good people at his house, who had been very well acquainted with them. My father told me he understood Mr Livingston visited (perhaps sometimes resided) at the Earl of Wigtoun's house in Cumbernauld, and Lord Boyd's in Badenheath, and was a benefit to some of the daughters in both families. He mentioned a daughter of Lord Boyd's, who was married to ——— Pringle of Torwoodlie; lived long; was a singularly good woman, and endured much for conscience sake.

Mr Robert Bruce, in his old age, after being sorely harassed, got leave to retire to a land interest of his own (Gartberry) in the Old Monklands, where he died. The curate of Old Monkland at that time was, by all accounts, a silly ignorant creature. Mr Bruce used to send him word sometimes, that he would preach for him. Whether he had any kindness for Mr Bruce, or being overawed by the reputation of so great a man, durst not refuse him, I know not; but he gave him his pulpit. His sermons were attended with considerable success, and were the other great mean, of diffusing the power of godliness through this country. The country people were filled with great respect for him, and used to speak of him as a person of great gravity, and an awful preacher. I have been told by some of the children of those who heard him preach, that when he entered the pulpit, he frequently, by way of preface, uttered some very moving and weighty expressions, such as "That it was a great matter to believe the being of a God," and charged them to endeavour to have their minds deeply affected with a sense of that truth. When his health allowed, and he was asked, he used to visit the sick; and the people were firmly persuaded, that by means of his prayers several were recovered. No doubt the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much; but probably their regard to the man, made them attribute perhaps too much to his prayers. Providence seems to have been early kind to the Old Monkland, in bestowing upon them likewise two very pious clerks or readers, Mr Matthew Ramsay, afterwards minister of Kilpatrick, and John Semple of Croesphairn. The story of John Semple I believe I told you already: he knowing that a great number of people used to meet in a certain plain on the Sabbath-day, to divert themselves in the customary manner, went thither one day and civilly asked them to leave off their pastimes, and join a little with him in prayer. They were prevailed on to do so; and I have been told, that by that means several were brought into a real concern about their souls; but one certain and visible effect was that they never met more in that plain, on that day for such exercises.

The next advantageous step to the interest of religion in this part of the country, was the settlement of three worthy good men; viz., Mr Bennet in Kirk-

intilloch, Mr Matthew Ramsay in Kilpatrick, and Mr Carstairs in Cathcart, whose ministry was eminently successful. The east end of the parish of Calder, lying so near Kirkintilloch, frequented that kirk; and by means of Mr Bennett's ministry, the Sabbath began to be a great deal better kept, and the sports and diversions, that till then had subsisted, were given over. About the same time Messrs Dickson, Durham, M'Quair, Gillespie, Baillie, &c. were settled in the Presbytery of Glasgow, which was not only a great benefit to the interest of religion, upon account of their personal labours in preaching the gospel, and other parochial duties, whereby schools were every where set up, knowledge was greatly increased, and a mighty reformation brought about; but also by their care and endeavours for preserving the purity of the doctrine, which, during the former period, I am informed, had been much corrupted; and by restoring the ancient discipline, in visiting churches, inquiring severely into the conduct of ministers, sessions, and people, turning out insufficient and scandalous ministers, censuring and admonishing the lazy and indolent, and endeavouring to keep out worthless men. By such methods as these, not by lording it over God's heritage, but by expending their time and strength in a disinterested and unwearied promoting the good of souls, they gained the greatest love and reverence from their people, and their judicial sentences were received with respect and submission. They turned out two worthless insufficient men out of Calder and Campsie, and settled Mr Thomas Melvin and Mr John Dow, in their room, who were great blessings in these parishes. As a proof of the success of Mr Melvin's ministry; in a few years after his settlement, the worship of God was so generally set up in families, that it was a great scandal and discredit to such as neglected it; and the number of praying societies rose from one to eight or ten.

From what I have said above, you will easily believe, that the success of the gospel in such hands, was like to be considerable. As to singular effusions of Divine Grace at particular times and places, I cannot say much; only I heard my father tell, that on the Monday after the celebration of a sacrament at Kirkintilloch, the people being detained in the church after sermon was ended, by a sudden fall of rain: that they might not be without some suitable entertainment, Mr Carstairs stepped into the pulpit, and in an extempore discourse, wherein he described the nature of faith, and cautioned them against mistakes about it, especially against depending on a sort of faith that they had all their days, and knew not how they came by, declaring faith to be the work of the Spirit of God with power, there arose a mighty commotion in the congregation; many were brought into a deep concern about their souls' condition, the good fruit of which appeared in their after-life and conversation. Another instance I have heard of at Calder, where the same Mr Carstairs officiating for Mr Melvin, who had been taken with a fit of sickness during the sacrament, while they were singing part of the twenty-fourth Psalm, "Ye gates lift up your heads," &c. before the blessing of the elements, there was a mighty melting of heart seized the congregation, and the Spirit of God, like a mighty wind, burst open the everlasting doors, and took possession of the hearts of sinners; several people from that day dating their first soul-concern and conversion. I have heard,

Mr Carstairs used to say, he had three days of heaven upon earth, and one of them was at Calder. May we not suppose that another of them was at Kirkintilloch on that other remarkable occasion? Their exemplary life and conversation, as well as their labours and zeal for winning souls to Christ, raised the credit of the ministry high among the good people. They loved them as their own souls, attended their ministry with earnestness and joy, and considered the want of them as the greatest loss they could possibly sustain, as appeared, when, after their being turned out at the restoration, they attended their preaching in the fields with the hazard of their lives. I leave it to you to consider, whether a revival of the same zeal, labours, and exemplary conduct, be not the best way to restore to the ministry that love and respect," &c.

From the FULFILLING OF THE SCRIPTURES, page 186, folio

That was also a remarkable time, wherein the Lord did let forth much of the Spirit on his people, in the year 1638, when this nation did solemnly enter in covenant, which many yet alive at this day do know; how the spirits of men were raised and wrought on by the Word, the ordinances lively and longed after; for then did the nation own the Lord, and was visibly owned by him; much zeal, and an enlarged heart, did appear for the public cause; personal reformation seriously set about; and then also was there a remarkable gale of providence that did attend the actings of his people, which did astonish their adversaries, and forced many of them to feign subjection. Alas, how is our night come on; for the Lord hath in anger covered the face of the daughter of Zion with a dark cloud! Must not we also say, since the land was engaged by covenant to the Lord in these late times, what a solemn outletting of the Spirit hath been seen, a large harvest with much of the fruit of the gospel discernible, which we may say with a warrant, hath been proved in the inbringing of thousands to Christ, a part whereof now are in glory, and many yet live who are a visible seal to this truth, of whom I am sure some will not lose the remembrance of these sweet refreshing times, which the land for several years did enjoy of the gospel, and of many solemn communions, where a large blessing with much of the spirit and power of God was felt accompanying the ordinances; if it were expedient to set down circumstances, I could here point at many such remarkable times and places, which should clearly demonstrate this.

Old Mr Hutcheson, minister at Killellan, used to say to Mr Wodrow, author of the History of the Church of Scotland, "When I compare the times before the restoration with the times since the revolution, I must own, that the young ministers preach accurately and methodically; but there was far more of the power and efficacy of the spirit and grace of God went along with sermons in those days than now; and, for my own part (all the glory be to God) I seldom set my foot in a pulpit in those times, but I had notice of some blessed effects of the Word."

When I mention Mr Wodrow, it may be proper to inform the reader, that he took the pains to collect accounts of a great many ministers in Scotland (and other persons of a public station), who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (some of

whom were eminent for piety) and hath left in manuscript several volumes of their lives. The following is a list of some of them, the time of whose death is particularly mentioned:—

Patrick Hamilton, martyr, who suffered	1527
George Wishart, martyr	1546
John Rough, martyr	1557
Alexander Alesse, Professor of Divinity, who died	1568
John Knox the Reformer	1572
John Row, minister at Perth	1580
Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of Aberdeen College	1683
Thomas Smeton, Principal of Glasgow College	1584
James Lawson, minister at Edinburgh	1585
John Spotswood, minister at Calder	1586
George Buchanan the historian	1590
Andrew Hay, minister at Renfrew	1593
Thomas Jack, minister at Eastwood	1593
David Fergusson, minister at Dunfermline	1600
Robert Rollock, Principal of the College of Edinburgh	1600
Thomas Buchanan, minister at Ceres	1600
John Craig, minister at Edinburgh	1600
John Durie, minister at Edinburgh	1600
John Porterfield, minister at Ardrossan	1600
John Coupar, minister at Edinburgh	1603
David Black, minister at St Andrews, who died administering the Lord's Supper	1603
William Harlaw, minister at West Kirk	1606
James Nicholson, minister at Meikle	1607
John Johnston, Professor of Divinity at St Andrews	1611
David Lindsay, minister at Leith	1613
James Melvin, minister at Anstruther	1614
Walter Balcanquhall, minister at Edinburgh	1616
Charles Fairholm, minister at Fraserburgh	1617
Patrick Simson, minister at Stirling	1618
William Cowpar, minister at Bothkennar	1619
Andrew Melvin, Principal of the College of Glasgow	1621
John Carmichael, minister at Kinneuchar	1622
John Welch, minister at Ayr	1622
John Cameron, Principal of the College of Glasgow	1625
Andrew Duncan, minister at Crail	1626
Robert Boyd of Trochrigg, Principal of the College of Glasgow	1627
Henry Charteris, Principal of the College of Edinburgh	1629
Robert Scott, minister at Glasgow	1631
Robert Bruce, minister at Edinburgh	1631
Archibald Simson, minister at Dalkeith	1632
John Murray, minister at Leith	1632
William Forbes, minister at Aberdeen	1634
Patrick Forbes of Corse	1635
John Forbes, minister at Alford	1636
John Weems of Lathoquer, minister at Dunee	1636
Richard Dickson, minister at West Kirk	1638
John Bell, minister at Glasgow	1641
John Fergushill, minister at Ochiltree	1644
John Row, minister at Carnock	1646
John Adamson, Principal of the College of Edin.	1653
John Strang, Principal of the College of Glasgow	1654
Andrew Ramsay, minister at Edinburgh	1660

There are some passages in Mr Hallyburton's Life, relating to the success which the Lord gave to his ministry; but, for these, it may be sufficient to refer to the book itself, which is justly valued, and in a good many hands. I conclude this section with the following hints communicated by a minister of the gospel, March 19th, 1753, "I have seen a manuscript, in which there is an account of a remarkable pouring out of the Spirit of God on a company of ministers and Christians, at a private meeting at Sheens, near Edinburgh, on the day when the five articles of Perth were voted and passed in Parliament; particularly when Mr David Dickson (who was then only a young man) prayed. I have often heard, that the period between 1650 and the restoration was a very remarkable one in Scotland for the success of the gospel. I have heard old Christians speak of a remarkable reviving and uncommon power attending the Word, immediately after the revolution, in the West and South of Scotland, Fife, Lothian, &c. Particularly, I have heard of a remarkable communion at Stow, near Galashiels, just about the time of the revolution. The gospel was also attended with wonderful success by the ministrations of some particular ministers; such as Mr

John Anderson, and Mr Thomas Forrester, at St Andrews, Mr Gabriel Semple at Jedburgh, Mr John Moncrief at College Kirk, Edinburgh, Mr William Moncrief at Largo, Mr John Flint at Lanawade, &c.

SECTION VIII.

OF THE WORK IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND, IN THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM, NEAR THE SIX-MILE-WATER, IN THE YEAR 1623, &c.—THE MINISTERS EMPLOYED IN THAT WORK.—THE WAY IT WAS CARRIED ON.—THE OPPOSITION IT MET WITH AND OVERCAME.

I. THE ministers employed by the Lord in that work were.—1. Mr BLAIR at Bangour. 2. Mr CUNNINGHAM at Holywood. 3. Mr HAMILTON at Ballywater. 4. Mr RIDGE at Antrim. 5. Mr CALVERT at Old Stone. 6. Mr DUNBAR at Larn. 7. Mr WELCH at Temple Patrick. 8. Mr STEWART at Dunnagore. Mr LIVINGSTON at Killinchie.

From LIVINGSTON'S MEMOIRS.

1. Mr ROBERT BLAIR, born in Irvine, was first a regent in the college of Glasgow, at which time also he began to preach in public; and was from the beginning zealous for truth and piety. Sometime after the year 1623, he was invited by the Lord viscount of Clanniboy in Ireland, and had a call and was settled minister of Bangour in the county of Down, and was indeed a chief instrument in that great work of God that broke out afterwards in Six-mile-water, and other parts of the county of Antrim and Down, and elsewhere in the North of Ireland; and this not only by his own ministry, wherein he was both diligent and faithful, but especially by stirring up other ministers, as Mr Robert Cunningham, minister at Holywood, with whom he kept a most intimate familiarity, and all the rest of the ministers hereafter named. One time, hearing Mr James Glendinning, he drew him aside, and dealt with him to follow another way of preaching, and deal with people's consciences, to awaken them, which so prevailed with the man that he fell upon a thundering way of preaching, and exceedingly terrified his hearers; and, although he afterwards fell into some reverie, and in some distemper left the place, yet this proved a preparation to that people, that when thereafter the Lord sent among them Mr Josias Welch, they were the fitter to receive the covenant of free grace in the gospel; and this proved the beginning of that remarkable work in the Six-mile-water. Mr Blair was a man of a notable constitution, both of body and mind, of a majestic, yet amiable countenance, one thoroughly learned, of strong parts, and solid judgment, and of a most public spirit for God. His gift of preaching was such as seldom any could observe withdrawing of assistance in public, which in some others is frequent. He was seldom ever brangled in his assurance of salvation. He spent many days and nights in prayer alone, and with others; one very intimate with God. He had been several years in Glasgow where he made it his business to train up the youth under his charge in the study of godliness, as well as in human learning; but through the prejudices of some who had power there, he thought proper to resign his post. Before he resigned, upon the report of some sinful-like oaths to be pressed on the masters of the college, he en-

quired at Mr Gavin Forsyth a fellow-regent, what he designed to do in that case? Mr Forsyth answered, "By my faith I must live;" and what will you do? said he. Mr Blair replied, "Sir, I will not swear by my faith, as you do, but I intend to live by my faith; you may chuse your own way, but I will adventure on the Lord," or words to this purpose. Mr Forsyth continued in his post after Mr Blair was gone: but many years afterwards Mr Forsyth fell into such poverty, as obliged him to supplicate the general assembly for some relief: there Mr Blair was moderator at that time; and upon Mr Forsyth's applying to him in private, he put him in mind of that passage, not to upbraid him with his low condition, but to shew him that he had been carried through by his faith, at which the other had scoffed. Upon leaving Glasgow, and riding down to Dumbarton, about ten miles off, where his brother Mr William Blair was minister, he sung psalms almost all the way for joy, together with Mr Castlelaw minister of Stewarton, who came to attend him. The day after he demitted his charge at Glasgow, James Hamilton of Kirktonholm told him, he had an invitation to him from the Lord Clanniboy in Ireland, patron of the kirk of Bangour, in the county of Down, to come over there. Upda his going over to Ireland, about a mile from Carrickfergus, he was filled with sweet peace and holy joy in the Lord. When he came to Bangour, he was welcomed by the dean (who lay a-dying) as his successor, and exhorted by him to hold on in the way he had been walking in. The Lord Clanniboy also welcomed him; and having preached there, at the desire of the dean and the patron; after three Lord's days, some ancient men of the congregation came to him, in name of the rest, showing that they were edified with the doctrine delivered by him, and entreating him not to leave them. The Viscount of Clanniboy, having (at Mr Blair's desire) informed old Bishop Knok of Rapho, how opposite Mr Blair was to Episcopacy, and their liturgy, and Mr Blair, at meeting with the Bishop, having also declared it to be so, the Bishop, notwithstanding, said, "he was most willing Mr Blair should be placed there," saying to him, "I hear good of you, and will impose no conditions upon you; I am old, and can teach you ceremonies, and you can teach me substance, only I must ordain you." Mr Blair told him, that was contrary to his principles. To which he replied; "Whatever you account of Episcopacy, yet I know you account a presbyter to have divine warrant: will you receive ordination from Mr Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than as a presbyter?" this he could not refuse: and so the matter was carried, and he was ordained minister at Bangour in the presbyterian way.

In Blair's Life, written by himself, there are several other remarkable particulars; such as, 1. His being excited, when very young, to consider how even inferior creatures were made for some valuable end, (Page 2.) That he himself must be made for such end; his conjecturing that it was for answering the end for which they were made, that there were such gatherings in the great buildings called churches; how this was cleared up to him in a way that made uncommon impression on him, while yet very young, in hearing a stranger minister who passed through the place where young Blair resided, and preached on Psal. lxxii. 28. "It is good for me

that I draw near to God." How he was made to consider this as the true answer to his secret previous inquiry, for what end he was made.

2. How, when come to the college (p. 5.) edifying impressions were made on his mind by an inaugural oration of the pious and learned Mr Byod of Trochrigg, wherein he discoursed of the influence which gratitude for redemption had in determining him to be a teacher of divinity, notwithstanding of the labour attending that work.

3. Of the spiritual benefit he had for progress in practical religion (Page 12. &c.) in being enabled to more abundant attention to the light of God's word, blessed to him by his spirit, concerning due acknowledgement, not only of the Mediator's merit, but of the all-sufficient fulness of his grace as the source of spiritual supplies for all acceptable service to God. Of edifying visits to eminently pious ministers and private Christians, (Page 24.) The great comfort he had in his spirit which he expressed by singing Psalms when riding along with the minister of Stewarton, from Glasgow to Dumbarton, before he went to Ireland, (Page 32.) His exemplary resolutions to apply with the same earnestness to his work as a minister as he had done to his former work as a teacher of philosophy. Of returns to public united prayers on a fast-day, observed on account of a very rainy harvest that threatened the ruin of the crop, (Page 41.) How though on the very fast-day itself, at first instead of a discernible comfortable return of prayer, there was rather a real delay and seeming refusal: yet in the evening there was such a favourable and lasting turn given to the weather as was just matter of wonder and praise, &c. &c.

2. Mr ROBERT CUNNINGHAM was first preacher for a while to a regiment in Holland; but afterwards minister at Holywood, in the North of Ireland, where he had been some considerable time before Mr Blair came to Bangour. The one man, to my discerning, of all that ever I saw, who resembled most the meekness of Jesus Christ in his whole carriage; and was so revered by all, even the worst, that he was often troubled with that scripture, "Woe to you when all men speak well of you." Yea, Mr Blair speaking one time to the Bishop of Down, said, "You may do to me and some others as you please; but if ever you meddle with Mr Cunningham, your cup will be full:" and indeed he was longer spared than any of the rest, and when the rest were deposed, almost every week, he preached in some of their kirks; and so with pains at home and abroad, he wearied, and wore out his body, which was not very strong. He was sometimes in preaching (to his own sense) not so assisted as usually; but even then, his sweet conveyance of the matter was such, that I thought these times as edifying and refreshing as any other; but ordinarily he was borne through with a full gale, and sometimes more sharp piercing threatenings than any other. I was with him when he died at Irvine, in the year 1637, at which time, besides many other gracious expressions, he said one time, "I see Jesus Christ standing over death's head, and saying, deal warily with my servant; loose now this pin, now that, for his tabernacle must be set up again." When the ministers of the presbytery came to see him, he exhorted them earnestly to be faithful to God, and to his people. One time, when Mr Blair and I had been summoned before the Bishop, to Balthillips to be deposed, and had been the night before with Mr Cunningham, and taken our leave of him: the next

day, when we were going into the church of Balthipp's he cometh to us; at which we wondering, he said, all this night I have got no rest when I thought of that place, "At my first answer no man stood with me," therefore I am come to stand by you.

8. Mr JAMES HAMILTON, a nephew of Lord Clanniboy's, minister at Bally-water, a learned and diligent man: his gift of preaching was rather doctrinal than exhortatory. After the year 1638, he was minister in Dumfries, in Scotland, and after that was transported by the general assembly, to be minister at Edinburgh. He is said to have been a young man of great tenderness of conscience, and good abilities. His uncle (whose chamberlain he formerly had been) after he heard him preach, put great respect upon him, and shortly thereafter entered him to a charge in the holy ministry, wherein he was very painful, successful, and constant. He had many temptations to follow preferment, which he might easily have attained: but the Lord graciously preserved him from being entangled with these baits; and made him very instrumental and successful in setting forward the work of the Lord, both in his own charge, and others also, wherever he got a call.

4. Mr JOHN RIDGE, an Englishman, minister at Antrim; he used not to have many points in his sermon; but these he had, he so enlarged and urged them again and again, that it was hardly possible for any hearer to forget his preaching. He was a great urger of charitable works. A very humble man; I heard him once say, his tongue nor his pen, never gave him leave to call any honest minister, Brother. He said also, he was once in a part of England, where he wearied exceedingly, because he could not find in it any object of outward charity. Being deposed by the Bishop of Down for his non-conformity, he came over to Irvine where he died.

5. Mr HENRY CALVERT or COLWORT, an Englishman, minister at Oldstone; one who very readily cited much scripture in his sermons, and often urged private fasting and prayer. Being deposed by the Bishop, he came to Scotland, and after the year 1638, was settled minister at Paisley, where he died. He came over to Ireland with Mr Hubbert, who settled in Carrickfergus, and was a gracious and able man. Mr Colwort was first helper to Mr Edward Bryce, an old minister at Broad-Island, of whom Mr Livingston says, he, in all his preaching, insisted most upon the life of Christ in the heart, and the light of his word and Spirit in the mind; that being his own continual exercise. After Mr Glendinning's departure, Mr Colwort was brought to Oldstone, where he laboured diligently, and bore a part at the monthly meeting, and was a man of a vehement delivery in preaching. In which he was very different from his next neighbour, Mr Ridge: but this variety of gifts glorifies the giver.

6. Mr GEORGE DUNBAR was at first minister at Ayr, from whence he was once and again thrust out. He was thereafter minister at Inver, by Lough-lairne in Ireland, where one day in his sermon regretting with great grief, that he thought none of that people had ever got good by his ministry; one Robert Broun arose, and said before them all, "that he had got good:" and indeed there appeared afterwards a blessed change wrought both on him and several others. Being deposed by the bishop of Down in Ireland, he came to Scotland, and after the year

1637, he was minister at Calder, in Lothian, where he died.

7. Mr JOSIAS WELCH, the son of the famous Mr John Welch, was provided by the Lord to bring the covenant of grace to that people of the Six-mile-water in Ireland, on whom Mr James Glendinning had wrought some legal convictions. Having preached some time at Oldstone, he was thereafter settled minister at Temple Patrick, where he had many seals of his ministry. He was much exercised in his own spirit, and accordingly much of his preaching was about exercise of conscience. Mr Blair meeting with him in Scotland, and perceiving how zealous a spirit he was of, exhorted him to haste over to Ireland, where he would find work enough, and, he hoped, success enough. And so it came to pass; for he being settled at Temple Patrick, became a blessing to that people. And being himself often under exercise of spirit, spake vehemently, to convince the secure, and sweetly, to comfort those that were cast down. One time, his concern was so great, that he sent for his brethren in the ministry, with whom he used to join in the monthly meeting, and, with tears running over his face, told them the cause why he had desired them to come; "That he had been now for a long time pressed to desert the ministry, having preached for so many years the gospel of Christ, and yet himself but a cast-away." But though the truth of his grace was hid from himself, it shined in the greatest lustre to the conviction of others. Being deposed by the Bishop of Down, he continued preaching in his own house, and stood in a door that looked toward the garden, so as some heard in the house, and a great many that sat and stood in the garden. By this means, being but of a weak constitution, having many defluxions, and faulty lungs, he contracted cold, which occasioned his death about the year 1634. I was with him at his death, wherein he wanted not continuing exercise of his mind. One time he cried out, "Ah for hypocrisy!" whereat Mr Blair said, see how Satan is offering to nibble at his heel before he enter into glory. A very little before he died, I being at prayer, hard by the bed-side where he lay, and that word victory coming out in some expression of mine, he took hold of my hands, and desired me to forbear a little, and clapping his hands, cried out, "Victory, victory, victory for evermore;" and then desired me to go on: and a little after expired.

8. Mr ANDREW STEWART, minister at Duna-gore; a man very straight in the cause of God. He continued not long in his ministry, but contracted sickness, and died some years before the great scattering came in the north of Ireland; wherein first the ministers were put away for non-conformity: afterwards many private christians were vexed and forced to flee, to avoid the oath there urged for abjuring the Covenant of Scotland; and at last the sword of the Irish rebels came on.

Being called to the funeral of Mr Josias Welch, his neighbouring minister, just now mentioned, he stood some time at the grave as a sad observer of such a thing; and said to some who were by, Who knows who will be next? none answering; he said, I know, and turned away, and went home to Duna-gore on his foot, and entering into the church, bolted the doors, and tarried there above two hours: and after, going to his house, he fell asleep on his bed with an excess of grief, whence he never in health rose again, but was buried that day month. When

his wife, whom he had left with Mr Welch's widow, returned, she enquired what he had been doing; he said, I have been taking my leave of the church of Dunnagore, and I was taking timber and stones to witness, that in my short time I had laboured to be faithful, and that, according to my light, I have revealed the whole counsel of God to the people. Mr Ridge coming to see him, said, sir, I hope you do not now repent that you have been faithful: I repent only, said he, that I was so long a-beginning; (meaning, his resisting for several years a call to the ministry, to which he had been much pressed) and I will tell you a strange thing which hath helped me to be faithful: These last seven years, there hath not one day passed me without thoughts of death; and renewed submission to it; yea this hath made me neglect my body, which should have served the Lord, as if it had been mire in the street, which now troubleth me. That night when he died, several godly and grave christians were with him, and after he had been long silent, and at length groaning oft and heavily, one desired to know what troubled him, he at first refused to tell; but at last being urged, he said, I shall tell you, my hair stands to behold what I see coming upon these lands. [This was in the year 1634.]

FROM BLAIR'S LIFE.

9. Mr JOHN LIVINGSTON. After all the former helps we had from the Lord, Mr John Livingston was sent over to us. He was a man of a gracious melting spirit, and was desired much by godly people about Torphichen, where he had preached as an assistant to another; but was still opposed by the bishops; but old bishop Knox of Rapho refused no honest man, having heard them preach by his order. And he and sundry others got entrance; and he being settled at Killinchie, the Lord was pleased greatly to bless his ministry, both within his own charge and without it, where he got a call: but he continued not long there, trials hasting upon us¹.

Thus far of the ministers whom the Lord honoured to be instrumental in carrying on that work.

II. As to the methods they took in their own parishes and at their monthly meeting for promoting the work; also what success they were blessed with, the following passages will give us some information.

Being entered at Bangour, I remembered my resolutions while I was yet at Glasgow, namely that whenever the Lord opened a door to me to the holy ministry, if I failed of that diligence I used, in teaching of philosophy to a few students, I could not be answerable to God, when weightier things were to be taught to so many. And indeed the charge was very great, having above twelve hundred come to age, besides children that were to be instructed also. I saw that public preaching could not do it, though I was in public four times every week, having variety of matter and method in all these, I saw the necessity of more plain and familiar instruction. I resolved therefore to go out among them, and spend one day every week, and sometimes two, and spent as much time as my bodily strength could hold out with. Shortly after I fell upon this way, the Lord was pleased to visit me with a fever;

and some that maligned this way of painfulness, said somewhat scoffingly, "They knew I could not hold out as I began." But within a few days, the Lord raised me up again, and helped me to continue that way, during all the time I continued in that ministry.

My acquaintance being made with Mr Cunningham of Holywood, it was comfortable to us both, and grew to such intimacy, that we frequently visited one another, and spent many hours, yea days together, in godly conferences and calling upon the name of the Lord. But the case of people, through all that part of the country, (meaning about the time he first settled there) was most lamentable, they being drowned in ignorance, security and sensuality. At length the knowledge of God growing among the people, and the ordinance of prayer being precious in their eyes; the work of the Lord began to prosper. Mr Cunningham helped us very much, and his little parish was a good example to ours: we preached often the one for the other: we agreed also betwixt ourselves to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord eight days in the year, four in his and four in my kirk; so that proficients in both parishes, did all these times communicate together.

We had also discipline by elders, and deacons for the poor, and as long as we had freedom to exercise discipline that way, the Lord blest his own ordinance for edifying the people. A cunning adulterer who had bribed the bishop's official to conceal his wickedness, had his conscience awakened one day in hearing the word, and came to me confessing his sin with many tears, desiring to be admitted to the public profession of his repentance, which was allowed, and he lived thereafter a reformed man in the rest of his life. And so also several others willingly submitted themselves; till a proud youth (the son of a rich man) falling into scandal, proved refractory, and appealed to the bishop, whereby the order of our discipline was broken: but this young man, in the very flower and strength of his youth, being heir of a considerable estate, was cut off by death, leaving no succession; and a brother of better behaviour filled his room.

Mr John Ridge minister in Antrim, a judicious and gracious minister, perceiving many people, on both sides of the Six-mile-water, awakened out of their security, and willing to take pains for their salvation, made an overture, that a monthly lecture might be sent up at Antrim, and invited to bear burthen therein, Mr Cunningham, Mr Hamilton, and myself. We were glad of the motion, and hearkened to it at the very first, and came prepared to preach; in the summer-day four did preach, and when the day grew shorter, three. This monthly meeting thus beginning first by this motion of Mr Ridge, continued many years, and was a great help to spread religion through that whole country. Sir Hugh Clotterdy was very hospitable to the ministers that came there to preach: his worthy son (Lord Viscount Mazarine, or Lord Musreine) together with his mother and lady, being both of them very virtuous and religious women, did greatly countenance that work. Short while after other three ministers were added to that monthly meeting, viz., Mr Henry Coldwart, Mr Josiah Welsh, and Mr George Dunbar, afterwards Mr Andrew Stewart, and lastly, Mr John Livingston: and the several members of that meeting, were still ready to preach there when invited thereto. So mightily grew the word of God,

¹ See the extracts from Mr Livingston's life, in the previous section.

and his gracious work prospered in the hands of his faithful servants, the power of man being restrained from opposing the work of God: and the Lord was pleased to protect our ministry by raising up friends to us, and giving us favour in the eyes of all the people about us. There were many converts in all our congregations. That blessed work of conversion was now spread beyond the bounds of Down and Antrim, to the skirts of neighbouring counties, whence many came to the monthly meetings, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The Lord was pleased to bless his word, the people had a vehement appetite for it, that could not be satisfied: they hung upon the ministers, still desirous to have more; no day was long enough, no room large enough: then said I, in the hearing of many, "Our tide has run so high, that there will be an ebb: no doubt a restraint is near: our trials are hastening on." And so it proved.

We had not only public worship, free from any inventions of men; but we had also a tolerable discipline. For after I had been some while among them, (the people of Killinchie) by the advice of the heads of families, some abstent for that charge were chosen elders, to oversee the manners of the rest, and some deacons, to gather and distribute the collections. We met every week, and such as fell into notorious public scandals, we desired to come before us: such as came were dealt with both in public and private, to confess their scandal in presence of the congregation, at the Saturday's sermon before the communion, which was celebrated twice in the year; such as, after dealing, would not come before us, or coming would not be convinced to acknowledge their fault before the congregation; upon the Saturday preceding the communion, their names, scandals, and impenitency were read out before the congregation, and they debarred from the communion: which proved such a terror, that we found very few of that sort. There were nine or ten parishes within the bounds of twenty miles or little more, wherein there were godly and able ministers, who kept a society together, and every one of these had the communion twice a year, and that at different times, and had two or three of the neighbouring ministers to help thereat; and most part of the religious people used to resort to the communions of the rest of the parishes; and most of all the ministers of these parishes used ordinarily to meet the first Friday of every month at Antrim, where was a great and good congregation: and that day was spent in fasting and prayer and public preaching: commonly two preached every forenoon, and two in the afternoon. We used to come together the Thursday's night before, and stayed the Friday's night after; and consulted about such things as concerned the carrying on of the work of God: and these meetings among ourselves, were sometimes as profitable as either presbyteries or synods; and out of these nine parishes, and some others also, such as laid religion to heart used to convene to these meetings, especially out of the Six-mile-water, which was nearest hand, and where was the greatest number of religious people; and frequently the Sabbath after the Friday's meeting, the communion was celebrated in one or other of these parishes. Among all the ministers of these parishes, there was never any jar or jealousy, yea nor among the private Christians. The greatest part of them were Scots, and some good number of very gracious English; all whose contention was to prefer others to themselves;

and though the gifts of the ministers were much different, yet it was not observed that the people followed any, to the undervaluing of others. Many of these religious professors had been both ignorant and profane, and, for debt and want, and worse causes, had left Scotland; yet the Lord was pleased by his word to work such a change, that I do not think there were more lively and experienced Christians any where, than were these at that time in Ireland, and that in good numbers, and severals of them persons in a good outward condition in the world. Being but lately brought in, the lively edge was not yet gone off them; and the perpetual fear of losing their ministers made them with great hunger wait on the ordinances. I have known them that have come several miles from their own houses to communions to the Saturday's sermon, and spent the whole Saturday night in several companies, sometimes a minister being with them, sometimes themselves alone, in conference and prayer, and waited on the public ordinances the whole Sabbath, and spent the Sabbath night in like manner, and yet at the Monday's sermon were not troubled with sleepiness, and so have not slept till they went home. Because of their holy and righteous carriage, they were generally revered even by the graceless multitude among whom they lived. Some of them had attained such dexterity of expressing religious purposes, by the resemblance of worldly things, that being at feasts and meals in common inns, where were some ignorant profane persons, they would among themselves entertain a spiritual discourse for a long time, and the other professed, that though they spoke good English, they did not understand what they said. In those days, it was no great difficulty for a minister to preach or pray in public or private, such was the hunger of the hearers: and it was heard to judge whether there was more of the Lord's presence in the public or private meetings.

From FULFILLING OF THE SCRIPTURES, page 185, folio.

I shall here also instance that solemn and great work of God, which was in the church of Ireland about the year 1628, and some years thereafter, which, as many grave and solid Christians yet alive can witness, who were there present, was a bright and hot sun-blink of the gospel, yea, may with sobriety be said to have been one of the largest manifestations of the Spirit, and of the most solemn times of the down-pouring thereof, that almost since the days of the apostles hath been seen; where the power of God did sensibly accompany the word with an unusual motion upon the hearers, and a very great tack¹ as to the conversion of souls to Christ; the goings of the Lord then full of majesty, and the shout of a king was heard in the solemn meetings of his people, that as a judicious old Christian, who was there present did express it, he thought it was like a dazzling beam and ray of God, with such an unusual brightness, as even forced bystanders to an astonishment; a very effectual door opened, with more than ordinary enlargement, which the ministers of Christ there did find in the preaching the word, whilst the people might be seen hearing the same in a melting frame, with much tenderness, of spirit; surely this was the very power of God, a convincing seal to the truth and ministry of his servants, who were then persecuted; yea, a thing which, as it was known, had an aw-

¹ A Scotch word for a draught of fishes.

ful impression, and was a terror to their adversaries. I remember amongst other passages, what a worthy Christian told me, how sometimes in hearing the word, such a power and evidence of the Lord's preface was with it, that he hath been forced to rise, and look through the church, and see what the people were doing, thinking from what he felt in his own spirit, it was a wonder how any could go away without some change upon them. And then it was sweet and easy for Christians to come thirty or forty miles to these solemn communions which they had, and there continue from the time they came, until they returned, without wearying, or making use or sleep, yea, but little either meat or drink, and, as some of them professed, did not feel the need thereof, but went away most fresh and vigorous, their souls so filled with a sense of God."

III. As to the opposition this work of God met with, and overcame, I shall mention only the following instances.

1. Mr JAMES GLENDINNING's delusions threatened to do much harm to it. He was first lecturer at Carrick-Fergus, then at Old Stone; and though he was neither studied in learning, nor had good solid judgment; yet having a great voice and vehement delivery, he roused up the people, and awakened them with terrors; but not understanding well the gospel, could not settle them, nor satisfy their objections. He pitched upon a certain day, which he said would be the day of judgment: and that whoever would join with him in a ridiculous way of roaring out some prayer, laying their faces on the earth, would undoubtedly be converted and saved; and assaying this way before Mr Blair, Mr Blair required him, in his Lord's name, to be silent, and kneeled down, with humble confidence to be heard, and prayed: at the close of which Mr Glendinning took Mr Blair aside, and confessed he saw now that he was deluded. However, he fell from error to error, and at last ran away to visit the seven churches in Asia. Yet Satan was disappointed by the wisdom and goodness of God; for except one in his own family. (of whom few had any good opinion before) there was neither man nor woman that stumbled at his fall; but, on the contrary, were thereby guarded against delusion, magnifying the word of God in the Holy Scriptures, and learned to work out the work of their salvation with fear and trembling.

2. We had also an assault (says Mr Blair) from the separatists. Some of that faction in London hearing that there was a people zealous for the Lord in the North of Ireland, came to Antrim, where our monthly meetings were, and there set up their dwelling, thinking to fish in these waters. They thought that zealous people would seek after them, and did not call for any. But therein they were frustrated of their expectation; for seeing they came not to the public worship, none there did own them or take any of them, till the minister of the place sent some judicious Christians to confer with them about some particular cases of conscience, who made their report to the minister, that they thought these persons did not understand such purposes; nor could they at all discourse concerning the points by them proposed; only they fell a jangling against the Church of England. The next time I came there, (says Mr Blair) the minister of the place desired of me to go with him, that we might confer with these people. They could not well tell what they held, or else they kept up and concealed themselves; yet in end they began to as-

say whom they could seduce; and with one of great tenderness they prevailed, not to communicate with us, but immediately after, he fell into distraction, from which he no sooner recovered but he abhorred these seducers. So careful was the Lord to preserve his people from all sorts of seducement.

3. Another stratagem of Satan, to bring disgrace on the work of the Lord, was his stirring up ignorant persons, especially in Lochlern and Broad-island to ape and counterfeit the work of the Spirit of the Lord: in the midst of the public worship, these persons fell a mourning, and some of them were afflicted with pangs like convulsions, and the number of them daily increased. At first both pastor and people pitying them, had charitable thoughts, thinking probably that it was the work of the Lord; but thereafter in conference, they could find nothing to confirm these charitable thoughts; they could neither perceive any sense of their sinfulness, nor any panting after a Saviour. A woman in Bangour, who was a dull and ignorant person, making a noise in stretching of her body, in time of public worship, Mr Blair rebuked that lying spirit that disturbed the worship of God, charging the same in the name and authority of Jesus Christ, not to disturb that congregation, and through God's mercy, says Mr Blair, we met with no more of that work.

4. The bishops of Scotland sent information to the king against several ministers belonging to the monthly meeting at Antrim, by Mr John Maxwell, bishop of Ross; and thinking, that non-conformity would not be a crime sufficiently heinous, they informed, that these ministers stirred up the people to extasies and enthusiasms, and taught the necessity of a new birth by bodily pangs and throes; though the contrary was so notoriously known, that primate Usher got notice of it, and told Mr Blair, "That he had reason to bless the Lord, who had assisted him so confidently (as he expressed it) to censure that lying spirit." Shortly after a letter came from the king, and Ecklin, bishop of Down in 1632, deposed Mr Blair and Mr Livingston, Mr Dunbar and Mr Welch, for non-conformity, never mentioning the other part of the charge, of which he knew they were free; whereupon Mr Blair had recourse to primate Usher, who presently wrote to bishop Ecklin, to relax that erroneous sentence, which was instantly done: but shortly after a letter coming from court, ordering trial to be made as to the accusation before-mentioned, bishop Ecklin, knowing perfectly the falsehood of that accusation, took another way, and cited the fore-mentioned four ministers, and urged them to a subscription; and they refusing, he deposed them. Primate Usher being applied to, said he was sorry for it, but could not help them; but advised to apply to the lord chief justices of Ireland; Mr Blair applied to them; but they said there was no redress to be had, but from the king himself: and thereupon Mr Blair, through the persuasions of his brethren, went to London; and, after a tedious on-waiting, at last obtained a letter from the King to Strafford, the lord-deputy, who at first refused to show any favour, except they would conform; but, by the intercession of lord Castlestewart, a good and wise man, in May 1634, he wrote that they should be reponed for a time; and accordingly bishop Ecklin reponed them to their ministry for six months. These six months were well improved by the divine blessing. At the close of that time, after bishop Ecklin had himself publicly pronounced the sentence of deposition

against these four ministers, Mr Blair rose up publicly in the congregation, and, with great authority, did cite the bishop to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to make answer for that wicked deed : to which the bishop replied, " I appeal from justice to mercy." Mr Blair answered, " Your appeal is like to be rejected, seeing you act against the light of your conscience." Shortly thereafter he sickened ; and when the physician, Dr Maxwell, came to him, and enquired what ailed him, he was long silent, (as also he had been silenced for many days before he took bed) at last, with great difficulty, he uttered these words, " It is my conscience, man." To which the doctor replied, " I have no cure for that." This report the doctor made to the old lord viscount of Airds, who discharged him to report that to any other : but his daughter-in-law, the now lady viscountess of Airds, who yet lives (says Mr Blair, when he wrote this, which seems to have been about the year 1666) being then and there present when the doctor made his report, replied, " No man shall get that suppressed ; for I shall bear witness of it, to the glory of God, who hath smitten that man, for suppressing of Christ's witnesses."

CHAPTER III.

THE PIETY OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW ENGLAND, 1630, &c.—THE LABOURS OF SOME OF THEIR MINISTERS TO CONVERT THE AMERICANS, 1646, 1650, &c.—SOME EXAMPLES OF AMERICAN CONVERTS, WHO AFTERWARDS PREACHED THE GOSPEL THEMSELVES.

SECTION I.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE FLOURISHING STATE OF RELIGION IN NEW ENGLAND, DURING THE LIFE OF THE FIRST PLANTERS, FROM 1630 TO 1660.

FROM PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, Nos. 8 and 9.

MR PRINCE (the author's father) in his sermon before the general assembly of the province of Massachusetts, speaks of these first settlers of New-England, " The generality of them were the near descendants of the first reformers in England. They were born of pious parents, who brought them up in a course of strict religion, and under the ministry of the most awakening preachers of those days. Like so many Timothys, they were from their childhood taught to know the Holy Scriptures, to reverence them as the inspirations of God, as the only rule of faith and piety, and to aim at both a pure scriptural way

1 Mr Blair in his life, speaking of a conversation he had with archbishop Usher, says, " He was very affable and communicative ; he desired to know of me what my mind was of the nature of justifying and saving faith. I told him my mind, that I held the accepting and receiving of Jesus Christ, as he is offered in the gospel. With this he was well satisfied, confirming the same in a large discourse, clearing the matter by the similitude of a marriage, wherein it is not the sending or receiving of gifts that makes the marriage, but the accepting of the person. Hereby I was much refreshed. Afterwards he said, It would break any heart, if that successful ministry in the North were interrupted and marred. They think to cause me to stretch out my hand against you ; but all the world shall never move me to do so."

of worship, and at the vital power and practice of godliness.

When, for the sake of religion they came over to America, how horrid and dismal did these new found regions appear ! On the shores and rivers, nothing but sights of wretched, naked, and barbarous nations, adorers of devils ! The earth covered with hideous thickets, that required infinite toils to subdue ! A rigorous winter for a third part of the year ! Not a house to live in ! Not a Christian to see ! None but Heathens of a strange and hard language to speak with ! Not a friend within three thousand miles to help in any emergency ! and a vast and dangerous ocean to pass over to this ! But the Almighty inspires with a zeal and courage that nothing can daunt, with a faith and patience that nothing can break. He raises up men of superior piety, resolution and wisdom, to lead and animate in the great design. Such as Mr Carver, Bradford, and Winslow, successive governors of Plymouth Colony, who came together with about an hundred souls in the first ship, which set sail the last time from Plymouth in England on September 6th, 1620, and arrived in Cape Cod harbour on November 11th, and at the place they named Plymouth in New-England in December. And the Lord having cast out multitudes of Heathens before their arrival, he gives them favour in the sight of the rest : he divides his people an inheritance by line, and makes them to dwell in the midst of many powerful nations, that could have swallowed them up in a moment for above fifty years together.

Great numbers of like pious dispositions with the former, yet continued in the churches of England, and in communion with them, as long as the higher powers indulged them, with earnest desires, labours, and hopes, of a farther reformation of worship. But a spirit of severe imposition is now let loose upon these. And now, at once, to the surprise of the nation, in almost every corner they are moved of God to look to this wilderness. Many persons of shining figures are raised up to espouse their cause and venture with them. Their prince is prevailed on to grant them a charter of distinguishing privileges. Their flocks in great numbers attend and follow them. They relinquish their delightful seats and their dearest friends ; they cast themselves and their children on the tumultuous ocean ; and nothing can move them, so they may come into a wilderness, to hear the voice of their teachers, become a covenant people of God, observe his laws, set up his tabernacle, behold his glory, and leave these things to their offspring for ever ; and the Lord preserves them ; he makes the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over : he brings them in thousands to these peaceful shores ; and here, they that knew not each other before, salute and embrace with joy : he unites them in the most lovely agreement to profess and serve him : they publicly and solemnly enter into covenant with him, to love and obey him, to make his doctrines the only rule of faith, and his institutions the only rule of worship ; and with united joy they sing to the Lord : " Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed," &c.

On Saturday, June 12th, 1630, arrived in Salem-river, the *Arabella*, with governor Winthrop, and some of his assistants, bringing the charter of the Massachusetts colony, and therewith the government transferred hither : the other ten ships of the fleet with deputy-governor Dudley, and the other assist-

ants, arrived in Salem and Charles Rivers before July 11th. In the same month the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, with the reverend Messrs Wilson and Phillips, came with their goods to Charlestown; where the first court of assistants was held on August 23d, the same year. And the number of people which arrived this summer was about fifteen hundred.

In June 1636, the reverend Mr Hooker, with about an hundred in company, went up from the Massachusetts, began the town of Hartford, and laid the foundation of Connecticut colony. In the following year, the reverend Mr Davenport, with the honoured Mr Theophilus Eaton, began the town of Newhaven, and laid the foundation of Newhaven colony. And in 1639, a church was gathered at Hampton; which was the first in the province of New Hampshire.

It must be here observed, that though the generality both of the first leaders, heads of families, and freemen, were persons of noted piety; yet there were great numbers, not only of the younger sort, both of children and servants, but also of elder of every age, who came over both in the year 1630, and the ten following years, that came hither only under the common impressions of a pious ministry or education, or the religious influence of their friends, or heads of families they belonged to, and who were therefore fit materials for the numerous conversions which quickly followed, under the lively, searching, and awakening preaching of the primitive ministers. And, to the great glory of God be it spoken, there never was, perhaps, before seen such a body of pious people together on the face of the earth. For those who came over first, came hither for the sake of religion, and for that pure religion which was entirely hated by the loose and profane of the world. Their civil and ecclesiastical leaders were exemplary patterns of piety; they encouraged only the virtuous to come with and follow them; they were so strict on the vicious both in the church and state, that the incorrigible could not endure to live in the country; profane swearers and drunkards were not known in the land. And it quickly grew so famous for religion abroad, that scarce any other but those who liked it came over for many years after. Indeed such numbers were coming, that the crown was obliged to stop them, or a great part of the nation had so on emptied itself into these American regions.

And for those who were here, the Spirit from on high is poured upon them, and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field; judgment and righteousness continue in it, and the effect of righteousness is peace. While a cruel war rages in the kingdom they left, lays it waste, and drowns it in blood, the people here dwell in peaceable habitations. And the Lord enlarges the bounds of their tents; he makes them to break forth on the right hand and on the left; he makes their seed to inherit the lands of the Gentiles, the desolate places to be inhabited. In twenty-seven years from the first plantation, there were forty-three churches in joint communion with one another. And in twenty-seven years more, there appear above fourscore English churches of Christ, composed only of known pious and faithful professors, dispersed through the wilderness; viz., twelve or thirteen in Plymouth colony, forty-seven in the Massachusetts colony and province of New Hampshire, nineteen in Connecticut, three in Long Island, and one at Martha's Vineyard.

2 D

Mr Roger Clap, writing of these times, says, "And what a wondrous work of God was it, to stir up such worthies to remove themselves and their wives and children from their native country, to come into this wilderness, to set up the pure worship of God here? men fit for government in the magistracy, and sound, godly, learned men for the ministry; such as Mr Winthrop, governor, Mr Dudley, deputy-governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr Johnson, Mr Rossiter, Mr Luddlow, Mr Nowel, and Mr Bradstreet. And for ministers; Mr Wilson, Mr Warham, Mr Marverick, and Mr Phillips; also Mr Eliot, Mr Weld, Mr Cotton, Mr Hooker, Mr Bulkley, Mr Stone, Mr Nathaniel Rogers, Mr Ezekiel Rogers, Mr Shepard, Mr Mather, Mr Peters, Mr Davenport, Mr Whiting, Mr Cobbet, Mr Hubbard, Mr Brown, Mr Flint, Mr Thompson, Mr Newman, Mr Prudden, Mr Norris, Mr Huit, Mr Street, and many others. Then in those days did God manifest his presence among us, in converting many souls; in gathering his dear ones into church-fellowship each with other, by solemn covenants; wherein they gave up themselves and their seed to the Lord." And, writing of the great straits of the primitive settlers of New England, he says, "I took notice of it, as a great favour of God unto me, not only to preserve my life, but to give me contentedness in all these straits; inasmuch that I do not remember that ever I did wish in my heart that I had not come into this country, or wish myself back again to my father's house; yea I was so far from that, that I wished and advised some of my dear brethren to come hither also; which accordingly one of my brothers did, and those two that married my two sisters, sold their means, and came hither. The Lord Jesus Christ was so plainly held out in the preaching of the gospel unto poor lost sinners, and the absolute necessity of the new birth; and God's Holy Spirit in those days was pleased to accompany the Word with such efficacy upon the hearts of many, that our hearts were taken off from Old England, and set upon heaven. The discourse, not only of the aged, but of the youth also, was not, How shall we go to England? (though some few did not only so discourse, but also went back again) but, How shall we go to heaven? Have I true grace wrought in my heart? Have I Christ or no? O how did men and women, young and old, pray for grace, beg for Christ in those days! and it was not in vain; many were converted, and others established in believing; many joined unto the several churches where they lived, confessing their faith publicly, and shewing before all the assembly their experiences of the workings of God's Spirit in their hearts to bring them to Christ; which many hearers found very much good by, to help them to try their own hearts, and to consider how it was with them, whether any work of God's Spirit were wrought in their own hearts or no. Oh the many tears that have been shed in Dorchester meeting-house at such times, both by those that have declared God's work on their souls, and also by those that heard them. In those days, God, even our own God, did bless New England."

FROM NEAL'S HISTORY OF THE PURITANS in the year 1639.

Religion being the chief motive of their coming into these parts, that was settled in the first place.

August the 6th being appointed for the solemnity of forming themselves into a religious society, the day was spent in fasting and prayer; and thirty persons who desired to be of the communion, severally, before the whole congregation, declared their consent to a confession of faith, which Mr Higginson had drawn up, and signed the following covenant with their hands: "We covenant with our Lord, and one with another. We bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed word of truth, and do profess to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ: We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits. We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to reject all canons and constitutions of men in worship. We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them, but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us. In public or private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church, but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented. We will not in the congregation be forward, either to shew our own gifts and parts in speaking, or scrupling, or in discovering the weaknesses or failings of our brethren, but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel, and the profession of it, slighted by our distempers and weaknesses in public. We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without, no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil. We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in church or commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits by our irregularities. We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness, as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards. Promising also, to the best of our ability, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of his will, that they may serve him also. And all this, not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name.

From the same Author, in the year 1634.

This summer the Rev. Mr Thomas Shepard fled to New England. He had been lecturer at Earl's Coln in Essex several years, but when bishop Laud became a bishop of London, his lecture was put down, and himself silenced: he then retired into the family of a private gentleman, but not being safe there, he travelled into Yorkshire, where he was

commanded to subscribe, or depart the country. Upon this he went to Heddon in Northumberland, where his labours were prospered to the conversion of some souls; but being forbid to preach there also, he took shipping at Yarmouth for New England; there he continued pastor of the church at Cambridge until his death, August 25, 1649, in the 44th year of his age. He was a hard student, an exemplary Christian, and an eminent practical writer, as appears by his *Sincere Convert*, and other practical works that go under his name.

Great numbers of the most useful and laborious preachers in all parts of the country were buried in silence, and forced to abscond; among whom were Mr John Dod, Mr Whately, Dr Harris, Mr Capel; and Mr John Rogers of Dedham, one of the most awakening preachers of his age, of whom bishop Brownrigge used to say, "That he did more good with his wild notes, than we with our set music." But his great usefulness could not screen him from those suspensions and deprivations which were the portion of the Puritans in these times.

Others continued to leave their country, according to our blessed Saviour's advice, Matthew x. 23; "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." Among these were Mr Nathaniel Rogers, son of Mr John Rogers of Dedham, educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, and settled at Assington in Suffolk, where he continued five years; but seeing the storm that had driven his neighbours from their anchor, and being fearful of his own steadfastness in the hour of temptation, he resigned his living into the hands of his patron, and, forsaking the neighbourhood of his father, and all prospects of worldly advantage, cast himself and his young family upon the providence of God, and embarked for New England, where he arrived about the middle of November, 1636, and settled with Mr Norton at Ipswich, with whom he continued to his death, in the year 1656. About the same time went over Mr Lambert Whiteing, a Lincolnshire divine, who continued at Shirbeck, near Boston, unmolested, until bishop William's disgrace, after which he was silenced by the spiritual courts, and forced into New England, where he arrived with his family this summer, and continued a useful preacher to a little flock at Lynn until his death.

Thus did an over-ruling providence send the gospel into New England; and thereby the kingdom of Christ was not only promoted in this infant colony, but as we shall see in the following Section, among the American savages also.

SECTION II.

MR ELIOT HAVING LEARNED THE LANGUAGE OF THE INDIANS, SETS HIMSELF IN 1646 TO PREACH THE GOSPEL TO THEM.—HIS SUCCESS AMONG THEM, 1651.—SOME OF THEIR DYING SPEECHES.

From COTTON MATTHEW'S LIFE OF ELIOT.

THE natives of the country now possessed by the New Englanders, had been forlorn and wretched heathens ever since their first herding here. Just before the arrival of the English in those parts, a prodigious mortality had swept away vast numbers of the Indians; and those Pagans who being told by

a shipwrecked Frenchman who died in their hands, that God would shortly extirpate them, and introduce a more worthy people into their place, blasphemously replied, that God could not kill them ; were quickly killed with such a raging and wasting pestilence, as left the very earth covered with their carcasses. Nevertheless, there were, I think, twenty several nations (if I may call them so) of Indians upon that spot of ground, which fell under the influence of our three United Colonies ; and our Eliot was willing to rescue as many of them as he could from that old usurping landlord of America, who is by the wrath of God, the Prince of this world. I cannot find that any, besides the Holy Spirit of God, first moved him to the blessed work of evangelizing these perishing Indians ; it was that Holy Spirit which laid before his mind the idea of that which is now on the seal of the Massachusetts colony ; a poor Indian, having a label going from his mouth, with a "Come over and help us." But when this charitable pity had once begun to flame, there was a concurrence of many things to cast oil into it. All the good men in the country were glad of his engagement in such an undertaking ; the ministers especially encouraged him, and those in the neighbourhood kindly supplied his place, and performed his work, in part, for him at Roxborough, while he was abroad labouring among them that were without. Hereunto he was further awakened by those expressions in the royal charter, in the assurance and protection whereof this wilderness was first peopled ; namely, "To win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith, in our royal intention, and the adventurer's free profession, is the principal end of the plantation." And the remarkable zeal of the Romish missionaries "compassing sea and land that they might make proselytes," made his devout soul think of it with a further disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to evangelize the Indians, whom we dwelt among. Lastly, when he had well begun this evangelical business, the good God, in answer to his prayers, mercifully stirred up a liberal contribution among the godly people in England for the promoting of it ; by means whereof, a considerable estate and income was at length intrusted in the hands of an honourable corporation, by whom it is to this day very carefully employed in the Christian service, which it was designed for.

The exemplary charity of this excellent person in this important affair, will not be seen in its due lustre, unless we make some reflections upon several circumstances which he beheld these forlorn Indians in. Know then, that these doleful creatures are the veriest ruins of mankind, which are to be found anywhere upon the earth. They live in a country, where we now have all the conveniences of human life : but as for them, their housing is nothing but a few mats tied about poles fastened in the earth, where a good fire is their bed-clothes in the coldest seasons ; their clothing is but a skin of a beast, covering their hind parts, their fore-parts having but a little apron where nature calls of secrecy ; their diet has not a greater dainty than their noke-hick, that is, a spoonful of their parched meal, with a spoonful of water, which will strengthen them to travel a day together ; except we should mention the flesh of deers, bears, moose, racoons, and the like, which they have when they can catch

them ; as also a little fish, which if they would preserve, it was by drying, not by salting ; for they had not a grain of salt, I think, till we bestowed it on them. Their physic is, excepting a few odd specifics, which some of them encounter certain cases with, nothing hardly, but an hot-house, or a Powaw : their hot-house is a little cave, about eight feet over ; where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go sit and sweat, and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some very cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them : it is this way they recover themselves from some diseases ; in most of their dangerous distempers, it is a Powaw that must be sent for ; that is, a priest, who has more familiarity with Satan than his neighbours ; who comes and roars, and howls, and uses magical ceremonies over the sick man.

They live in a country full of the best ship-timber ; but never saw a ship till some came from Europe hither ; and then they were scared out of their wits, to see the monster come sailing in, and spitting fire with a mighty noise out of her floating side ; they cross the water in canoes, made sometimes of trees, which they burn and hew till they have hollowed them ; and sometimes of barks, which they stitch into a light sort of vessel, to be easily carried over land. The men are most abominably slothful, making their poor squaws, or wives, to plant, and dress, and barn, and beat their corn, and build their wigwams for them. In the mean time, their chief employment, when they will condescend unto any, is that of hunting ; wherein they will go out some scores, if not hundreds of them in a company, driving all before them. They continue in a place till they have burned up all the wood thereabouts ; hence, when they enquire about the English, why come they hither ? they determine, it was because we wanted firing. Their division of time is by sleeps, and moons, and winters ; and by lodging abroad, they have somewhat observed the motions of the stars : among which it has been surprising unto me to find, that they have always called Charles Wain by the name of Paukunnawaw, or the Bear ; which is the name whereby Europeans also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any traditions among them worthy of our notice ; and reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, though there is a rock or two in the country, that have unaccountable characters engraved upon them. All the religion they have, amounts unto such much : they believe that there are many gods, who made and own the several nations of the world ; of which a certain great god in the south-west regions of heaven, bears the greatest figure. They believe, that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within it, or about it. There is with them, a sun-god, a moon-god, and the like ; and they cannot conceive but that the fire must be a kind of a god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe, that when any good or evil happens to them, there is the favour, or the anger of a god expressed in it ; and hence, as in a time of calamity, they keep a dance, or a day of extravagant ridiculous devotions to their god ; so in a time of prosperity they likewise have a feast, wherein they also make presents one to another. Finally, they believe, that their chief god Kautantowit, made a man and woman of a stone ; which upon dislike, he broke to pieces ; and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all man-

kind : and, that we all have in us immortal souls ; which, if we were godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with Kautantowit ; but otherwise, must wander about in restless horror for ever. But if you say to them any thing of a resurrection, they will reply unto you, I shall never believe it. And when they have any weighty undertaking before them, it is an usual thing for them to have their assemblies, wherein they use diabolical rites, and sometimes there are odd events of their making applications to the devil.

This was the miserable people he propounded unto himself the saving of ! and he had a double work incumbent on him : he was to make men of them, ere he could hope to see them saints ; they must be civilized ere they could be christianized. To think on raising a number of these hideous creatures unto the elevation of our holy religion, must argue more than common sentiments in the undertaker ; but the faith of an Eliot could encounter it.

The first step which he judged necessary to be taken by him, was to learn the Indian language, for he saw them so stupid and senseless, that they would never do so much as enquire after the religion of the strangers now come into their country, much less would they so far imitate us as to leave off their beastly way of living, that they might be partakers of any spiritual advantage by us, unless we could first address them in their own language. Behold, new difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable Eliot ! he hires a native to teach him this exotic language, and with a laborious care and skill reduces it into a grammar, which afterwards he published. Having finished his grammar, at the cloee he writes, "prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing !" and being by his prayers and pains thus furnished, he set himself in the year 1646, to preach the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ among these desolate outcasts.

It remains that I say before the world, the remarkable conduct and success of this famous man in this great affair ; and I shall endeavour to do it, by Englishing and reprinting a letter, sent a while since by my father, unto his learned correspondent, Dr Leusden at Utrecht, which letter has already been published, if I mistake not, in four or five divers languages. I find it particularly published by Jurieu, at the end of a pastoral letter ; and this reflection made upon it, *Cette lettre doit apporter une tres grande consolation, a toutes les bonnes ames, qui sont alterees de justice, et qui sont enflammées du zele de la gloire de Dieu.* I therefore persuade myself, that the republication of it will not be ungrateful unto many souls in our nation, who have a due thirst and zeal for such things as are mentioned in it ; and when that is done, I shall presume to make some annotations for the illustration of sundry memorable things therein pointed at.

"WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED SIR,

"Your letters were very grateful to me, by which I understand that you and others in your famous University of Utrecht, desire to be informed concerning the converted Indians in America : take therefore a true account of them in a few words. It is about forty years since that truly godly man, Mr John Eliot, pastor of the church at Roxborough, (about a mile from Boston in New-England) being warmed with a holy zeal of converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian tongue, that he might

more easily and successfully open to them the mysteries of the gospel ; upon account of which he has been called the apostle of the American Indians. This reverend person, not without very great labour, translated the whole Bible into the Indian tongue ; he translated also several English treatises of practical divinity and catechisms into their language. Above twenty-six years ago he gathered a church of converted Indians in a town called Natick ; these Indians confessed their sins with tears, and professed their faith in Christ, and afterwards they and their children were baptized, and they were solemnly joined together in a church-covenant ; the said Mr Eliot was the first that administered the Lord's supper to them. The pastor of that church now is an Indian ; his name is Daniel. Besides this church at Natick, among our inhabitants in the Massachusetts colony, there are four Indian assemblies where the name of the true God and Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon : these assemblies have some American preachers. Mr Eliot formerly used to preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakened with labours and old age, being in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and preacheth not to the Indians oftener than once in two months.

"There is another church, consisting only of converted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an Indian town called Mashippaug : the first pastor of that church was an Englishman, who being skilful in the American language, preached the gospel to them in their own tongue. This English pastor is dead, and instead of him, that church has an Indian preacher. There are, besides that, five assemblies of Indians professing the name of Christ, not far distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian preachers ; John Cotton, pastor of the church at Plymouth, (son of my venerable father-in-law John Cotton, formerly teacher of the church at Boston), hath made very great progress in learning the Indian tongue, and is very skilful in it ; he preaches in their own language to the last five mentioned congregations every week. Moreover of the inhabitants of Saconet in Plymouth colony, there is a great congregation of those who, for distinction sake, are called praying Indians, because they pray to God in Christ. Not far from a promontory called Cape-Cod, there are six assemblies of Heathens who are to be reckoned as Catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian preachers. Samuel Treat, pastor of a church of Eastham, preacheth to those congregations in their own language. There are likewise amongst the islanders of Nantucket a church, with a pastor who was lately a Heathen, and several meetings of Catechumens, who are instructed by the converted Indians. There is also another island about seven leagues long (called Martha's Vineyard) where are two American churches planted, which are more famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient Indian as pastor, called Hiacooms : John Hiacooms, son of the said Indian pastor, also preacheth the gospel to his countrymen. In another church in that place, John Tockinoah a converted Indian teaches. In these churches ruling elders of the Indians are joined to the pastors : the pastors were chosen by the people, and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr Eliot and Mr Cotton laid their hands on them, so that they were solemnly ordained. All the congregations of the converted Indians (both the Catechumens and those in church order) every Lord's-day meet together ; the pastor

or preacher always begins with prayer; when the ruler of the assembly has ended prayer, the whole congregation of Indians praise God with singing; some of them are excellent singers: after the psalm, he that preaches reads a place of scripture and expounds it, gathers doctrines from it, proves them by scriptures and reasons, and infers uses from them after the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught; then another prayer to God in the name of Christ concludes the whole service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's-day. They observe no holy-days but the Lord's-day, except upon some extraordinary occasion; and then they solemnly set apart whole days, either in giving thanks, or fasting and praying with great fervour of mind.

"Before the English came into these coasts, these barbarous nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is that in their prayers and sermons they use English words and terms; he that calls upon the most holy name of God, says Jehovah, or God, or Lord; and also they have learned and borrowed many other theological phrases from us.

"In short, there are six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of Catechumens, professing the name of Christ: of the Indians there are four and twenty who are preachers of the word of God; and besides these, there are four English ministers who preach the gospel in the Indian tongue. I am now myself weary with writing, and I fear lest if I should add more, I should also be tedious to you; yet one thing I must add, that there are many of the Indian's children who have learned by heart the catechism, either of Perkins, or that put forth by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and in their own mother tongue can answer to all the questions in it. But I must end. I salute the professors in your University, to whom I desire you to communicate this letter, as written to them also. Farewell, worthy Sir; the Lord preserve your health for the benefit of your country, his church, and of learning.—Yours ever,

"INCREASE MATHER."

"Boston in New-England,
July 12. 1687."

After the writing of this letter, there came one to my hands from Dr Leusden, together with a new and fair edition of his Hebrew Psalter, dedicated unto the name of my absent parent. He therein informs me, that our example had awakened the Dutch to make some noble attempts for the furtherance of the gospel in the East Indies; besides what memorable things were done by the excellent Robert Junins, in Formosa, fifty years ago. He also informs me, that in and near the island of Ceylon, the Dutch pastors have baptized about three hundred thousand of the Eastern Indians; for although the ministers are utterly ignorant of their language, yet here are schoolmasters who teach them the Lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, a morning prayer, an evening prayer, a blessing before meat, and another after; and the minister in his visits being assured by the master, who of them has learned all these seven things, he thereupon counts they have such a perfect number of attainments, that he presently baptizes them. The pious reader will doubtless bless God for this; but he will easily see that one of our converted Indians has cost more pains than many of those; more thorough work has been made with them.

It was in the year 1646, that Mr Eliot accompanied by three more, gave a visit unto an assembly of Indians, of whom he desired a meeting at such a time and such a place, that he might lay before them the things of their eternal peace. After a serious prayer, he gave them a sermon, which continued above an hour, and contained the principal articles of the Christian religion, applying all to the condition of the Indians present¹. Having done he asked of them, whether they understood? and with a general reply, they answered they understood all. He then began what was his usual method afterwards in treating with them; that is, he caused them to propound such questions as they pleased, unto himself; and he gave answers to them. Their questions would often, though not always, refer to what he had newly preached; and he this way not only made a proof of their profiting by his ministry, but also gave an edge to what he delivered unto them. Some of their questions would be a little philosophical, and required a good measure of learning in the minister concerned with them; but for this our Eliot wanted not. He would also put proper questions unto them, and at one of his first exercises with them, he made the young ones capable of regarding these three questions. 1. Who made you and all the world? 2. Who do you look should save you from sin and hell? 3. How many commandments has the Lord given you to keep? It was his wisdom that he began with them upon such principles, as they themselves had already some notion of; such as that of an heaven for good, and hell for bad people, when they died. It broke his gracious heart within him, to see what floods of tears fell from the eyes of several among these degenerate savages, at the first addresses which he made unto them; yea, from the very worst of them all. He was very inquisitive to learn who were the Powaws, that is, the sorcerers and seducers, that maintained the worship of the devil in any of their societies; and having in one of his first journeys to them, found out one of those wretches, he made the Indian come unto him, and said, "Whether do you suppose God, or Chepian (i. e. the devil) to be the author of all good?" The conjurer answered, God. Upon this he added with a stern countenance, "Why do you pray to Chepian then?" and the poor man was not able to stand or speak before him; but at last made promises of reformation. Having thus entered upon the teaching of these poor creatures, it is incredible how much time, toil, and hardship, he underwent in the prosecution of this undertaking; how many weary days and nights; how many tiresome journeys; and how many terrible dangers he had experience of. In a letter to the honourable Mr Win-stow; he says, "I have not been dry night nor day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps." I have considered the word of God in 2 Tim. ii. 3. "Endure hardship as a good soldier of Christ."

One of his remarkable cares for these illiterate Indians, was to bring them into the use of schools and books. He quickly procured the benefit of schools for them; wherein they profited so much, that not only very many of them quickly came to read and write, but also several arrived unto a li-

¹ His first text was Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10. "Then said he unto me, prophecy," &c.

beral education in our college, and one or two of them took their degree with the rest of our graduates. And for books, it was his chief desire that the Sacred Scriptures might not in an unknown tongue be locked or hidden from them; very hateful and bellish did the policy of Popery appear to him on this account. He could not live without a Bible himself; he would have parted with all his estate sooner; and he knew it would be of more than some use unto the Indians too; he therefore with a vast labour translated the Holy Bible into the Indian language. This Bible was printed here at our Cambridge; and it is the only Bible that ever was printed in all America, from the very foundation of the world. The Bible being justly made the leader of all the rest, a little Indian library quickly followed; for besides primers, and grammars, and some other such composites, we quickly had *The Practice of Piety* in the Indian tongue; and *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*: he also translated some of Shephard's composites; and such catechisms likewise as there was occasion for.

The Indians that had felt the impression of his ministry, were quickly distinguished by the name of praying Indians; and these praying Indians as quickly were for a more decent way of living, and they desired a more fixed cohabitation. At several places did they now combine and settle; but the place of greatest name among their towns, is that of Natick. Here it was in the year 1651, those that had heretofore lived like the wild beasts, compacted themselves into a town; and applied themselves to the forming of their civil government. Our general court, notwithstanding their exact study to keep those Indians very sensible of their being subject unto the English empire, yet had allowed them their smaller courts, wherein they might govern their own smaller cases and concerns after their own particular modes, and might have their town orders, if I may call them so, peculiar to themselves. With respect hereunto, Mr Eliot on a solemn fast made a public vow, "That seeing these Indians were not prepossessed with any forms of government, he would instruct them in such a form as we had written in the word of God, that so they might be a people in all things ruled by the Lord." Accordingly, he expounded unto them the eighteenth chapter of Exodus; and then they chose rulers of hundreds, of fifties, of tens; and therewithal entered into this covenant.

"We are the sons of Adam; we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again; therefore the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves and our children unto God, to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs; the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our law-giver, the Lord is our king; he will save us; and the wisdom which God has taught us in his book shall guide us. Oh Jehovah! teach us wisdom; send thy Spirit into our hearts; take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

Such an opinion about the perfection of the scripture had he, that he thus expressed himself upon this occasion; "God will bring nations into distress and perplexity, that so they may be forced unto the scriptures; all governments will be shaken, that men may be forced at length to pitch upon that firm foundation, The word of God."

The little towns of these Indians being pitched upon this foundation, they utterly abandoned that

polygamy which had heretofore been common among them; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, and Sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities; and they next began to lament after the establishment of a church-order among them, and after the several ordinances and privileges of a church-communion. The churches of New-England have usually been very strict in their admissions to church-fellowship, and required very signal demonstrations of a repenting and a believing soul, before they thought men fit subjects to be entrusted with the rights of the kingdom of heaven. But they seemed rather to augment than abate their usual strictness, when the examination of the Indians was to be performed. A day was therefore set apart, which they called *Natootmuhtenicusuk*, or, a day of asking questions, when the ministers of the adjacent churches, assisted with all the best interpreters that could be had, publicly examined a good number of these Indians, about their attainments both in knowledge and in virtue. And notwithstanding the great satisfaction then received, our churches being willing to proceed surely, and therefore slowly, in raising them up to a church-state, which might be comprehended in our consociations, the Indians were afterwards called in considerable assemblies convened for that purpose, to make open confession of their faith in God and Christ, and of the efficacy which his word had upon them for their conversion to him; which confessions being taken in writing from their mouths by able interpreters, were scanned by the people of God, and found much acceptance with them. I need pass no further censure upon them, than what is given by my grandfather, Richard Mather, in an epistle of his, published on this occasion: says he, "There is so much of God's work among them, as that I cannot but count it a great evil, yea a great injury to God and his goodness, for any to make light of it. To see and hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and eyes in prayer to the living God, calling on him by his name Jehovah, in the mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the word of God; to see and hear them professing the name of Christ Jesus, and their own sinfulness; sure this is more than usual! and though they spoke in a language, of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day, saw and heard them perform the duties mentioned, with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in their gesture, and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us, that they spake with the holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts. At length was a church-state settled among them: they entered, as our churches do, into a holy covenant, wherein they gave themselves, first unto the Lord, and then unto one another, to attend the rules and helps, and expect the blessings of the everlasting gospel: and Mr Eliot having a mission from the church of Roxborough, unto the work of the Lord Christ among the Indians, conceived himself sufficiently authorized unto the performing of all church-work about them; grounding it on Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4. and he accordingly administered, first the baptism, and then the supper of the Lord unto them.

We find four assemblies of praying Indians, besides that of Natick, in our neighbourhood. But why no more? truly not because our Eliot was want-

ing in his offers and labours for their good ; but because many of the obdurate infidels would not receive the gospel of salvation. In one of his letters, I find him giving this ill-report ; " Lyn-Indians are all naught save one, who sometimes comes to hear the word ; and the reason why they are bad, is, principally because their Sachim is naught, and careth not to pray unto God." Indeed the Sachims, or the princes of the Indians, generally did all they could that their subjects might not entertain the gospel ; the devils having the Sachims on their side, thereby kept their possession of the people too. Their Pawaws did much to maintain the interest of the devils in this wilderness ; those " children of the devil, and enemies of all righteousness, did not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord ;" but their Sachims did more towards it ; for they would presently raise a storm of persecution upon any of their vassals that should pray unto the eternal God. The ground of this conduct in them, was, a fear, that religion would abridge them of the tyranny which they had been used unto ; they always, like the devil, held their people in a most absolute servitude, and ruled by no law, but by their will, which left the poor slaves nothing that they could call their own. They now suspected that religion would put a bridle upon such usurpations, and oblige them to a more equal and humane way of government ; they therefore, some of them, had the impudence to address the English, that no motions about the Christian religion might ever be made unto them ; and Mr Eliot, sometimes in the wilderness, without the company or assistance of any other Englishman, has been treated in a very threatening and barbarous manner by some of these tyrants ; but God inspired him with so much resolution, as to tell them, " I am about the work of the great God, and my God is with me ; so that I fear neither you, nor all the Sachims in the country ; I'll go on, and do you touch me if you dare !" upon which the stoutest of them have shrunk and fell before him. And one of them he at length conquered, by preaching unto him a sermon upon the temptations fetched from the kingdoms and glories of the world. The little kingdoms and glories of the great men among the Indians, was a powerful obstacle to the success of Mr Eliot's ministry ; and it is observable, that several of those nations which thus refused the gospel, quickly afterwards were so devil-driven, as to begin an unjust and bloody war upon the English, which issued in their speedy and utter extirpation from the face of God's earth. It was particularly remarked in Philip, the ring-leader of the most calamitous war that ever they made upon us, our Eliot made a tender of the everlasting salvation to that king ; but that Philip entertained it with contempt and anger, after the Indian mode of joining signs with words, he took hold of a button of Mr Eliot's coat, adding, " that he cared for his gospel, just as much as he cared for that button." A terrible ruin soon came upon that woful creature, and upon all his people. It was not long before the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the jaw from the blasphemous exposed skull of that Leviathan ; and Samuel Lee is now pastor to an English congregation, sounding the praises of heaven, upon that very spot of ground, where Philip and his Indians were lately worshipping the devil.

Sometimes the more immediate hand of God, by cutting off the principal opposers of the gospel among the Indians, made way for Mr Eliot's ministry. As

I remember, he relates that an association of profane Indians near our Weymouth, set themselves to deter and seduce the neighbour Indians from the right ways of the Lord. But God quickly sent the small-pox among them, which like a great plague soon swept them away, and thereby engaged the rest unto himself. I need only to add, that one attempt made by the devil, to prejudice the pagans against the gospel, had something in it extraordinary. While Mr Eliot was preaching Christ unto the other Indians, a spectre appeared unto a prince of the Eastern Indies, in a shape that had some resemblance of Mr Eliot, or of an English minister, pretending to be the Englishman's God. The spectre commanded him, " To forbear the drinking of rum, and to observe the Sabbath-day, and to deal justly with his neighbours ;" all which things had been inculcated in Mr Eliot's ministry ; promising therewithal unto him, that if he did so, at his death his soul should ascend unto a happy place ; otherwise descend unto miseries ; but the apparition all the while never said one word about Christ, which was the main subject of Mr Eliot's ministry. The Sachim received such an impression from the apparition, that he dealt justly with all men, except in the bloody tragedies and cruelties he afterwards committed on the English in our wars ; he kept the Sabbath day like a fast, frequently attending in our congregations ; he would not meddle with any rum, though usually his countrymen had rather die than undergo such a piece of self-denial. At last, and not long since, this spectre appeared again unto this Pagan, requiring him to kill himself, and assuring him that he should revive in a day or two, never to die any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his friends very carefully prevented it ; however at length he found an opportunity, and hanged himself ; it is easy to see what a stumbling-block was here laid before the miserable Indians.

The same spirit which acted Mr Eliot, quickly inspired others elsewhere, to prosecute the work of rescuing the poor Indians out of their worse than Egyptian-darkness, in which evil angels had been so long preying upon them. One of these was the godly and gracious Richard Bourn, who soon saw a great effect of his labours. In the year 1666, Mr Eliot, accompanied by the governor, and several magistrates and ministers at Plymouth colony, procured a vast assembly at Mashippaug ; and there a good number of Indians made confessions touching the knowledge and belief, and regeneration of their souls, with such understanding and affection as was extremely grateful to the pious auditory. Yet such was the strictness of the good people in this affair, that before they would countenance the advancement of these Indians unto church-fellowship, they ordered their confessions to be written and sent unto all the churches in the colony, for their approbation ; but so approved they were, that afterwards the messengers of all the churches giving their presence and consent, they became a church, and chose Mr Bourn to be their pastor ; who was then by Mr Eliot and Mr Cotton ordained unto that office over them. From hence Mr Eliot and Mr Cotton went over to an island called Martha's Vineyard, where God had so succeeded the honest labours of some, and particularly of the Mayhews, as that a church was gathered.

This church, after fasting and prayer, chose one Hiacommes to be their pastor, John Tockinosh, an

able and a discreet Christian, to be their teacher ; Joshua Mummeecheegs, and John Nanaso, to be ruling elders ; and these were then ordained by Mr Eliot and Mr Cotton thereunto.¹ Distance of habitation caused this one church by mutual agreement afterwards to become two ; the pastor and one ruling elder taking one part and the teacher and one ruling elder another ; and at Nantucket, another adjacent island, was another church of Indians quickly gathered, who chose an Indian, John Gibs, to be their minister. These churches are so exact in their admission, and so solemn in their discipline, and so serious in their communion, that some of the Christian English in the neighbourhood, who would have been loth to have mixed with them in a civil relation, yet have gladly done it in a sacred one.

It is needless for me to repeat what my father has written about the other Indian congregations ; only there having been made mention of one Hiacomoes, I am willing to annex a passage or two concerning that memorable Indian. That Indian was a very great instrument of bringing his Pagan and wretched neighbours to a saving acquaintance with our Lord Jesus Christ ; and God gave him the honour, not only of so doing much for some, but also of suffering much from others of those unhappy savages. Once particularly, this Hiacomoes received a cruel blow from an Indian prince, which, if some English had not been there, might have killed him, for his praying unto God. And afterwards he gave this account of his trial in it : said he, " I have two hands ; I had one hand for injuries, and the other for God ; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God." The Pawaws did use to hector and abuse the praying Indians at such a rate, as terrified others from joining with them ; but once when those witches were bragging they could kill all the praying Indians if they would ; Hiacomoes replied, " Let all the Pawaws in the island come together, I'll venture myself in the midst of them ; let them use all their witchcrafts, with the help of God I'll tread upon them all." By this courage he silenced the Pawaws ; at the same time also he heartened the people, at such a rate as was truly wonderful ; nor could any of them ever harm this eminent confessor afterwards ; nor indeed any proelyte which had been by his means brought home to God ; yea, it was observed after this, that they rather killed than cured all such of the Heathen as would yet make use of their enchantments for help against their sicknesses.

So little was the soul of our Eliot infected with any envy, as that he longed for nothing more than fellow-labourers ; he made his cries both to God and man, for more to be thrust forth into the Indian harvest ; and indeed it was an harvest of so few secular advantages and encouragements, that it must be nothing less than a divine thrust, which could make any to labour in it. He saw the answer of his prayers, in the generous and vigorous attempts made by several other most worthy preachers of the gospel, to gospelize our perishing Indians. At the writing of my father's letter there were four ; but the number of them increases apace among us. At Martha's Vineyard, old Mr Mayhew, and several of his sons, or grandsons, have done very worthily for the souls of the Indians ; there were fifteen years ago, by

computation, about fifteen hundred seals of their ministry upon that one island. In Connecticut, Mr Fitch has made noble essays towards the conversion of the Indians ; but, I think, the prince he has to deal withal, being an obstinate infidel, gives unhappy remoras to the successes of his ministry. And godly Mr Pierson has in that colony deserved well, if I mistake not, upon the same account. In Massachusetts we see at this day Mr Daniel Cookin, Mr Peter Thatcher, Mr Grindel Rawson, all of them hard at work to turn these poor creatures from darkness unto light, and from Satan unto God. In Plymouth we have the most active Mr Samuel Treat, laying out himself to save this generation ; and there is one Mr Tupper, who uses his laudable endeavours for the instruction of them.¹ It is my relation to him that causes me to defer to the last place, the mention of Mr John Cotton, who addresses the Indians in their own language with an admirable dexterity, and has done great service to them. Having told my reader that the second edition of the Indian Bible was wholly of his correction and amendment, I shall only add this remarkable story ; Mr Cotton, accompanied by the governor and major-general, and sundry persons of quality, made a journey to a nation of Indians in the neighbourhood, with a free offer of the words whereby they might be saved. The prince took time to consider of it ; and, at length he told them, " He did not accept the tender which they made him." They then took their leaves of him, not without first giving him this plain and short admonition. " If God have any mercy for your miserable people, he will quickly find a way to take you out of the way." It was presently after this, that this prince going forth to a battle against another nation of Indians, was killed in the fight : and the young prince being in his minority, the government fell into the hands of protectors, who favoured the interest of the gospel. Mr Cotton being advised of it, speedily and prosperously renewed the tidings of an eternal Saviour to the savages, who have ever since attended upon his ministry ; and the young Sachim, after he came to age, expressed his approbation of the Christian religion ; especially, when a while since he lay a-dying of a tedious distemper, and would keep reading of Mr Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, with floods of tears in his eyes, while he had any strength to do it.

Such as these are the persons whom our Eliot left engaged in the Indian work ; and they are so indefatigable in their labours, as that the most equal judges must acknowledge them worthy of much greater salaries than they are generally contented with.

Some of the Indians quickly built for themselves good and large meeting-houses ; and some of the English were helpful to them upon this account ; among whom I ought particularly to mention that learned, pious, and charitable gentleman, Samuel Sewal, who at his own charge built a meeting-house for one of the Indian congregations.

As to their worship, the very name of praying Indians will assure us, that prayer is one of their devotions ; be sure they could not be our Eliot's disciples if it were not so. They study the words of God, and their own sins and wants, and can pray with much pertinence and enlargement. Their preaching has

¹ See a further account of Hiacomoes, John Tockinosh, and John Nanaso, in the next Section.

¹ I suppose he might have added Mr Levarich of Sandwich.

also much of Eliot, and therefore you may be sure much of scripture, but perhaps more of the Christian than of the scholar in it. As for holy-days, our Eliot would not persuade his Indians to any stated ones. But he taught them to set apart days both for fasting and prayer, and for praise, when there should be extraordinary occasions for them; and they perform the duties of these days with a very laborious piety. One party of the Indians long since, of their own accord, kept a day of supplication together, wherein one of them discoursed upon Psalms lxvi. 7, "He rules by his power for ever, his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themselves." And when one asked them afterwards, what was the reason of their keeping such a day? they replied, "It was to obtain five mercies of God." First, "That God would slay the rebellion of their hearts. Next, That they might love God and one another. Thirdly, That they might withstand the temptations of wicked men, so that they might not be drawn back from God. Fourthly, That they might be obedient unto the counsels and commands of their rulers. Fifthly, That they might have their sins done away by the redemption of Jesus Christ. And lastly, That they might walk in the good ways of the Lord."

Our cautious Eliot was far from the opinion of those who have thought it warrantable to adopt some Heathenish usages into the worship of God, for the more easy and speedy gaining of the Heathen to that worship. He would not gratify them with a Samaritan sort of mixed worship: and he imagined, as well he might, that the Apostle Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians had enough in it, for ever to deter us all from such unhappy temporizing.

It is too usual with old men, that when they are past work, they are least sensible of their inabilities and incapacities, and can scarce endure to see another succeeding them in their office. But our Eliot was of a temper quite contrary thereunto; for finding many months before his death, that he had not strength enough to edify his congregation with public prayers and sermons, he importuned his people with some impatience to call another minister; professing himself unable to die with comfort until he could see a good successor ordained, settled, and fixed among them. For this cause, he also cried mightily unto the Lord Jesus, our ascended Lord, that he would give such a gift unto Roxbury; and he sometimes called his whole town together, to join with him in a fast for such a blessing. As the return of their supplications, our Lord quickly bestowed upon them a person young in years, but old in discretion, gravity, and experience, Mr Nebemiah Walter; who being by the unanimous vote and choice of the church there, become the pastor of Roxbury, immediately found the venerable Eliot embracing and cherishing of him, with the tender affections of a father. And thus, he for a year or two before his death, could scarce be persuaded unto any public service, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have said, "It would be a wrong to the souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were supplied so much to their advantage otherwise." But although he dismissed himself (as one so near to the age of ninety, might well have done) from his public labours; yet he would not give over his endeavours, in a more private sphere, to do good unto all. For he had always been an enemy to idleness. His

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little diary shews there was no day without a line. A young boy in the neighbourhood had, in his infancy, fallen into a fire, so as to burn himself into a perfect blindness; but this boy having grown to some bigness, the good old man took him home to his house and taught him. And the boy so profited, that in a little time he could repeat many whole chapters verbatim, and if any other in reading missed a word, he would mind them of it.

He had once a pleasant fear, that the old saints of his acquaintance, especially those two dearest neighbours of his, Cotton of Boston, and Mather of Dorchester, who were got safe to heaven before him, would suspect him to be gone the wrong way, because he stayed so long behind them.

For many months before he died, he would often tell us, "That he was shortly going to heaven, and that he would carry a deal of good news thither with him; he said he would carry tidings to the old founders of New England, who were now in glory, that church-work was yet carried on among us; that the number of our churches was continually increasing; and that the churches were still kept as big as they were, by the daily additions of those that shall be saved." He used most affectionately to bewail the death of all useful men; yet if one brought him the notice of such a thing with any despondencies, or said, "O, sir, such an one is dead, what shall we do?" he would answer, "Well, but God lives, Christ lives, the old Saviour of New England yet lives, and he will reign until all his enemies are made his footstool."

The last thing that ever our Eliot put off, was, the care of all the churches, which he was continually solicitous about. When the churches in New England were under a very uncomfortable prospect, by the advantage which men that sought their ruin had obtained against them, God put it into the heart of one well known in these churches, to take a voyage into England, that he might, by his mediations at Whitehall, divert the storms that were then impending over us. It is not easy to express what affection our aged Eliot prosecuted this undertaking with; and what thanksgiving he rendered unto God for any hopeful successes of it. But because one of the last times, and for aught I know the last of his ever setting pen to paper in the world was upon this occasion, I shall transcribe a short letter which was written by the shaking hand that had heretofore by writing deserved so well from the church of God. It was written to the person that was engaging for us, and thus it ran:—

"REVEREND AND BELOVED MR INCREASE MATHER,—I cannot write. Read Nehemiah ii. 10. When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobijah the servant, the Ammonite heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel. Let thy blessed soul feed full and fat upon this and other scriptures. All other things I leave to other men; and rest, your loving brother,

"JOHN ELIOT."

FROM TURNER'S REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES, Part 1. chap 12.

The following speeches of some of the Indians, formerly published by Mr Eliot, were delivered to me by a friend that brought them with him from Boston in New England, and are so great a rarity

that it was with difficulty he procured them in New England, where they were printed; neither was there a copy of them to be found in London. Mr Eliot begins thus: "Here be but a few of the dying speeches and counsels of such Indians as died in the Lord. It is an humbling to me, that there be no more; it was not in my heart to gather them, but Major Gookins hearing some of them rehearsed, he first moved that Daniel should gather them, in the language as they were spoken, and that I should translate them into English; and here is presented what was done that way. These things are printed, not so much for publication, as to save charge of writing out of copies for those that did desire them. JOHN ELIOT."

1. WABAN. He was the first that received the gospel; our first meeting was at his house; the next time we met, he had gathered a great company of his friends to hear the word, in which he hath been stedfast; when we framed ourselves in order, in way of government, he was chosen a ruler of fifty; he hath approved himself to be a good Christian in church order, and in civil order, he hath approved himself to be a zealous, faithful, and stedfast ruler to his death. His speech is as followeth:—"I now rejoice, though I be now a dying; great is my affliction in this world, but I hope that God doth so afflict me, only to try my praying to God in this world, whether it be true and strong, or not; but I hope God doth gently call me to repentance, and to prepare to come unto him; therefore he layeth on me great pain and affliction. Though my body be almost broken by sickness, yet I desire to remember thy name. Oh my God, until I die, I remember those words, Job xix. 23 to 28. Oh that my words were now written! Oh that they were printed in a book; that they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in a rock for ever. For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh I shall see God," &c. I desire not to be troubled about matters of this world; a little I am troubled. I desire you all, my brethren, and you my children, do not greatly weep and mourn for me in this world; I am now almost dying, but see that you strongly pray to God, and do you also prepare and make ready to die, for every one of you must come to dying; therefore confess your sins, every one of you, and believe in Jesus Christ; I believe that which is written in the book of God. Consider truly and repent, and believe; then God will pardon all your great and many sins. God can pardon all your sins as easily as one; for God's free mercy and glory do fill all the world. God will in no wise forget those that in this world do sincerely repent and believe; verily, this is love, oh my God. Therefore I desire that God would do this for me, though in my body I am full of pain; as for those that died afore we prayed to God, I have no hope about them, now I believe that God hath called us for heaven; and there in heaven are many believers' souls abiding. Therefore I pray you, do not overmuch grieve for me, when I die in this world, but make yourselves ready to die, and follow me, and there we shall see each other in eternal glory. In this world we live but a short while; therefore we must always be preparing that we may be ready to die. Therefore, oh my God, I humbly pray, receive my soul, by thy free mercy in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeem-

er; for Christ hath died for me, and for all my sins in this world committed. My great God hath given me long life, and therefore I am now willing to die. Oh Jesus Christ, help my soul; I believe that my sickness doth not arise out of the dust, nor cometh at peradventure, but God sendeth it, Job v. 6, 7. By this sickness God calleth me to repent of all my sins, and to believe in Christ; now I confess myself a great sinner; oh pardon me, and help me, for Christ's sake. Lord, thou callest me with a double calling, sometimes by prosperity and mercy, sometimes by affliction. And now thou callest me by sickness, but let me not forget thee, oh my God. I give my soul to thee, oh my Redeemer, Jesus Christ; pardon all my sins, and deliver me from hell: oh do thou help me against death, and then I am willing to die; and when I die, oh help me, and receive me." In so saying, he died.

2. PIAMBOHU. He was the second man next Waban, that received the gospel; he brought many with him to the second meeting at Waban's house; when we formed them into government, he was chosen a ruler of ten; when the church at Hase-namessit was gathered, he was called to be a ruler in that church; when that was scattered by the war, they came back to Natick church, so many as survived, and at Natick he died. His speech was as followeth, "I rejoice, and am content and willing to take up my sorrows and sickness; many are the years of my life; long have I lived, therefore now I look to die; but I desire to prepare myself to die well. I believe God's promise, that he will for ever save all that believe in Jesus Christ. Oh Lord Jesus help me; deliver me, and save my soul from hell, by thine own blood, which thou hast shed for me, when thou didst die for me, and for all my sins; now help me sincerely to confess all my sins; oh pardon all my sins: I now beg, in the name of Jesus Christ, a pardon for all my sins; for thou, O Christ, art my Redeemer and deliverer: now I hear God's word, and I do rejoice in what I hear; though I do not see, yet I hear and rejoice, that God hath confirmed for us a minister in this church of Natick; he is our watchman; and all you people deal well with him, both men, women, and children; hear him every Sabbath-day, and make strong your praying to God; and all you of Hase-namessit, restore your church and praying to God there. Oh Lord help me to make ready to die, and then receive my soul; I hope I shall die well by the help of Jesus Christ; oh Jesus Christ deliver and save my soul in everlasting life in heaven, for I do hope thou art my Saviour: oh Jesus Christ." So he died.

3. OLD JACOB. He was among the first that prayed to God; he had so good a memory, that he could rehearse the whole catechism, both questions and answers. When he gave thanks at meat, he would sometimes only pray the Lord's prayer; his speech is as followeth: "My brethren, now hear me a few words; stand fast all you people in your praying to God, according to that word of God, 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Watch ye, stand fast in the faith; quit you like men, and be strong in the Lord, especially, you that are rulers and teachers: fear not the face of men, when you judge in a court together; help one another, agree together: be not divided one against another; remember the parable of ten brethren that held together; they could not be broken, nor overcome; but when they divided one against another, then they were easily overcome; and all

you that are rulers, judge right judgment; for you do not judge for man, but for God, in your courts. 2 Chron. xix. 6, 7. Therefore, judge in the fear of God. Again, you that are judges, see that you have not only human wisdom, for man's wisdom is in many things contrary to the wisdom of God, counting it to be foolishness. Do not judge that right which only seemeth to be right, and consider Matth. vii. 1, 2. Judge right, and God will be with you, when you so do. Again, I say to you all the people; make strong your praying to God, and be constant in it, 1 Thes. v. 17. Pray continually. Again, lastly, I say to you Daniel, our minister, be strong in your work, as Matth. v. 14, 16. You must bring light into the world, and make it to shine, that all may see your good work, and glorify your heavenly Father. Every preacher that maketh strong his work, doth bring precious pearls: as Matth. xiii. 12. And thou shalt have everlasting life in so doing. I am near to death; I have lived long enough; I am about ninety years old; I now desire to die, in the presence of Christ. Oh Lord, I commit my soul to thee."

4. **NEHEMIAH.** This very hopeful young man going out to hunt with a companion, he fell out with him, and stabbed him mortally, and killed him; a little was gathered up spoke by him, as followeth: "I am ready to die now, but knew not of it, even now when I went out of my door; I was only going to hunt, but a wicked man hath killed me; I see that word is true, He that is well to-day, may be dead to-morrow. He that laughed yesterday, may sorrow to-day. My misery overtook me in the woods. No man knoweth the day and time when his misery cometh. Now I desire patiently to take my cross and misery; I am but a man, and must feel the cross. Oh Christ Jesus help me; thou art my Redeemer, my Saviour, and my Deliverer: I confess myself a sinner; Lord Jesus pardon all my sins by thy own blood, when thou diedst for us; O Christ Jesus save my soul from hell; receive my soul into heaven; Oh help me, help me." So he died; the wicked murderer is fled.

5. **JOHN OWUSSUMUG,** senior. He was a young man when the Indians began to pray to God; he did not at the present join with them, but would say to me, I will first see into it, and when I understand it, I will answer you. He did after a while enter into the civil covenant, becoming one of the community, but was not entered into the church covenant before he died. He was propounded to join to the church, but was delayed, he being of a quick passionate temper; some witty litigations prolonged it until his sickness, but had he recovered, the church was satisfied to have received him: he finished well. His speech is as followeth: "Now I must shortly die; I desired that I might live; I sought for medicines to cure me; I went to every English doctor, at Dadham, Medfield, Concord, but none could cure me in this world. But oh Jesus Christ, do thou heal my soul; now I am in great pain, I have no hope of living in this world; a whole year I have been afflicted; I could not go to the public Sabbath-worship to hear God's word; I did greatly love to go to the Sabbath-worship. Therefore I now say to all you, men, women, and children, love much, and greatly to keep the Sabbath; I have been now long hindered from it, and therefore now I find the worth of it; I say unto you all, my sons and children, do not go into the woods among non-praying people, but abide constantly at Natick. You

my kindred, strongly pray to God, love and obey the rulers, and submit unto their judgment, hear diligently your ministers; be obedient to Major Gookins, and to Mr Eliot, and to Daniel. I am now almost dead, and I exhort you strongly to love each other, be at peace, and be ready to forgive each other. I desire now rightly to prepare myself to die, for God hath given me warning a whole year by my sickness; I confess I am a sinner; my heart was proud, and thereby all sins were in my heart; I knew that by birth I was a Sachem; I got oxen, and cart, and plough, like an Englishman, and by all these things my heart was proud. Now God calleth me to repentance, by my sickness this whole year. Oh Christ Jesus help me, that according as I make my confession, so through thy grace I may obtain pardon of all my sins, for thou Lord Jesus didst die for us, to deliver us from sin. I hear and believe that thou hast died for many; therefore I desire to cast away all worldly hindrances, my lands and goods; I cast them by, they cannot help me now, I desire truly to prepare to die; my sons, I hope Christ will help me to die well: now I call you my sons, but in heaven we shall all be brethren, this I learned in the Sabbath-worship; all miseries in this world upon believers shall have only joy and blessing in Jesus Christ: therefore, oh Christ Jesus help me in all my miseries, and deliver me, for I trust in thee; and save my soul in thy heavenly kingdom, now behold me and look upon me, who am dying:" so he died.

SECTION III.

OF THE ENGLISH MINISTERS IN MARTHA'S VINEYARD.—SOME EXAMPLES OF PIOUS INDIANS THERE.—1. OF THOSE WHO WERE MINISTERS, ELDERS, OR DEACONS.—2. OF OTHERS WHO WERE NOT IN ANY CHURCH-OFFICE.—3. OF WOMEN.—4. OF YOUNG PERSONS.

From the APPENDIX TO MATHEW'S INDIAN CONVERTS.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH MINISTERS IN MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

1. **THE REV. MR THOMAS MAYHEW JUN.** the only son of Thomas Mayhew, Esq.; he was a young gentleman of liberal education, and of such repute for piety as well as natural and acquired gifts, having no small degree of knowledge in the Latin and Greek languages, and being not wholly a stranger to the Hebrew, that soon after their settlement on the island, the new plantation called him to the ministry among them. But his English flock being then but small, he beheld, with great compassion, the wretched natives, who then were several thousands on those islands, perishing in utter ignorance of the true God, and eternal life, labouring under strange delusions, enchantments, and fears of the devils, whom they most passionately worshipped, and in such a miserable case as those, Eph. ii. 12. "Without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world." And God who had ordained him an evangelist, for the conversion of those Indian

¹ The book itself has an attestation prefixed by eleven ministers at Boston, dated June 14th. 1728. And the Appendix is written by Mr Prince, one of their number.

Gentiles, stirred him up with an holy zeal and resolution, to labour their illumination and deliverance. He first endeavours to get acquainted with them, and then earnestly applies himself to learn their language. He treats them in a condescending and friendly manner. He takes all occasions to insinuate and show the sincere and tender love and good will he bears them; and, as he grows in their acquaintance and affection, he proceeds to express his great concern and pity for their immortal souls. He tells them of their deplorable condition under the power of malicious devils, who not only kept them in ignorance of earthly good things, but of those things which might bring them to heaven for ever, what a kind and mighty God the English served, and how the Indians might happily come into his favour and protection. The first Indian that embraced the motion of forsaking their false gods, and adoring the true God, was Hiacomoes, which was in the year 1643; an account of whom we have in the first of the following examples. The Indian living near the English settlement, quickly grew into an acquaintance with them; and, being a man of a sober, thoughtful, and ingenious spirit, he not only visited their houses, but also their public and religious meetings, at which time Mr Mayhew took particular notice of him, discoursed often with him, invited him to his house every Lord's-day at evening, gave him a clear account of the nature, reasonableness, and importance of the Christian faith, and quickly brought him to a firm and resolute adherence to it. Mr Mayhew having gained Hiacomoes, he first employs him as a faithful instrument to prepare his way to the rest of the natives, instructing him more and more in this new religion, showing him how to recommend it to them, and to answer all their arguments and objections against it. And then, in 1644, he proceeds to visit and discourse them himself; and whereas, at first he could not hope to be heard in public, he therefore begins to instruct them in a more private way, sometimes going to the houses of those he esteemed most rational and well qualified, and at other times treating with particular persons. And, as Mr Mayhew endeavoured the good of these Heathens, by discoursing with as many as were willing to have any conference with him; so with Hiacomoes in particular, whom he from time to time directed to communicate the knowledge received to those that Mr Mayhew could not so easily meet with. And they united their counsels, and wrought together, and, by the blessing of God, soon gained some others. But that which especially favoured the progress of religion among them, was an universal sickness, wherewith they were visited in the following year; wherein it was observed by the Heathen Indians themselves, that those who hearkened to Mr Mayhew's pious instructions, did not taste so deeply of it, and Hiacomoes and his family in a manner nothing at all. This put the natives, who within lived six miles off the English, upon serious consideration about this matter, being much affected, that he who had professed the Christian religion, and had thereby exposed himself to much reproach and trouble, should receive more blessings than they; whereupon Myoxeo, the chief man of that place, and Towanquatick, the Sagamore, with many others, sent for Hiacomoes, to tell them what he knew of the God which the English worshipped. At this very meeting, which was in 1646, Myoxeo was happily enlightened, and turned to chuse and acknowledge this God for

his own, and Towanquatick soon after, encouraged by some others, desired Mr Mayhew to give them a public meeting, to make known to them the word of God in their own tongue; and, among other incitements, addressed him thus: You shall be to us as one that stands by a running river, filling many vessels, even so shall you fill us with everlasting knowledge." So Mr. Mayhew undertook to give them a meeting once a month; but as soon as the first exercise was over, they desired oftener than he could well attend; however, once a fortnight was the settled course; and, as this was the first public audience among them, so from hence, both Mr Mayhew on the week-days lecture, and Hiacomoes on the Sabbaths, were constantly heard in public as long as they lived. However, Mr Mayhew here met with three very great obstacles: for, 1st. Many strongly stood for their own meetings, ways, and customs, as being in their account much more advantageous and agreeable than ours, wherein they have nothing but talking and praying, and this in a manner too sober for them. 2d. Others alleged that the Sagamores were generally against this new way. But the 3d. and greatest of all, was, how they should come off from the Pawaws. This was the strongest cord that bound them; for the Pawaws, by their diabolical sorceries, kept them in the most slavish fear and subjection to them. There were about twelve at the meeting who were halting between two opinions, and others only came to see and hear what was done; for, though they had heard something of the one God of Heaven, yet was there such unspeakable darkness and bondage to sin and the Pawaws, that they durst not for fear desert them; and though a few were better enlightened, yet the natives round about struck fast in their brutishness. The Sagamore Towanquatick was exceedingly maligned by them; and, in 1647, his life was villainously attempted, for his favouring the Christian religion: but his great deliverance, with a due reflection on the villainy, the rather confirmed him in it, and enflamed him with the more active zeal to espouse and assert it; and the meeting went on, to the joy of some Indians, and the envy of the rest, who derided and scoffed at those who attended the lecture, and blasphemed the God whom they worshipped, which very much damped the spirits of some for a time in his ways, and hindered others from looking towards them. But Towanquatick and Hiacomoes were inspired with a wonderful courage and constancy; and, in the following year, had a general meeting of all that were inclined for Christianity, to confirm and assist one another in their abiding by it. This assembly was held in Mr Mayhew's presence; and therein he tells us, That twelve of the young men went and took Sacoohanimo, Towanquatick's eldest son, by the hand, telling him, they loved him, and would go with him in God's way, and the elder men encouraged them, and desired them never to forget these promises. And so, after they had eaten, and sung part of a Psalm in their own language, and Mr Mayhew had prayed, they returned home with expressions of great joy and thankfulness. The next year there was a greater convention, wherein was a mixed multitude, both of Infidel and Christian Indians, and those who were in doubt of Christianity; but Mr Mayhew, it seems, was not now present. In this assembly the dreadful power of the Pawaws was publicly debated, many asserting their power to hurt and kill, and alleging numerous instances that were evident and undoubted

among them ; and then some asking aloud, " Who is there that does not fear them ? " Others replied, " There is not a man that does not," Upon which Hiacommes breaks forth, and boldly declares, " That though the Pawaws might hurt those who feared them, yet he believed and trusted in the great God of heaven and earth ; and therefore all the Pawaws together could do him no harm, and he feared them not." At which they all exceedingly wondered, and expected some dreadful thing to befall him ; but observing he remained unhurt, they began to esteem him happy in being delivered from their terrible power. Several of the assembly declared they now believed in the same God too, and would be afraid of the Pawaws no more ; and desired Hiacommes to tell them what this great God would have them to do ; and what were the things that offended him ; he immediately fell to prayer and preaching ; and, by a rare and happy invention, he readily discovered and mentioned forty-five or fifty sorts of sins committed among them, and as many contrary duties neglected ; which so amazed and touched their consciences, that, at the end of the meeting, there were twenty-two Indians who resolved against those evils, and to walk with God, and attend his word ; among whom was Momonequem, a son of one of the principal Indians, who sometime after became a preacher. (Of whom in the second of the following examples.)

And now, in 1650, comes on the critical point of the credit and power of the Pawaws among them ; for Hiacommes thus openly renouncing and protesting against the false gods he had worshipped, with all the Pawaws their familiar ministers ; and with an amazing courage despising and defying their power, the Pawaws were greatly enraged, and threatened his utter destruction ; but to their own and their people's surprise and confusion, were unable to hurt him. Mr Mayhew improves the advantage, and redoubles his diligence ; is incessant in his pious endeavours ; and now, while many are in doubt of their way, he offers to show them the right one ; he spares not his body either by day or by night. He readily travels, and lodges in their smoky wigwags ; when he usually spends a great part of the night in relating the ancient stories of God in the scriptures, which were surprising and entertaining to them, and in other discourse, which he conceives proper. He proposes such things to their consideration, which he thinks first requisite ; he fairly solves their subtle objections, and tells them they might plainly see it was purely in good-will to them, from whom he could expect no reward, that he spent so much time and pains, and endured so much cold and wet, fatigue and trouble. But God was pleased to animate, uphold, and preserve him, and quickly to give success to his painful labours : for soon after, an Indian standing up at the lecture confessed his sins, declared his repentance, and desire to forsake them, and to go in God's way ; and then going to Towanquatick, took him by the hand, and in his native simplicity said, " I love you, and do greatly desire to go along with you for God's sake : " the same he said to some others ; and coming to Mr Mayhew, he said, " I pray you to love me, and I do love you, and desire to go with you for God's sake ; " upon which they received him with gladness of heart. After this, there came five more ; and by the end of the summer, there were thirty-nine Indian men in this meeting, who had not only the knowledge of the main points of religion, and professed their belief of

them, but had also solemnly entered into a covenant to live agreeably to them : besides the well-instructed and believing women, who were supposed to exceed the number of the men, though they had not yet entered the covenant.

Mr Mayhew's way in public now is, by a lecture every fortnight, whereto men, women, and children come ; and first he prays, and then preaches, then catechizes, then sings a psalm, and all in their own language. After sermon, he generally spends more time than in the sermon itself, in a more familiar reasoning with them. And every Saturday morning, he confers with Hiacommes more privately about his subject-matter of preaching to the natives on both the parts of the following day.

About this time, Mr Henry Whitfield pastor of the church at Guildford, New-England, in his voyage to Boston, in order to return to England, happened to put in at the Vineyard, and to stay there ten days. There, he tells us, he found a small plantation, and an English church gathered, whereof this Mr Mayhew was pastor ; that he had attained a good understanding in the Indian tongue, could speak well, and had laid the first foundation of the knowledge of Christ among the natives there by preaching, &c. Mr H. Whitfield attends Mr Mayhew to a more private meeting, and the next day to the Indian lecture, where Mr Mayhew preached ; and then catechised the Indian children, who answered readily and modestly in the principles of religion ; some of them answering in English, and others in the Indian tongue ; and then Mr H. Whitfield adds the following lines : " Thus having seen a short model of his way, and of the pains he took, I made some inquiry about Mr Mayhew himself, and about his subsistence ; because I saw but a small and slender appearance of outward conveniences of life in any comfortable way : the man himself was modest, and I could get little from him ; but afterwards I understood from others how short things were with him, and how he was many times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children who depended upon him, to provide necessaries for them ; having not half so much yearly coming in, in a settled way, as an ordinary labourer gets there among them ; yet he is cheerful amidst these straits, and none hear him complain. The truth is, he will not leave the work in which his heart is engaged ; for on my knowledge, if he would have left the work, and employed himself elsewhere, he might have had a more comfortable maintenance. I mention this the rather, because I have hope that some pious mind, who reads this, might be inwardly moved to consider his condition, and come to his succour, for his encouragement in this great work." Thus Mr H. Whitfield.

But quickly after he left Mr Mayhew, there happened a thing which amazed the whole island, and turned to the great and speedy advancement of the Christian religion. For it pleased God, who had drawn the Indians from the Pawaws to worship himself, whereto the Pawaws were greatly offended, yet now to persuade even two of themselves to run after those who sought him, and desire they might also go with them in the ways of that God whose name is Jehovah. They came very deeply convinced of the sins they had lived in, and especially pawawing, revealing the diabolical mysteries, and expressing the utmost repentance and detestation of them ; entreating that God would have mercy upon them, pardon their sins, and teach them his ways, for Christ Jesus

his sake. And very affecting it was to Mr Mayhew and all who were present, "to see these poor naked sons of Adam, and slaves to the devil from their birth, to come towards the Lord as they did, with their joints shaking and their bowels trembling; their spirits troubled, and their voices with much fervency uttering words of sore displeasure against sin and Satan; which they had embraced from their childhood with great delight. And now accounting it also their sin that they had not the knowledge of God, that they had served the devil, the great enemy both of God and man, and had been so hurtful to their lives; but yet being very thankful that through the mercy of God, they had an opportunity to be delivered out of their dangerous condition." The Christian Indians rejoiced to see the Pawaws begin to turn from their wicked ways to the Lord; and in a little time after, on a lecture-day, at the close of the exercise, there were several more of the natives who expressed their desire to become the servants of the most high God; among whom was Tequanonim, another Pawaw of great esteem and very notorious. And now indeed both the common Indians, and the Pawaws themselves, began to observe and confess, that since the gospel had been preached to them, the Pawaws had been very much foiled in their diabolical essays; and instead of curing as formerly, they now had rather killed many. At the same time there came pressing in about fifty Indians more in one day, desiring to join with the worshippers of God in his service, confessing their sins; some, those actual sins they had lived in; and others, the naughtiness of their hearts: desiring to be made better; and for this end, to attend on the word of God, and looking only to Christ for salvation. And upon this occasion, Mr Mayhew observes that they generally came in by families; the parents also bringing their children with them, saying, I have brought my children too; I would have my children serve God with us; I desire that this son and this daughter may worship Jehovah; and if they could but speak, their parents would have them say something to shew their willingness to serve the Lord: and when the commandments were repeated, they all acknowledged them to be good, and made choice of Jehovah to be their God, promising by his help to walk according to his counsels. And when they were received by those that were before in this general covenant, it was by loud voices, giving thanks to God that they were met together in the ways of Jehovah.

This was all before the end of the year 1650; and by the midst of October 1651, there were one hundred and ninety-nine men, women and children, who had professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever-living God. And now there were two meetings kept every Lord's day, the one three miles, the other about eight from Mr Mayhew's house. Hiacoomes taught twice a day at the nearest, and Mononequem as often at the farthest; and God greatly assisted them. And Mr Mayhew had then undertaken, in a dependance on God, to keep two several lectures among them, which would be at each assembly once a fortnight.

On January 11th, 1651-2, Mr Mayhew set up a school, to teach the natives to read, viz. the children, and any young men who were willing to learn, whereof they were very glad: and as there quickly came in about thirty Indian children, he found them

apt to learn; and more and more were coming in every day.

In the spring of the year 1652, the Indians, of their own accord made a motion to Mr Mayhew, that they might have some method settled among them for the exercise of order and discipline, that so they might be obliged to live in a due subjection to the laws of God; whereto they desired to enter into a covenant; they desired him also to inform them what were the punishments which God had appointed for those who broke his laws, to which they were also willing to subject themselves; and that they might have some men chosen among them, with his father and himself, to see that the Indians walked in an orderly manner; encouraging those who did so, and dealing with those who did not, according to the word of God. In order to this, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed to repent of their sins, and seek the Divine presence and help; and another shortly after to finish the work. Being then assembled together, some Indians spake for their excitation, and about ten or twelve of them prayed, as Mr Mayhew describes it, not with a set form, like children, but like men endued with a good measure of the knowledge of God, their own wants, and the wants of others, with much affection, and many spiritual petitions, favouring of an heavenly mind. The same morning Mr Mayhew drew up an excellent covenant in their native language, which he often read and made plain to them: and they all with free consent and thankfulness united in it, and desired the grace and help of God to keep it faithfully; which, were it not for making this account too large, I should have here inserted. And Mr Mayhew observed, that when they chose their rulers, they made choice of such as were best approved for piety, and most like to suppress all wickedness, and encourage goodness; and that afterwards they were upon all occasions forward to show their earnest desire of the same.

In short, by the end of October 1652, there were two hundred and eighty two Indians, not counting young children in the number, who were brought to renounce their false gods, devils and pawaws, and publicly, in set meetings, before many witnesses, had freely disclaimed and defied their tyrannical power; yea, eight of their pawaws had now forsaken their diabolical craft, and profitable trade, as they held it, to turn into the ways of God. And as not any of these were compelled thereto by power, so neither were they allured by gifts, having received none from the very beginning. Indeed the natives in general observed, to their wonder, that the Christians were all along exempted from being hurt by the pawaws; even some of the Heathen pawaws themselves came at length to own, that they could not make their power to seize on a Christian: and those who were enemies to the Christian Indians, could not but acknowledge that the blessing of Heaven was in an eminent manner among them. But this was entirely the distinguishing favour of Providence to recommend this religion to those who were not otherwise yet induced to see the excellence of it.

The praying Indians, as the christianized Indians were commonly called, being distinguished by this pious exercise, were constant attenders on the public worship; and even the barbarous Indians, both men and women, came often to Mr Mayhew's lectures, bewailing their ignorance, disliking their sinful liberty, and seeking subjection to God, to be

taught, governed and saved by him, for Christ Jesus's sake. Thus this worthy gentleman continued his almost inexpressible labour, and vigilant care for the good of the Indians, whom he justly esteemed his joy and crown. And God was pleased to give such success to his painful and unwearied labours, that by the year 1657, there were many hundred men and women added to the Christian society, of such as might truly be said to be holy in their conversation; and for knowledge, such as needed not to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God; besides the many hundreds of looser and more superficial professors.

While he was labouring in this blessed work with indefatigable pain and difficulties, expecting no reward, but from Him who said, "Go teach all nations, lo I am with you," God was pleased to move the hearts of many good people in England, who had heard of the same, to advance a considerable sum, to encourage the propagation of the gospel among the New-England Indians. And having seen so great a blessing on his painful labours, and seeing the Spirit given to sundry Indians, with the gift of prophesying, according to the promise made by Him who ascended on high and gave gifts to men; having also an able, godly Englishman, named Peter Foulger, employed in teaching the youth in reading, writing, and the principles of religion by catechizing; being well learned likewise in the Scriptures, and capable of helping them in religious matters: and Mr Mayhew, the father, being pretty competently skilled in the Indian language, and highly honouring the labour for their conversion, whereby, if any difficulties should arise, they might have suitable assistance: in the year 1657, which was the 37th year of his age, he intended a short voyage to England, to give a more particular account of the state of the Indians than he could well do by letters, and to pursue the most proper measures for the further advancement of religion among them. He accordingly took passage in a ship, with his wife's brother, and with an Indian who was a preacher among the natives. But alas! the mysterious ways of Providence! neither the ship, nor any of the passengers were ever heard of more! Thus came to an immature death Mr Mayhew, junior, who was so affectionately beloved, and esteemed of the Indians, that they could not easily bear his absence so far as Boston, before they longed for his return; and for many years after his departure, he was seldom named without tears. I have myself seen the rock on a decending ground, upon which he sometimes used to stand and preach to great numbers crowding to hear him. And the place on the wayside, where he solemnly and affectionately took his leave of that poor and beloved people of his, was for all that generation remembered with sorrow. In a letter of Mr Eliot, of December 28th, of the following year, and published at London in 1659, he thus expresses himself: "The Lord has given us this amazing blow, to take away my brother Mayhew. His aged father does his endeavour to uphold the work among the poor Indians, whom by letters I have encouraged what I can," &c. This brings us to

2. THOMAS MAYHEW, Esq., the father of the former. This gentleman was both patentee and governor of Martha's Vineyard and the neighbouring islands. After his son's death, seeing no probability of a regular minister to labour among the Indians, his zeal for the glory of God, and charity for the

souls of this perishing people, raised him above all those forms and distinctions that lay in the way, which he accounted nothing in competition with their eternal salvation. He therefore resolves to do his utmost, both to preserve and carry on this public work. He goes once every week to some of their plantations. At so advanced an age he sets himself with unwearied diligence to perfect himself in their language; and though a governor, yet he is not ashamed to become a preacher among them. He sometimes travelled on foot in this work near twenty miles through the woods. In a few years, with the assistance of those religious Indians who taught on the Lord's-day, he persuaded the natives on the west end of the island to receive the gospel. About the year 1664 he was greatly relieved and assisted by the Rev. Mr John Cotton. The Indians were so edified and pleased with Mr Mayhew's labours, that they desired him, though now about fourscore years of age, to accept the pastoral charge over them; but he thought this would not so well consist with the prime place he held in the civil government, wherein they also very greatly wanted him; and therefore advised them to chuse such Indian pastors as he thought would do good service among them; which they accordingly did, making choice of Hiacommes and Tackanash for their pastors. The day appointed being come, which was August 22, 1670, an Indian church was completely formed to the satisfaction of the English church, and other religious people in the island, who by advantage of many years' acquaintance, had sufficient experience of their qualifications. Nor did this abate his ministerial care or pains. He still proceeds in the laborious work, even to the ninety-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his ministry, which was in 1680, when he died, to the great lamentation of both the English and Indians. A little before his death he told a grandson of his, yet living, "That the time of his departure was near at hand; but he earnestly desired that God would give him one opportunity more in public to exhort the English of the town where he lived; whom he had for some time been also obliged to teach, through the want of a regular minister." God granting his desire, he taught them the following Sabbath, and then took his affectionate farewell of them; and falling ill that evening, he assured his friends, "that his sickness would now be unto death, and he was well contented therewith, being full of days, and satisfied with life," &c. He gave many counsels and exhortations to all about him; his reason and memory not being at all impaired, as could be perceived. And he continued full of faith, and comfort, and holy joy to the last. Though the loss of his only son in his old age was a great and lasting sorrow, yet by God's lengthening out his life to so uncommon a term, he had the reviving consolation to see a very valuable son of that son associated with him in the Indian service to their great acceptance, a few years before he died; and which doubtless made his departure more easy and joyful to him. We therefore now come to.

3. The Rev. Mr JOHN MAYHEW, the youngest son of Mr Thomas Mayhew junior. Mr Thomas Mayhew junior left three sons, viz., Matthew, Thomas, and John. This John, born in 1652, applied himself to the work of the ministry, wherein he was for some small time contemporary with his aforesaid grandfather; and succeeding him, continued therein to his death. When he was but twenty-

one years of age, he was first called to the ministry among the English in a new and small settlement, at a place named Tibury, near the midst of the island, where he preached with great acceptance. But he also naturally cared for the good of the Indians; and understanding their language well while he was a very young man, he used frequently to give them good instructions, and even the chief Indians on the island used often to resort to him for counsel. And being arrived at the age above-mentioned, they would not be contented until he became a public preacher to them likewise; so ardent and urgent were their desires, that he could not deny them, even though his grandfather was then a laborious and acceptable preacher among them. And having both the English and Indians under his care, his diligence was now to be doubled, especially after his grandfather's death; and this much the more, by reason of certain erroneous opinions in danger of taking root in the island. Mr Mayhew was rightly for repelling them with spiritual weapons; and being a person of very superior abilities, and acquaintance with the scriptures, he used to desire such as began to imbibe those principles, to produce the reasons; and those who wanted to be resolved in their difficulties, to give them the advantage to resolve them in public, that others might also receive light and satisfaction; whereby they came to be more clearly instructed, and more fully convinced and satisfied, than in the ordinary way of preaching, which yet always preceded the other. In short, he had such an excellent talent for the defence of the truth against gain-sayers, that those who would have spread their errors found that they could make no progress in their designs on the island: and the churches and people, and in them their posterity, were happily saved from the spreading of those erroneous opinions, and the disturbance and troubles they would have produced among them.

And as for the Indians; his custom was to tarry some time with them after the public exercise was over, allowing them to put questions to him for their own instruction, and also trying their knowledge, by putting questions to them. And he was so very well skilled in their language, as to be able to discourse freely with them upon any kind of subject, and to preach and pray in their tongue with the greatest readiness. The whole of what was allowed him for his incessant labours, both among the English, and Indians, put together, would scarce amount to ten pounds a year, except the two last years of his life, when the commissioners being sensible of the eminent service he did, raised his salary to thirty pounds. But he went on cheerfully, in hopes of a rich and joyful harvest in heaven. And having finished what God in his all-wise and perfect providence saw meet to employ him in, he died on the 3d of February, 1688-9. about two in the morning, in the 37th year of his age, and the 16th of his ministry; leaving the Indians in a very orderly way of assembling on the Lord's day, for public worship in four or five several places, and of hearing their several well instructed teachers, who usually began with prayer, and then after singing part of a Psalm, from some portion of Scriptures spake to the auditors: as also an Indian church, of one hundred communicants, walking according to the rule of the Scriptures. And thus expired this third successive Indian preacher of this worthy family; after he had set another bright example of disinterested zeal for the glory of God,

a lively faith of the invisible and eternal world, and a generous and great concern for the salvation of all about him. He left eight children; the eldest of whom was but sixteen years of age, and soon after succeeded him in the Indian service. And this is now

4. The Rev. Mr EXPERIENCE MAYHEW, the eldest son of Mr John Mayhew. He was born January 27, 1673, and began to preach to the Indians in the Vineyard, March 1694, about five years after his father's decease; and has continued in the same laborious employment, having the oversight of five or six Indian assemblies; to whose service he has been wholly devoted, and to one or other of which he has constantly preached for above these thirty-two years. The Indian language has been from his infancy natural to him, and he has been all along accounted one of the greatest masters of it that has been known among us. The honourable commissioners therefore employed him to make a new version of the whole book of Psalms, and the gospel of John; which he did in collateral columns of English and Indian, with a great deal of accuracy, in 1709. He has several children living, and is now endeavouring to bring up one of them for the college in order to the Indian service. But this worthy man, the compiler of the [following] Indian examples, being now alive, and flourishing among us, I may not venture to trespass so much on his modesty, as to enter into any further description of his character.

SOME EXAMPLES OF THE PIOUS INDIANS IN MARTHA'S VINEYARD, viz. 1. OF THOSE WHO WERE MINISTERS, ELDERS OR DEACONS, WHO WERE JUSTLY ESTEEMED GODLY PERSONS.

From MAYHEW'S INDIAN CONVERTS, Chap. 1.

Example 1. HIACOOMES, the first Christian Indian, and Minister in the island of Martha's Vineyard. This Hiacoomes was an Indian of Great-Harbour, now Edgartown, where a few English families first settled in the year 1641. His descent was but mean, his speech but slow, and his countenance not very promising. He was therefore, by the Indian Sachems, and others of their principal men, looked on as but a mean person, scarce worth their notice or regard. However, living near the English, some of them visited him in his wigwam, and were courteously entertained by him. These endeavoured to discourse a little with him about the way of the English, and the man seemed to hearken to them, and in a little time began to pay them visits again, going frequently to some of their houses; and it was thought that he was trying to learn something of them that might be for his advantage. About the same time he went also to the English meeting, and observed what was done there. This was soon observed by the Rev. Mr Thomas Mayhew, who was then minister to the few English inhabitants in that new plantation, and was at the same time contriving what might be done in order to the salvation of the miserable Indians round about him. But now, observing in this Hiacoomes a disposition to hear and receive instruction; observing also, that his countenance was grave and sober, he resolved to essay, in the first place, what he could do with him, and immediately took an opportunity to discourse him; and, finding encouragement to go on

in his endeavours to instruct him, he invited him to come to his house every Lord's-day evening, that so he might then more especially have opportunity to treat with him about the things of God. Hiacoomes accepting this kind invitation, Mr Mayhew used his utmost endeavours to enlighten him; and Hiacoomes seemed as eagerly to suck in the instructions given him, as if his heart had been before prepared by God, and made good ground, in order to a due reception of his word sown in it. And thus, as a new-born babe, desiring the sincere milk of the word, that he might grow thereby, he increased daily in knowledge, and grew in grace also.

But Hiacoomes' thus conversing with, and hearkening to the English, was soon noised about among the Indians; and the news of it coming to the Sachims and Pawaws of the island, they were, as obscure a person as Hiacoomes was, much alarmed at it; and some of them endeavoured, with all their might, to discourage him from hobbling communication with the English, and from receiving any instructions from them; but all that they could say or do to this end, was to no purpose; for it seems that God, "By whom not many wise men after the flesh, nor many mighty, nor many noble are called," had by his special grace effectually called him out of darkness into his marvellous light; and having now had a taste of that knowledge of God and Christ, which is life eternal, he was resolved that nothing should hinder him from labouring after still higher attainments in it. About this time, therefore, Hiacoomes going with some Englishmen to a small island near by, called Chapaquiddick, they there met a surly Sagamore, whose name was Pakhehpunnassoo; and the said Sagamore reviling him for his communion with the English in things both civil and religious, and railing at him for being obedient to them, Hiacoomes replied, "That he was gladly obedient to them; neither was it for the Indians' hurt that he was so." Upon his saying of which, the Sachim gave him a grievous blow in the face, and would have struck him again if the English present would have suffered it; but the poor man thus wronged, made this improvement of the injury done him: "I had, said he, one hand for injuries, and another hand for God; whilst I received wrong with the one, I laid faster hold on God with the other."

There was this year, 1643, a very strange disease among the Indians; they ran up and down, as if delirious, till they could run no longer; they would make their faces as black as a coal, and snatch up any weapon, as though they would do mischief with it, and speak great swelling words; but yet they did no harm. Many of these Indians were by the English seen in this condition. Now this, and all other calamities which the Indians were under, they generally then attributed to the departure of some of them from their own heathenish ways and customs; but Hiacoomes being built upon that foundation which standeth sure, and being one of those whom God hath set apart for himself, and knew to be his, none of these things moved him; but the things which he had heard and learned he held fast: and that he might be in a way to learn more than he had done; he now earnestly desired to learn to read; and having a Primer given him, he carried it about with him, till, by the help of such as were willing to instruct him, he attained the end for which he desired it.

A while after, in the year 1644, Hiacoomes going to an Indian's house, where there were several Indians met together, they laughed and scoffed at him, saying, "Here comes the Englishman." At this his old enemy, Pakhehpunnassoo, then asleep in the house, awaked, and joining with the other Indians, said to him, "I wonder that you that are a young man, and have a wife and two children, should love the English and their ways, and forsake the Pawaws; what would you do if any of you were sick? whither would you go for help? If I were in your case, there should nothing draw me from our gods and Pawaws." To this Hiacoomes at present answered nothing, perhaps foreseeing, that, if he should answer, it would only put the man into a rage, as formerly. However, he soon after told a friend of his, that he then thought in his heart, that the God of heaven did hear and know all the evil words that Pakhehpunnassoo said; and he was further confirmed in this, when a little after the said Pakhehpunnassoo was by the just hand of God terribly smitten with thunder, and fell down in appearance dead, with one leg in the fire then in the house where he was, the same being grievously burned before any of the people present were aware of it (it being in the night, and dark). But for this time Pakhehpunnassoo was spared, though a young man that was helping him to cover the chimney of the house, at which the rain then beat in, was killed outright at the same time. I shall have done with this Pakhehpunnassoo, when I have said, "That as obstinate an infidel as he was; yet so victorious in the grace of God, that he afterwards renounced his heathenism, and became a worshipper of the only true God, in and through his son Jesus Christ; so that it is to be hoped that he was at last a brand plucked out of the fire, in a better sense than that before-mentioned."

In this and the following year, 1645, Mr Mayhew went on with his design of instructing his Hiacoomes, and several others of the Indians, as he had opportunity; and now Hiacoomes begins to be so far from needing to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God, that he becomes a teacher of others; communicating to as many as he could the knowledge he himself had attained: and some there were that now begin to hearken to him, yet seemed not to be duly affected with the truths taught by him, and many utterly rejected them; but God now sending a general sickness among them, it was observed by the Indians themselves, that such as had but given a hearing to the things Hiacoomes preached among them, and shewed any regard to them, were far more gently visited with it than others were; but Hiacoomes and his family in a manner not at all. At this many of the Indians were much affected, for they evidently saw that he, who, for the sake of the truth, exposed himself to the rage of his enemies, and such as adhered to him, fared better than those that opposed both him and that. And being thus affected, many of the people desired to be instructed by him; and some persons of quality, such as before despised him, sent for him (as Cornelius for Peter) to come and instruct them, and those about them: so in particular did one Miohqsoo, afterwards to be mentioned. And now the Indians began not only to give some credit to the truth by Hiacoomes brought to them, but were also awakened by what they heard and believed, so as humbly to confess their sins, and be concerned how they should obtain

the pardon of them, and renounce their own gods and Pawaws, and promise to serve the true God only; and Hiacoomes could now tell Mr Mayhew, that this was the first time that ever he saw the Indians sensible of their sins.

Hitherto the Indians had not any public preaching to them; but now (in the year 1646) Tawanquatik, one of the chief Sachims of the island, invited both Mr Mayhew and Hiacoomes to preach to himself and such of his people as would hear them; and Hiacoomes was from this time forward heard as a public preacher, by a considerable number of the Indians, and God gave him not only light, but courage also for his work; and the Indians then said of him, that though formerly he had been a harmless man among them, yet he had not been at all accounted of, and therefore they wondered that he that had nothing to say in all their meetings formerly was now become the teacher of them all. The Pawaws, and those that adhered to them, observing those things, and seeing two meetings of the praying Indians set up, in opposition to that way which themselves and their fathers had long walked in, were very much disturbed and enraged; and now they thought to terrify Hiacoomes and the rest of the praying Indians, by threatening to destroy them by witchcraft. To this end several Indians went to a meeting of the praying Indians, and there told many stories of the great hurt which the Pawaws had in this way done to many; of which these Indians could not be ignorant, and which seemed above any thing else to discourage them from embracing the true religion now preached to them. Then this question was asked by one that was on the Pawaws' side, who is there that does not fear the Pawaws? to which another of them answered, there is no man that is not afraid of them; which said, he looked upon Hiacoomes, who protested most against them, and told him the Pawaws could kill him; but he answered, that they could not; for, said he, I believe in my God, and put my trust in him, and therefore all the Pawaws can do me no hurt. The Indians therefore wondering to hear Hiacoomes speak thus openly, divers of them said one to another, that though they were before afraid of the Pawaws, yet now because they heard Hiacoomes' words, they did not fear them, but believed in God too. A while after this, on a Lord's-day, after meeting was done, where Hiacoomes had been preaching, there came in a Pawaw, very angry, and said, I know all the meeting Indians are liars; you say you don't care for the Pawaws. Then calling two or three of them by name, he railed at them, and told them they were deceived; for the Pawaws could kill all the meeting Indians, if they set about it. But Hiacoomes then told him, that he would be in the midst of all the Pawaws on the island that they could procure, and that they should do the utmost they could against him; and when they should do their worst by their witchcraft to kill him, he would without fear set himself against them, by remembering Jehovah; he told them also, he did put all the Pawaws under his heel; pointing to it. By which answer he put the Pawaws to silence, so that they had nothing to say, but that none but Hiacoomes was able to do so. Such was the faith of this good man! nor were these Pawaws ever able to do the Christian Indians any hurt, though others were frequently hurt and killed by them. And with respect to the Hiacoomes in particular, I cannot

forbear here adding, that a converted Sachim, who was before a Pawaw, did in his public protestation afterwards declare as followeth, viz., "That having often employed his god, who appeared unto him in the form of a snake, to kill, wound, or lame such as he intended mischief to, he employed the said snake to kill, and that failing, to wound or lame Hiacoomes, the first Indian convert on the island; all which proved ineffectual. And that, having seriously considered the said Hiacoomes' assertion, that none of the Pawaws could hurt him, since his God whom he now served was the great God, to whom theirs were subservient, he resolved to worship the true God. And he further added, that from the time of his doing so, for seven years, the said snake gave him no disturbance; but that he never after his praying to God, in Christ, employed that snake in any thing; about which time the said snake ceased to appear to him."

The piety of our Hiacoomes did further appear in that which here followeth. None of the praying Indians or their children having died until the year 1650, as if God would on purpose in this way distinguish them from the rest of their neighbours, it now pleased Him to begin with Hiacoomes, as being the best able to make a good use of such a providence, and carry well under it; God now by death took a young child from him, and he had grace to show an excellent example under this trial, and so did his wife also, who was a very pious woman. At the funeral there were no black faces, or goods buried, or howling over the dead, as the manner of the Indians in those times was; but instead thereof, a patient resignation of the child to him that gave it. At the funeral, Mr Mayhew made a speech concerning the resurrection of the godly, and their children, to life eternal at the last day; which great truth these good people believing, mourned not as those that had no hope were wont to do.

What I have hitherto related concerning this Hiacoomes, being mostly extracted from some of Mr Mayhew's letters concerning the Indian's affairs, I shall add this testimony concerning him, in one of them, dated 1650. "I must needs give him this testimony after some year's experience of him, that he is a man of a sober spirit, and good conversation; and as he hath, I hope, received the Lord Jesus in truth, so I look upon him to be faithful, diligent, and constant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own soul, and his neighbours with him." To this testimony of Mr Mayhew, let me add one of the Rev. Mr H. Whitefield's, who was once pastor to a church of Christ in New England. This Mr H. Whitefield, in his voyage to Boston, and so to England, was, by reason of contrary winds, stopped at Martha's Vineyard about ten days; in which time he conversed frequently with Hiacoomes, and in a book which he published after his return to England, he says, "I had speech with some of the Indians (Mr Mayhew being my interpreter.) About the rest, I desired to speak with the Indian that now preacheth to them twice every Lord's-day; his name is Hiacoomes; he seemed to be a man of prompt understanding, of a sober and moderate spirit, and a man well reported of for his conversation, both by English and Indians. I thought him to be about thirty years of age; with this man I had often speech, and I asked him many questions about the Christian religion, and about his own estate before God: 1. Whether he had found ser-

row for sin as sin? 2. Whether he had found sorrow for his sins as they had pierced Christ? 3. Whether he had found the Spirit of God as an inward comforter to him? unto all which he gave me very satisfactory and Christian answers."

As Hiacoomes was a good Christian, so he was, doubtless, a good minister, and herein his being a godly man was yet more evident. If any man might say, "I believed, therefore have I spoken," with respect to his entering on the ministry, it seems our Hiacoomes might truly do so. As soon as he came to understand and believe the great truths of the Christian religion, he began to publish and declare them to his countrymen, nor could he be hindered from doing so by all that the Pawaws, and their wretched instruments, could do or say, to discourage him from it: and as he daily increased in knowledge, under the instructions of Mr Mayhew, to whom he continually resorted for that end, so he went on to preach to his neighbours, according to the measure of the gift of Christ, which he had received; and it pleased the Lord abundantly to succeed his endeavours for the good of these miserable creatures, to whom he sent him. For three years after his conversion, this good man only instructed his neighbours in private, as he had opportunity: but after they were prepared and disposed to give him public audience, viz. in the year 1646, with what zeal and boldness did he preach to them? He then not only declared and opened the great mysteries of religion to them, as that of the Trinity, the covenant of works by God made with man, man's fall and apostacy by Adam's first transgression, and the wretched conditions which mankind were thereby brought into, and the way of redemption which God has in and by his son Jesus Christ provided for them, &c. I say, he not only instructed them in these things, but boldly charged them with the sins and abominations in which they daily lived; especially with their worshipping of false gods, and adhering to Pawaws or wizards, and giving that honour to creatures that was due to Jehovah only. Thus as Hiacoomes had God's word, so he spake it faithfully, and God did abundantly own this his servant, in the work to which He had called him. For when he reckoned up the sins of the people to them, instead of being provoked at him for it, they would, many of them, with tears, confess their guilt, and promise to turn to the true God, and serve Him only, and seek for the pardon of them through the blood of his Son, the only Saviour of sinners. His piety did also much appear in his humility. Though God blessed his ministry, giving him much success in it, yet did he not at all appear to be exalted or lifted up therewith; nor did he thereupon think himself sufficient for the work of the ministry, but thought he still needed the continual help and instructions of Mr Mayhew, by whom God had called him out of darkness into his marvellous light. To him, therefore, he frequently resorted, that he might be yet more taught by him, and in particular, on the day before the Sabbath he constantly did so, and that in order to his being the better prepared for the duties and service of that holy day. This course Hiacoomes held, till, to his great grief, he lost Mr Mayhew in the year 1657; which was, indeed, a very heavy stroke on these poor Indians, and exceedingly lamented by them. However, this good man went on still in the faithful discharge of his duty; and God so succeeded the labours of this, and some other

servants of his, that most of the Indians here were in a few years brought to an acknowledgment of the great truths of religion; and, it is hoped, that many of them were effectually called. However, there was no Indian church here completely formed and organized till the year 1670, when the Rev. Mr John Elliot, and Mr John Cotton, came and ordained our Hiacoomes, and another Indian named Tackanash, pastor and teacher of an Indian church on this island. After he was ordained, he went on steadily and faithfully in the work to which he was called, till he arrived to so great an age, that he was not able to attend the public ministry any longer. He survived his colleague before-mentioned, made a grave speech at his funeral, and laid hands on, and gave the charge to Mr Japhet at his ordination, who succeeded the said Tackanash in his office in the year 1683. My father, who then preached to the Indians on this island, and assisted them in the management of their ecclesiastical affairs, being present at the funeral of the said Tackanash, took in writing the heads of the said speech made by Hiacoomes, with what else he thought observable in the said Tackanash's funeral obsequies; which having now by me, among his reserved papers, I shall here insert.

"Here," said he, "is my deceased brother. Paul said, this body is sown in corruption, but it shall be raised in strength; now it is a pitiful mean body, but then it shall be a glorious body: yea, however, this body shall be consumed, and be as if it had never been, as it were turned into nothing; yet the power of God shall bring it forth again, and raise it up an excellent and glorious body; yea this body is now a precious body; for example sake, though this body is but one, yet there are many people round about come together to see it sown. But if a man should go about to put one grain of wheat into the ground, there would not be so many people present at the doing of it, as there are at the interring of this one body. And as you see there are many people present at the burial of this body, so there shall be many people at the resurrection also. But it shall not be then as you see it now,—now every one is diversely apparelled, some after one manner, and some after another, but all after a pitiful mean sort: but the righteous at the resurrection shall have all one uniform glory. Thus much I say as to that: but I shall now speak a short word to the relations of the person deceased, especially to his wife and children. If you be desirous to see your fathers, seek your father; for your father went before you in every good work, therefore seek your father in every good work, and you shall find your father again; for God's mercies are exceeding great."

Having finished his speech, saith the writer thereof, they proceeded to their work, (viz. of filling up the grave) and this good man standing by, I heard him say, This is the last work man can do for him, the next work God himself will do. Which words he often repeated; and further adds, that, when this good father spoke of the resurrection, he uttered himself with such fervency and confidence, as would have become one who had himself actually seen the dead raised.

Hiacoomes was of a great age when this speech was made by him, yet he lived several years after it, if I mistake not, till the year 1690; but was not able for some years before he died to preach publicly. I

saw him frequently when I was a youth, and still remember him, the gravity of his countenance, speech, and deportment. He seemed always to speak with much thought and deliberation, and I think very rarely smiled. I was present when he laid hands on Mr Japhet, prayed, and gave the charge to him; which service he performed with solemnity, and as I have heard my father say, with very pertinent and suitable expressions. He was, by both the English and the Indians, looked upon as a man of a very blameless conversation. In his last sickness he breathed forth many pious expressions, and gave good exhortations to all about him, and so went into eternal rest.

Example 2. MOMONEQUEM, the first Indian preacher at Nashowohkamuk, now called Chilmark. This Momonequem was the son of one of the principal Indians, named Annomantooque, who lived in Edgartown. At this place our Momonequem dwelt, when Mr Mayhew and Hiacoomes began to preach the gospel there; and it was by the ministry of Hiacoomes that he was converted in the year 1649: for Hiacoomes now preaching a sermon, wherein he reckoned up many of the great sins of which the Indians were guilty, and as many good duties which ought to be performed by them, there were no less than twenty-two of his hearers who at this time professed their resolutions against the sins mentioned, and that they would walk with God in newness of life. Of this number Momonequem was one, and one who above all the rest seemed to be exceedingly affected; for, to the great admiration of all the Indians then present, with much sorrow of heart and indignation against sin, he did now enumerate about twenty of his own sins, manifesting his repentance of them, and professing his resolution to follow the only living and true God against all opposition. He told those to whom he said these things, that he was brought into this condition by the counsel of Hiacoomes from the Word of God; which at first, he said, he liked not, and afterwards laid by him as a thing to be considered of, not knowing well what to do; at last, looking over things again, I am come, said he, to this resolution, which you have now heard; and Mr Mayhew, out of some of whose writings this account of his conversion is extracted, has added this testimony of him: "I confess," saith he, "this action of his makes me think he spake from more than a natural principle, considering that the man hath been since an earnest seeker of more light, both publicly and privately; for that he also refused the help of a Pawaw, who lived within two bow-shot of his door, when his wife was three days in travail, and waited patiently on God till they obtained a merciful deliverance by prayer." Momonequem being thus himself effectually turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and being looked upon as a man of much wisdom and prudence, the praying Indians soon began to resort to him when they wanted counsel and encouragement in any of their difficulties, and such as inclined to become Christians did so too; nor was he an unfit person to be applied to in such cases.

About this time, a famous Pawaw, called Tequanomin, entertaining thoughts of turning from the devil to the only true God, and Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of sinful men, providentially meeting with Momonequem in the woods, opened his case to him, and took his advice upon it; and the effect

was, that the Pawaw became, as there was reason to believe, a sincere convert and good Christian. After this, the next news I heard of Momonequem is, that he was become a minister at Nashowohkamuk, before-mentioned, a place about five or six miles from that where before he lived, and that he preached twice every day to his countrymen there. And to the end he might be the better provided for the entertainment of his hearers, he still waited on Mr Mayhew on the last day of the week, in order to his assisting him in his preparation for the work of the approaching day. Thus was Momonequem employed in the year 1651, as Mr Mayhew has written; and in a letter of that holy man Mr John Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, dated October 27, 1651. I find the following testimony concerning him: "There was here, a few weeks since, the prime Indian of Martha's Vineyard, with Mr Mayhew, (Momonequem) a grave and solemn man, with whom I had a serious discourse, Mr Mayhew being present as interpreter between us. He is a great proficient both in knowledge, and utterance, and love, and practice, of the things of Christ and religion, much honoured, revered, and attended, by the rest of the Indians there, who are solemnly in covenant together, I know not how many, between thirty and forty at least." (He might have said near two hundred of them.) This, and much more, Mr Wilson in that letter speaks in his commendation; and, by all that I can learn, he was indeed a very excellent man.

Example 3. JOHN TACKANASH, who was ordained teacher of the Indian Church at Martha's Vineyard, whereof Hiacoomes was pastor. This John Tackanash was ordained as a colleague with Hiacoomes, above-mentioned, in the year 1670. He was reckoned to exceed Hiacoomes both in natural and acquired abilities. These for some years went on hand in hand as fellow-labourers in the same church: but whereas the members of the church lived partly at Chappaquiddick, and partly on the main island of Martha's Vineyard, at some miles distance, and it was found, on that account, difficult for the church with its officers to meet at one place, it was at length agreed that they should divide into two. And they accordingly did so; Hiacoomes and Joshua Mamachegin, one of the ruling elders, taking charge of that part which was at the Chappaquiddick, (where they now dwell), and John Tackanash and John Nahnosoo taking charge of that on the main island of the Vineyard, where they lived. And thus they remained two distinct churches, and carried on as such, until Hiacoomes, being superannuated, was not able, with advantage to the interest of religion, to carry on the work of his ministry any longer; and then both the English and the Indians being well satisfied in the qualifications of the said Tackanash for his office, and there not being a suitable person found to take the pastoral charge of the said church at Chappaquiddick, these two churches did by consent become one again, under the pastoral care of the said Tackanash; Hiacoomes still assisting him, as occasion called for, in such things as he still remained capable of.

John Tackanash was at the time of his ordination esteemed a person of good abilities, and a very exemplary conversation; but by that time to which I am now arrived in my account of him, he was very much improved both in his gifts and graces. His natural parts were esteemed very excellent, both by

the Indians and English that were in any measure capable to judge of them; and he diligently endeavoured to improve his understanding, and increase in knowledge. To this end he not only followed his study and reading closely, allowing himself, as I am credibly informed, but little time for such diversions as many ministers and other persons use, but also frequently applied himself to such English persons as took care of the Indians here, for their instruction in those things wherein he apprehended himself to need them. By these means, he so increased in knowledge, as to be esteemed inferior to none of his own nation that have succeeded him; and for a preacher, no Indian in these parts has been thought to come up to him. Nor was the said Tackanash only esteemed a person of good knowledge, for he was, so far as I can learn, in his conversation without spot, and blameless, being even wholly free from any imputation of immoderate drinking, which is the national sin of our Indians. And he was looked upon by all that knew him to be a very serious and godly man, very devout and zealous in prayer, preaching and administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's-supper. When there was no English pastor upon the island, some of our godly English people very cheerfully received the Lord's-supper administered by him; and I suppose none would have scrupled it, had they understood the Indian language. The last time he administered that holy ordinance, I was present, and saw with what gravity and seriousness he performed the duty, which, though then a youth, I could not but take special notice of, as did many other English persons then present. He was, indeed, then so weak and low of body, as not to be able himself to preach, but desired my father to preach for him, which he did, and immediately repeated to the English then present the heads of his discourse. After this, our Tackanash was never able to exercise his ministry in public any more. He, during the time of his ministry, upheld and maintained a good discipline in the church, censuring and debarring from ordinances such as walked disorderly, until such time as, by due manifestations of repentance, they qualified themselves for them. He had in the beginning of his last sickness, as my father has observed in the account he gives of his funeral, a very sore conflict with Satan, but, having obtained the victory, his mind was afterwards calm and serene to the end of his life. His mind being thus quieted, he professed a steadfast hope in the mercy of God, through his only Saviour, Jesus Christ, gave good instructions and exhortations to his own family, and such as came to visit him; nominated three persons to the church, one of whom he desired might succeed him in his office; and one of them accordingly did so. He was highly esteemed in his life, not only by those of his own nation, but by such of our English as were acquainted with him. He was interred January 23, 1683-4. There were a number of people at his funeral, many of whom seemed much to lament his death: and there were two grave and serious speeches then made; one by Hiacoomes, which my reader has already, in his life, the other by good Japhet, which I will give some of the heads of when I come to speak of him.

Example 4. JOHN NAHNSOO, ruling elder of the church whereof John Tackanash, above-mentioned, was pastor. He lived on the east side of Martha's Vineyard, at a place called Sanchetcan-

tacket. I think he was one of those who soon embraced the Christian religion when first published among the Indians; and he was, so far as I can learn, esteemed by all that knew him, to be one that walked worthy of the vocation wherewith he was called, as many of the first called among the Indians did. Upon strict inquiry, I cannot find that he ever did, by any miscarriage, bring any blemish either on himself, or the holy religion which he professed. Being of such a good conversation, and being generally esteemed a very pious and zealous man, and a person of good knowledge in the things of God, and his law, he was approved as a preacher of righteousness in the place where he lived, and was chosen, together with Joshua Momatchegin, a ruling elder of the church whereof Hiacoomes and John Tackanash were ordained pastors and teachers; but when that church was afterwards divided into two, as is above-mentioned, this Nahnosoo, together with the said Tackanash, took the oversight of that part thereof which was on the east end of the Vineyard, some of the members whereof lived in other towns and villages on the said island. He was esteemed by some of good judgment to be a notable preacher, a very zealous reprovcr of sin, and much set for the promoting of all things that are holy, just and good. He carefully inspected the conversation of the members of the church, and faithfully admonished and reprovcd such as fell into any faults among them; and this both publicly and privately. Ruling elders are by our Indians very frequently called *Aius komuani nuog*; i. e., reprovers, or men of reproof; because they judge that their office mainly consists in re-proving of sinners, and censuring offenders; therefore, in this part of church government they generally lead, as do the pastors when any members are to be admitted, &c. Now, in the execution of this office, I have heard that our Nahnosoo was very exemplary, and would not let offenders go unrebuked, nor yet uncensured, when the case called for it, and so would not willingly let the holy ordinances of God be profaned by unqualified persons partaking of them.

I do not remember that ever I saw this excellent man, he dying while I was but young, sometime before his pastor, the said Tackanash, died, about the year 1678; but he was so universally esteemed a good man, that I could not forbear giving some brief account of him. I am informed by persons, whom I esteem as worthy of credit, who were well acquainted with him, "That he all along behaved himself as became a good Christian, and minister of Jesus Christ; so, in his last sickness in particular, he did so, then giving good counsel to such as were about him, and professing to rely upon the mercy of God in Christ, for the eternal welfare of his own soul; but what more particularly he then said, I cannot now inform my reader. This good man left behind him a good wife, and a good son, whom I may afterward mention. [The above four Examples are only a specimen: there are eighteen more in the book.]

OF INDIAN MEN NOT IN ANY CHURCH-OFFICE, WHO HAVE APPEARED TO BE TRULY GOOD MEN.

Example 1. MIOHNSOO, an Indian of Numpang, within the bounds of Edgartown, who was converted in the year 1646.

After the memorable Hiacoomes had embraced

the Christian religion in the year 1643, he joined with Mr Mayhew, by whom he had been instructed in the mysteries of God's kingdom, in an essay to make known those mysteries to the rest of the Indians living on the same island with them; but, for the present, these could only treat with the said Indians in a private way about the things of God, a public audience not being yet attainable: nor were there many of them who were privately instructed, that seemed much to regard the great things of God's law that were declared to them, but rather looked on them as a strange thing: and especially the Sachims, and chief men among the Indians, would not give any countenance to that religion which was then proposed to them; but did, on the contrary, most of them, either openly or secretly, oppose it. Thus things remained till the year 1646, at which time the Indians being visited with a sore distemper, which God sent among them, and made mortal to many of them, but apparently less so to those who had given any countenance to the great truths that had been proposed to them; and Hiacoomes and his family, who openly professed the same, were scarcely at all hurt by it: being, I say, visited by God, and observing the distinction which he was then pleased to make betwixt those that favoured religion, and such as did despise and reject it, they were many of them thereby put on a serious consideration of the things which before they slighted; and some began earnestly to desire to have the mysteries of religion opened up to them, and to hearken with great attention to the things that were by Mr Mayhew and Hiacoomes preached among them.

About this time Miohqsoo, of whom I am speaking, being the chief man of the place where he lived, sent a messenger in the night to Hiacoomes, about five or six miles, entreating him to come to him; and Hiacoomes receiving the message about break of day, readily went to the said Miohqsoo's house, where, when he came, there were many Indians gathered together, amongst whom was Tawanquatuck, the chief Sachim of that end of the island, whom I shall have occasion again to mention. Hiacoomes being come, Miohqsoo gladly received him, and told him what he desired of him; the sum whereof was, "That he would shew his heart to them, and let them know how it stood towards God, and what they ought to do." Hiacoomes very gladly embraced this call and opportunity to instruct them, declaring to them all things which he himself had learned, concerning God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, shewing them what this God did for mankind, and what their duty was towards him. Having finished his speech, Miohqsoo asked him, "How many gods the English worshipped?" Hiacoomes answered, "ONE, and no more." Whereupon Miohqsoo reckoned up about thirty-seven principal gods which he had; and shall I, said he, throw away all these thirty-seven for the sake of one only? What do you yourself think, said Hiacoomes? for my part, I have thrown away all these, and many more, some years ago; and yet I am preserved, as you see, this day. "You speak true," said Miohqsoo; "and therefore I will throw away all my gods too, and serve that one God with you." Miohqsoo having thus spoken, Hiacoomes proceeded more fully to instruct him, and the rest of the company with him, and did, as Miohqsoo desired, open his heart to them: he told them, "That he did fear the great

God only, and did greatly reverence his Son, who had suffered death to satisfy the wrath of God, his Father, for all those that trust in him, and forsake their sinful ways; and that the Spirit of God did work these things in the hearts of the children of men. He told them also, that he was very sorry for his own sins, and desired to be redeemed through Jesus Christ from them, and to walk according to God's commandments. Hiacoomes also now told these his poor countrymen of the sin and fall of Adam, and what a dreadful estate mankind were thereby brought into; and did also boldly reckon up their own sins to them, and charged them home on them, as that of having many gods, and going after Pawaws," &c. And having thus opened his heart to his hearers, he concluded his discourse, by telling them, "That if they could obtain such hearts, as, through grace, he had, they should receive such mercies as he did." This sermon of Hiacoomes being ended, several of his hearers were much affected; and some of them said, that now they had seen their sins. But it is time to return to Miohqsoo.

Miohqsoo having promised, as is above declared, to worship the true God, and serve him only, was as good as his word; for he carried himself as a true servant of God all the days of his life after it. Upon diligent inquiry of such as knew him, I cannot understand that he was ever known to be guilty of any considerable fault after he made a profession of religion, but carried himself in all respects like a good Christian. One thing, in particular, wherein the sincere piety of this Miohqsoo was discovered, I shall here relate: An Indian of some note coming hither from the Main, good Miohqsoo fell into a discourse with him, and told him many of the great things of God, and of his Son, wherein he had been instructed; declaring also to him what a foolish and sinful people the Indians were, and how they might obtain the pardon of all their sins through Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of sinful men; shewing him likewise what a good life those lived, that were indeed the saved of the Lord. And so greatly were they both affected with these things, that they continued their discourse about them for near twenty-four hours together, till their strength was so spent, that they could discourse no longer. Among the things which Miohqsoo now said to the person with whom he discoursed, this was one, that true believers did live above the world, and did keep worldly things always under their feet; and this, he said, did appear in that, when they were either increased or diminished, it was neither the cause of their joy nor of their sorrow; neither did they stoop so low as to regard them, but stood upright, with their hearts heavenward, their whole desire being after God, and their joy in him only. Such a Christian, it was much to be hoped, this Miohqsoo was.

Miohqsoo himself being so good a man, was very desirous that his children should be so likewise; to this end he committed two of them, viz., a son and a daughter, to the special care and charge of Mr Mayhew, who was very highly esteemed by him; being desirous that they should be well instructed. The daughter will be afterwards mentioned; the son Mr Mayhew took with him, when he undertook that voyage to England, in which he was lost, and all that went with him in the ship, in the year 1637. After this Miohqsoo lived many years, until he arrived to a great age, and was looked on as a wise and good man, both by the English and Indians that

knew him. He frequently served his generation in the place of a magistrate, and was esteemed faithful in the discharge of that trust. The year of his death I cannot now find, nor can I give a more particular account concerning him.

Example 2. TAWANQUATUCK, the first Indian Sachim that became a Christian on Martha's Vineyard. This person was the chief Sachim on the east-end of Martha's Vineyard, where the English first settled in the year 1642. He was kind to the English at their first coming, and was, as I have been informed, willing to let them have land to settle on: but several of his council, or chief men, called in Indian *Ahtokouag*, being much against his selling any land to these new comers, he, to quiet them, gave several parts of his sachimship to them, and sold to the English a considerable part of what he reserved to himself, to make that settlement on, now called *Edgartown*. But though this Sachim was thus kind to the English, he did not presently see reason to embrace their religion, nor was he one of them that appeared as an enemy thereto, being willing, as it seems, to consider what he did in a matter of so great importance. However, in the year 1646, when *Miochequo*, above mentioned, invited *Hiacoomes* to come to his house, and instructed him in the religion which he professed, this *Tawanquatuck* was then present as an auditor, with several other Indians, and, in a short time after, invited Mr Mayhew to preach publicly to his people, and he himself became a constant bearer of him. On Mr Mayhew's first going to preach to the Indians, on this invitation, the Sachim told him, "That a long time ago the Indians had wise men among them, that did in a grave manner teach the people knowledge, but they, said he, are dead, and their wisdom is buried with them; and now men live a giddy life in ignorance till they are white-headed, and though ripe in years, yet they go without wisdom to their graves." He also told Mr Mayhew, that he wondered the English should be almost thirty years in the country, and yet the Indians fools still; but said, he hoped the time of knowledge was now come. He then also (others joining with him in it) desired Mr Mayhew to preach in a stated course to the Indians, to make known the word of God to them; and soon after, going to Mr Mayhew's to encourage him to comply with his request, told him that he should be to them as one that stands by a running river, filling many vessels, even so said he, shall you fill us with everlasting knowledge. He likewise told Mr Mayhew, that the reason why he desired him to preach to the Indians was, because he was desirous that the Indians should grow more in goodness, and that their posterity might inherit blessings after he was dead; and that he himself was also desirous to put the word of God to his heart, and to repent of, and throw away his sins, and so after he should cease to live here, he might enjoy eternal life in heaven. Mr Mayhew complying with the pious request of this good Sachim, and preaching to him, and as many of his people as were willing to come to hear him, the Sachim was hated and persecuted by such as were yet enemies to the Christian religion among the Indians. I shall here give one instance of his sufferings, and I shall set it down in Mr Mayhew's own words, written on that occasion about three years after the thing happened.

"We had not, saith he, long continued our meeting, but the Sagamore, *Tawanquatuck*, met with a sad trial; for being at a weare, where some Indians

were fishing, where also there was an Englishman present, as he lay along on a mat on the ground asleep, by a little light fire, the night being very dark, an Indian coming down, as being ready fitted for the purpose, and being about six or eight paces off, let fly a broad-headed arrow, purposing, by all probability, to drench the deadly arrow in his heart's blood; but the Lord prevented it; for, notwithstanding all the advantages he had, instead of the heart, he hit the eyebrow, which, like a brow of steel, turned the point of the arrow, which glancing away, slit his nose from the top to the bottom. A great stir there was presently: the Sagamore sat up and bled much, but was, through the mercy of God, not much hurt. The darkness of the night hid the murderer, and he is not discovered to this day. The next day I went to see the Sagamore, and found him praising God for his great deliverance; both himself and all the Indians wondering that he was alive. The cause of his being shot, as the Indians said, was for walking with the English; and it is also conceived both by them and us, that his forwardness for the meeting was one thing."

About a year and a-half after Mr Mayhew's writing this account, a great number of the praying Indians, of whom this *Tawanquatuck* was one of the most eminent, entered into a solemn covenant to serve the true God, and him only; which covenant was, at their request, by Mr Mayhew, written in their own language for them, and a copy of it was soon after published in a letter of his to the corporation. The praying Indians did also about the same time earnestly desire that Christian civil government might be set up over them, and that transgressions of the law of God might be punished according to the rules of his word, as Mr Mayhew had in his said letter declared; which being, according to their desire, some time after done, this *Tawanquatuck* became a Christian magistrate among the people, over whom he had before ruled as an Indian Sachim, and did so far, as I can learn, faithfully discharge that trust so long as God continued his life. All, both Indians and English that I can meet with, who knew any thing of the man while he lived, do give him this testimony, that he continued all his days to be a person of a blameless conversation.

OF INDIAN WOMEN THAT HAVE BEEN JUSTLY ESTEEMED
RELIGIOUS.

Example 1. WUTTUNNUHOKMOKOCH, who was the wife of *Pamchannit*, and the mother of the memorable *Japheth*, and died about the year 1675. Considering whose mother I have already said this *Wuttunnunohkomkooch* was, and also what may be further related concerning her, it will not, I suppose, be thought strange that I have mentioned her as my first example of women fearing God; though, through want of care to preserve her memory, I can give but a very general account of her. There is one thing, however, to be said of her, which can scarce be said of any other of our Indians, who lived a considerable part of their time before the word of God was ever preached to them, viz., that, by a due improvement of the light of nature, assisted by the Spirit of God, she attained to so right a conception of the only true and living God, and her own relation to, and dependence on him, as that she did worship and call on him, and, as it seemeth, obtained a gracious answer to her prayers. A particular account

of which is given as follows in the life of her son Japheth, Example 17:—Pamohannit and his wife having buried their first five children successively, every one of them within ten days of their birth, notwithstanding all their use of the Pawaws and medicines to preserve them, had a sixth (a son) born to them, the same whom I am here speaking of, a few years before the English first settled on the said Vineyard. The mother being then greatly distressed with fear that she should lose this child, as she had done the former, and utterly despairing of any help from such means as had been formerly tried without any success; as soon as she was able, which was within ten days after his birth, she with a sorrowful heart took him up and went out into the field, that she might there weep out her sorrow. But while she was there musing on the insufficiency of human help, she found it powerfully suggested to her mind, that there is one Almighty God who is to be prayed to; that this God hath created all things that we see; and that the God who had given being to herself and all other people, and had given her child to her, was able to preserve and continue his life. On this she resolved that she would seek to God for that mercy, and did accordingly; the issue was that her child lived, and her faith (such as it was) in him who had thus answered her prayer, was wonderfully strengthened; and the consideration of God's goodness herein manifested to her, caused her to dedicate this son of hers to the service of that God who had thus preserved his life: of her doing of which she early informed him, and did, as far as she could, educate him accordingly. But this she did yet more vigorously and to better purpose prosecute, when a few years after she was by the preaching of the gospel, instructed in the way of salvation by a Redeemer, and by the grace of God enabled truly to believe in Jesus Christ our only Saviour.

Japheth's father being also about this time converted, and so becoming a serious and godly man, this his son had the advantage of a Christian education, while he was but a child, not only living in a family where God was daily worshipped, but was himself taught to call on the name of that God to whose service he had been devoted; and when there was a school set up for the Indians on the island in the year 1651, his father sent him to it. And he became at last the third pastor of the Indians in Martha's Vineyard.

Such a discovery of the true God to her, before she was favoured with the light of the gospel, did very wonderfully prepare her for a ready reception of it, when the providence of God brought it to her, as within a few years it did. From whence it was thought, that as soon as this woman heard of the devotions of the English, who settled on the east-end of Martha's Vineyard in the year 1642, at a considerable distance from where she lived, she presently alleged that they were worshippers of the same God to whom she had prayed: and she soon after found that she was not mistaken, when Mr Mayhew began to preach the word of God to the Indians on the island; and when she heard the gospel preached, she accordingly readily believed it and embraced it. This woman thus becoming a Christian, lived like such a one all the remaining part of her life, which was well nigh thirty years, never that I can on the strictest enquiry hear of doing any thing which might be an occasion of stumbling to such as were acquainted with her, but did in all

respects order her conversation as did become the gospel. Her husband being, on the preaching of the gospel, soon converted to Christianity, they lived together as joint heirs of the grace of life, constantly worshipping the true and eternal God, both publicly and privately, devoting also their children to him, and bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The piety of this woman was further discovered in that, as she seriously joined with others in the worship of God, when it was her duty so to do, so she was not ashamed herself vocally to call on him, when it was proper and convenient that she should do so, as when the hour of prayer being come, there was none present for whom it might be more proper and decent to perform that duty. There are yet several living witnesses of the serious and fervent prayers that this woman offered up to the Lord. As piety towards God was one part of her character, so charity towards her neighbours was another; and for this latter, she was so eminent an example, that she was thereby distinguished, not only from those who were totally destitute of a true love to their neighbours, but even from most of them who have had some measure thereof bestowed on them. I have been credibly informed, she was so extraordinarily courteous and obliging to all those that were about her, or whom she had any thing to do withal, that herein she could scarcely be paralleled; and that she was unwearied in going about, and doing good among the poor, and in communicating to them such good things as she was able to bestow on them.

Example 2. DINAH ABUNNUT, who died at Nashowohkamuk in or about the year 1684. The father of this woman was, as I am informed, a praying Indian, who lived at Monument, on the mainland, and was called by the Indians Panupubquash. When she was a woman grown, she married an Indian of Martha's Vineyard, called Henry Abunnut, with whom she lived many years, and had several children, to whom she was a kind and tender mother, until God took her from them. She was a person of a very blameless life: neither was she the subject of a mere negative goodness only, for the good works she had praised her. She was particularly a very remarkable example of kindness and charity to her neighbours, being ready on all occasions to visit and help them. This testimony some of her English neighbours, as well as many Indians, do give her. She was much given to hospitality, being always ready to entertain in her house such as Providence called her to receive into it, and cheerfully performed all the labour that was needful in providing well for them. She living some years near my father's house, while I was a youth, the family had opportunity and occasion to take notice of her carriage, and could not but observe that she was a very courteous, discreet, and diligent woman, seldom went abroad, but tarried at home and minded her own business, except when duty called her to go out. These things were commendable in her; but the best part of her character is yet to be given; she was a woman that feared the Lord, she not only, with her husband constantly worshipped God in the family whereof they were the parents, but did also publicly and solemnly avouch him to be her God, and gave up herself to be his, to love, fear, and serve him for ever; and to expect all from him that she stood in need of. Being joined in full communion with the Church, whereof John Tackanash was the faithful pastor, she highly prized, and diligently im-

proved, the privilege which she therein enjoyed, constantly and seriously attending the worship and ordinances of God in his house; and therein showing her love to God, and his word and ways. Her piety was also farther manifested in the care she took to bring up her children in the knowledge and fear of the Lord, by her constant endeavours to instruct them in the mysteries of religion, and pressing them to the duties in the Word of God required of them: and there was through grace, a good effect of her essays to do them good in this way, several of them afterwards appearing to be pious, especially two of her sons that died some time after, while they were about sixteen or seventeen years old, concerning one of which Mr Japheth said he had scarce ever known so great faith in so young a person. The name of this youth was Elisha, and that of the other, Nathan; but these youths dying on the Main, whither their father carried them after their mother's death, I cannot give a particular account of them. The husband of the good woman, who was a person very worthy of credit, told me but a few months before he died, that he had great reason to praise her, as one that greatly helped and encouraged him in the ways of God and religion, wherein, by his profession, he was obliged to walk. He said she not only excited him to pray, without ceasing, to God, but prayed herself also in the family, when he was not present to do it. She died of a strong fever, which in a few days carried her out of the world; though I hope not before she was prepared for death. In the time of her sickness she professed her reliance on the only Son of God, and her only Saviour, for the everlasting mercies which she needed; and did, with hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, earnestly call upon God, that, for his sake, she might see and enjoy his kingdom: and then, with great seriousness and affection, exhorted all about her to seek the Lord while he might be found, and call upon him while he was yet near. "Blessed is that servant whom his Lord, when He cometh, shall find so doing."

OF YOUNG MEN, MAIDS, AND CHILDREN, THAT HAVE
APPEARED TO BE TRULY PIOUS.

Example 1. JOSEPH NAHNOO, who died at Nashowohkamuk, now Chilmark, if I mistake not, in the year 1685, when he was about twenty years old. This Joseph was a son of that good Nahnoo, of whom I have spoken in Chapter 1st, Example 4th. Some time after the death of his father, he was committed to the care of Mr Japheth Hannit, with whom he dwelt several of the last years of his life. He was taught to read both in English and Indian, and was well instructed in his catechism. He spent much time in reading and meditation, and seemed to delight very much therein: nor did he appear to be any way viciously inclined, or to delight in such company as were known so to be. When good Japheth was at any time gone from home, as about that time on necessary occasions he often was, this sober and pious young man read the scriptures, prayed, and sung psalms, in the family, as he himself did when at home with them. By wrestling at a husking he broke one of his legs, and lay lame a long while with it; lamenting the vanity of which he had been guilty, and saying that he should not from thenceforth delight in such exercises. When

he was taken with the fever whereof he died, he quickly declared his apprehensions, that that sickness would put an end to his life; and withal expressed his willingness to submit to the will of God therein; he then also confessed his sins, and lamented them, and prayed earnestly to God for the pardon of them, and for cleansing from them. He declared his firm belief of the great truths revealed in the word of God, particularly those which relate to the person of Jesus Christ, and his mediation betwixt God and sinners, and professed that he did rely on the mercy of God through him. He earnestly exhorted all that were about him to pray constantly and earnestly to God, and to lay hold of him, and cleave continually to him: and so died, hoping in the Lord. Good Japheth, from whom I received a considerable part of what I have written concerning this young man, was exceedingly troubled at his death, as having had great hopes of his proving serviceable among his own countrymen: but God had otherwise determined.

Example 2. JEREMIAH HANNIT, a son of Japheth Hannit, who died at Chilmark, in or about the year 1686, when he was about fifteen years of age. This Jeremiah was Japheth's eldest son, and was looked upon as a very hopeful youth by all that knew him, whether English or Indians. He was much kept at school, and plied his time well at it. He was also taught his catechism, and well instructed in the principles of religion, and had the advantage of a very strong memory to facilitate his learning. He was very sober from a child, and not given to such idle talk as most young people are addicted to; and was very obedient to his parents, and very faithful and diligent in any business which they set him about. Nor was he known to be given to any of those vices, which persons of his age are apt to run into; and what more strongly argued his real piety than any thing yet said of him was, that he used to pray in secret places, as some yet living can of their own knowledge testify. He was long sick and weak before he died, and in that time expressed a deep sense of the sins of his nature and life, and earnest desires that God would pardon all his transgressions, and renew and sanctify his soul. He said, he believed that Jesus Christ was an all-sufficient Saviour, and would be a Saviour to him, if he could by faith lay hold of him. He declared his resolution to seek him as long as he lived, and did accordingly call often upon him. And he exhorted his relations and others to pray always to the Lord. Falling more violently sick a few days before his death, he declared his expectations of dying speedily, and withal, his hopes of obtaining eternal life, through Jesus Christ his only Saviour; and continued to the last calling on him for his mercy. When he perceived himself dying, he looked about on his friends, and said, Farewell. My father, who was acquainted with this youth, looked on him as truly pious, and very much lamented his death. Japheth had another son whose name was Joshua, and he was also said to die hopefully, but of him I cannot give any particular account.

CHAPTER IV.

IN GERMANY 1662, &c. 1688, &c.

SECTION I.

A REVIVAL OF PRACTICAL RELIGION IN AND ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY OF HALL IN SAXONY, WHICH SPREADS TO MANY OTHER PLACES.—ARNDT'S TRUE CHRISTIANITY.—THE WATCHMAN'S VOICE.—DR SPENER AND DR BAITH'S CONFERENCES IN 1662, FROM WHICH SOME DATE THE RISE OF THE WHOLE AFFAIR.—DR SPENER'S ZEAL.—HIS "PIA DESIDERIA."—AT FRANKFURT HE KEEPS A COLLEGE OF PIETY IN HIS OWN HOUSE, TWICE A-WEEK, AND PREACHES A WHOLE YEAR UPON THE NECESSITY AS WELL AS POSSIBILITY OF PRACTICAL RELIGION.—AT DRESDEN HE SETS UP IN HIS OWN HOUSE THE CATECHIZING OF LITTLE CHILDREN.—HE ENCOURAGES THE SOCIETY FOR STUDYING THE SCRIPTURES AT LEIPSIK.—MR FRANCE OPENS A FRESH SOCIETY OF THIS KIND.—MR SCHADE'S AFFECTING BEHAVIOUR IN HIS SICKNESS.—GREAT LOVE TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES AMONG THE STUDENTS OF DIVINITY.—THE BOOKSELLERS SHOPS HARDLY ABLE TO SUPPLY THEM WITH GREEK TESTAMENTS.—PERSECUTION.—PROVIDENCE INTERPOSES.—DR SPENER IS CALLED TO BERLIN IN 1691.—WHERE THEY ARE PROTECTED AND COUNTERAILED.

From the PREFACE to "PIETAS HALLENSIS," in PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 85, &c.

WHEREAS that public work of God, which has broke out so eminently of late in and about the university of Hall, as from its chief centre, dispersing itself far and near, lay for sometime before hidden, as it were, in embryo; and that there manifestly appears to have been a seed of purer Christianity, gradually quickening and springing up in the midst of the Lutheran reformation: and whereas the greatest part of English readers are not much acquainted with what relates either to the rise or progress of these matters, how considerable soever in themselves; and several have desired some just account thereof, which they might rely on: it has been thought expedient to answer here, in brief, the desires and solicitations of such, by giving a faithful and simple view of this whole affair, not only in this but also in several other provinces and circles of Germany, and pointing out the principal persons and springs that have been set on work in the propagating Christian piety, and promoting a solid reformation of manners, among all orders both of the clergy and laity.

About an hundred years after Luther, there arose near the same place, and upon the same stock, another reformation; but which did not respect so much opinion as practice. This was first promoted by the pious Dr Gerhard, divinity professor at Jena, whose great candour as well as zeal is sufficiently conspicuous both in his works and life: but chiefly by the excellent John Arndt, general superintendent of the churches under the princes of Lunenburg. These two, laying deeply to heart the decay of Christian piety, were wholly taken up with the thoughts of reviving the spirit and life of Christianity among those of the Augustan Confession in particular, as among all professed Christians in general. The latter of these by his most celebrated piece of *True Christianity* published in several languages, and by that of his *Garden of Paradise*, was an instrument of the divine blessing in the conversion of many souls into the true Christianity. However, it happened to him, as it generally happens to all, that

are engaged in great and good designs: he was misunderstood, misrepresented, opposed and vilified by many; and even by some, who, from their education and profession, should have better understood him; and whose truest interest it certainly was, laying aside needless disputations, to have concurred, according to all obligations, general and special, in the promoting together with him purity and spirituality of religion. The learned Lucas Osiander, a divine of Tubingen, was among these much taken notice of, by reason of a book of his written against him in a most satirical style, called, his *Theological Cogitations*: and whereof he is said to have seriously repented, when he came to die. It was not long before he was most solidly answered by Varenius, a judicious divine, in a piece intitled, *A Vindication of true Christianity*: nor were there wanting also some others of the more pious and candid Lutheran divines, who by their public writings and testimonies, about the same time, defended the cause of true religion and of this holy person: such were Egardus, an Holsteiner, Dilgerus, a Dantzicker, one M. B. T. B. and Dorscheus, a professor of Strasburgh. He was an early trumpet, about the time (which is not a little observable) when Germany was embroiled in an intestine war, for thirty years together, and the Protestant cause seemed to lie at stake: but God, then in the midst of his indignation, remembered his mercy, and raised several eminent instruments of the truth, amongst which this was the most conspicuous: even as in the present judgments of war and desolation he has also remembered his covenant, and excited many persons, both in Germany and in other countries, to bear a living and powerful testimony to the truth of Christianity, as originally delivered by its blessed Founder. He was a man truly of deep fundamental piety, knowledge, and religion, and almost continually exercised in the blessed cross of our dear Saviour. And all that he wrote was in a scriptural style, and adapted to all, even the infants of Christ.

And within a few years after him, Dr Balthasar Meisner, professor at Wittenberg, who was deeply sensible of the great neglect of practical Christianity, through the multiplying of disputes, and particularly of the stir and motions raised against the aforesaid book of *True Christianity*: of whom it appears, that he had laid a design of opening a practical college for the students of that university, or *collegium pietatis*, in which he had determined to treat concerning the way of removing and correcting such things either in church or state, as do really need the same. This is to be seen from his *Funeral Programma*, as also from his *Pia Desideria*, published sometime after his death.

Next to him we may place Conradus Horneius, a man of singular piety and zeal for God, who insisting in the same steps, seriously laboured to promote real and practical Christianity, who underwent many severe oppositions and hardships. As also, not to insist here too long, did Dr Andreas Kester, superintendent at Coburg, suffering much for his reproving the public abuses and vices: together with Dr Arnoldus Mengerlingius, superintendent of Hall; Dr John Mathew Maysart, professor and pastor of Erfurt, who witnessing against the corrupt state of the Universities, drew upon himself thereby the hatred of many of the learned men; Dr John Schmidius, a professor at Strasburg, noted for his great moderation and piety; Dr Justus Gesenius of

Hanover, superintendent general; Solomon Glassius of Saxe-Gotha; the most candid Saubertus; his disciple Dilherus; and John Valentine Andreae, a divine of Wurtemberg. This Andreae being a person of a very piercing wit and understanding, of solidity of judgment and prudence, and well exercised from his youth in all the affairs of religion, had such an insight into the state of the Lutheran church in particular, as very few of his age had: but while having discovered the disease, he studied how to apply a remedy, he could expect to fare no better than all others that went before him. Besides these there might also be mentioned D. Paulus Tarnovius, that eminent divine of Rostock; and Theophilus Grosgebauer, a deacon of the same church of Rostock, who in the year 1661, left the church a legacy at his death, which with the approbation of the faculty of divines of that university and their preface to it, was then printed not without a great blessing; it is called, *The Watchman's Voice*, being written in High Dutch, and contains a discovery of the causes of the decay of Christian piety, and of the unsuccessfulness of the word of God and of the sacraments, in the evangelical churches for the promoting a real conversion in souls.

This is that book, which by God's blessing upon it became the means of first opening the eyes of Dr Spener, and which made him to look more into what is solid and interior, who thereupon the next year frequently conferred with Dr Raith, he being a very good divine, they living then both at Tubing, so that they had opportunities of freely discussing the subject of it, and of examining into the causes of the abuses in the administration of the word and sacraments, and consequently of the little edification of the laity; together with the remedies fit to be applied. This was in the year 1662; from whence some therefore have dated the rise of this whole affair, which has made such a noise in Germany for some years past. And about the same time at Rostock there were Dr Muller, Dr Lutkeman, and Dr Quistorp junior, who both by their writing and preaching, laboured very much to prepare a way for a better state of the church, and for the advancement of solid piety in its members. The first of these suffered a great deal of contradiction by some of the more rigid Lutherans, on account of some expressions which he used in a sermon on 1 Cor. xii. 2. and was this, viz.: Our modern Christians and superficial pretenders of religion, have four dumb idols which they worship, and these are (1) the pulpit, (2) the font, (3) the altar, and (4) the stool of confession; which put him to the trouble to apologize, and to apply himself to some of the most eminent divines to have their determination; who then gave it in his favour, and approved of this his expression, as whereby he only rejected the *opus operatum* people too much, &c. He died in the year 1676, choosing for his funeral text, Jer. li. 9. The like did Dr Kortholt, under the name of Theophilus Sincerus, Dr Hartman superintendent of Rotenburg, Reiserus, and several others. But as for Dr Spener he became as it were the very soul in this cause: and having a deep inspection into the decayed lapsed state of Christendom, he wrote and published a book, long before the name of Pietism was brought into use, as being deeply affected with the sense thereof, called *Pia Desideria*, wherein he shows evidently the apostacy of the spouse of Christ from her first love, with the abuses and corruptions consequent

thereon, and then proposes some methods, by which the same might be in some manner redressed. Among which one was this, that he caused to appear again such spiritual books of the best note, as had lain quite buried hitherto, and failed not of his ends therein, in that many were disposed and induced by these to embrace the practice of true solid Christianity and the power of godliness. And since he was chosen of God for a peculiar instrument of a more practical reformation, he was accordingly by divine providence put into such places, where the Lord in this dark night of apostacy could best make use of him according to his pleasure: hence it will be worthy of our observation to see, what his main and principal work was in the three great places, where he has been intrusted with the pastoral care of the Lord's flock, Frankfort, Dresden, and Berlin, where he was living since this narrative was in the press, and is newly departed hence, his works following him.

In Frankfort, whither he was called in the year 1666, he kept *Collegia Pietatis*, or exercises of piety in his own house twice a week, where he gave first his own exposition on some chapter of the sacred scriptures, with suitable exhortations tending much to edification. Afterwards he allowed also others, whose mind and senses were exercised in the word of God, though not divines by profession, to bring forth any experience or spiritual meditation, that was upon their spirits. Which being done under his directorship, was accompanied with a great heavenly blessing: so that he left there a seed of many pious and well disposed people. When first this private college or meeting came to be opened, it was soon noised about, some praising, and more blaming it, but Dr Spener well knowing that a servant of God ought not to stick to go through evil report and good report, (which apostolical expression he was often heard to cite, when acquainted with the censures of others) was little hereat concerned. Abundance of people coming to Frankfort flocked to this meeting intended for private devotion to hear what the meaning of this religious novelty (as they called it) was: and although the most part went on no better principle or motive than that of mere curiosity, nay or even on an ill design, nevertheless it has been observed, that the Lord has made this an hour of visitation to many a soul, upon hearing the convincing discourses both of the doctor and of some other good Christians there assembled. Nay even those, who endeavoured to suppress it, blew up more and more the fame thereof, so that occasionally it was frequented by professors, superintendents, nay, by imperial, royal, electoral, &c. ministers, and now and then by persons of the best quality happening to come to town. Nay, further, the whole faculty of divines at Kiel in Holsatia approved of it, and by a particular responsum or determination spoke in the favour of Dr Spener, which proved no small discouragement to those, who in what they act and judge are rather moved by academical determinations, than the very oracles of divine scripture.

In his public sermons he preached here in the year 1676, and part of 1677, a whole year upon the necessity as also possibility of practical religion; shewing hereby the great obstacles that are pretended, to be altogether unable to hinder the advances of a willing mind. Now his peculiar character being candour and humility, with condescension even to the mean-

est of the household of God, whom he endeavoured, as well as the high and great ones, to bring to a sense of piety; this made him to go up and down to their houses, to instruct them in what is necessary to salvation. And because his moderation was so greatly eminent, he was there not only loved and esteemed by the Lutherans, but also by many of the Calvinists, of whom many came to frequent his church. But among what happened with him, whilst he was at Frankfort, must not be omitted a passage worthy of our observation in this place, which is, that his tender care and love for the poor had then already so taken up his heart and head, that he was most busy in labouring and contriving how to set them up an hospital to maintain them. In which enterprise he met at first with a great opposition from the magistracy, who upon his application to them, answered, they were incapable of maintaining such a number of poor. But he, not discouraged or beaten down by their denial, prevailed notwithstanding, and carried their consent by this argument, that if they had been able hitherto to maintain the poor in a confused and irregular way through their going up and down in the streets, (since none had yet starved for want of bread) how much more would they be able to do the same, in a way more orderly and regular; which gained so much on them, that the good doctor's desire and travail of his soul was answered. And this happy success in so laudable a cause, made him afterwards, when Professor Franck was about erecting his hospital, so cheerful and ready in assisting him therein, as also in forwarding and promoting the same to his utmost capacity. In order to which he caused a sermon on the *Duties of the Poor* to be printed, which was dedicated to all the poor in Germany, and subjoined to the first edition of this Professor's account of the Orphan-house.

Now further seeing that Dr Spener's work, which the Lord had cut out for him to do, was not to terminate in Frankfort; he was called to Dresden to be the elector of Saxony's first chaplain, though he was unwilling to leave his beloved Frankfort (as he calls it.) God ordering it so in his holy providence, that upon the breaking out of Pietism (which happened not long after his settlement in this function) the instruments by whom God was pleased to raise it first, they being yet but young beginners in the practical part of religion, and either but students of divinity or masters of arts, might have some assistance and support from a grave and experienced divine (which they had indeed occasion for) who by being accustomed to the opposition and difficulties, which the enemy uses to lay in the way, might in like manner carry them through the same; and so be a considerable help and promoter of piety, for which he was also by the adversaries in way of derision called, the *patriarch of the Pietists*. This he knew nothing of in the beginning, when he was sent for from Frankfort, which was in the year 1686, that he might succeed Dr Lucius in the court of Dresden. In the mean time the elector John George the Third, was no admirer at all of his public sermons, which were seasoned with the salt of the divine wisdom, and were most quick and piercing to the very heart: and much less still could he bear with his private visits, wherein he would hold him in an unpleasant conference and intercourse about his future state, dealing plainly and roundly with him as an ambassador of God and Christ, and manifesting the only

way to true happiness both here and hereafter. For the house of Saxony which had been heretofore the support and prop of the reformation, was then in a visible declension as to matters of religion. But notwithstanding this indifferent reception at the said court, lest the grace of God, and the call for which he was sent hither, should prove fruitless, he begins here at Dresden, to set up in his own house the catechizing of little children: which succeeded so well, that he was quickly crowded with their numbers. Whence followed reflections upon him from the university-professors, who thought it unbecoming, that such a man, both of great parts and learning, and withal in such an eminent station, should stoop to so mean and vile an employ in their eye, as the teaching and catechizing of children. But the doctor, little regarding this, saw well enough, that the basis of any ground-work of reformation was to be laid in little children; old people being grown for the most part inflexible, and unwilling to forsake the darling of their accustomed formalities or opinions: and therefore he accounted it rather to be the true character of a real divine, to feed both the sheep and the lambs of Christ. During his stay at Dresden, he published one of his most excellent pieces of practical divinity, wherein he did set forth the discriminating marks, whereby to discern the workings of nature and grace from each other; which being a point of most needful observation to all pastors and teachers, and of great use to them on the account of their hearers, that so a just application may be made to their several states, he dedicated it to the clergy of Saxony, in a sort of Pastoral Letter to their whole body, exhorting them to a faithful discharge of their duty in looking to the flocks committed to them. He published here also a set of Sunday-sermons, called, *Evangelical Duties*; in which he endeavours to shew the difference betwixt the graces and virtues that are truly evangelical, and do proceed from a principle of divine charity in the soul, and those that are merely external or but moral. Which he dedicated to his present majesty King Frederick of Prussia, then elector of Brandenburg; who had sent him a vocation and commission, that he might accept of a prebend or superintendency of some part of the Lutheran churches in his dominions, with which, as seeing the hand of God in it, he readily complied; especially also since the elector of Saxony, being not overfond of his awakening sermons, was soon prevailed on to part with him. This set of sermons was printed in the year 1692, in 4to. In this new ministerial function he was scarce settled, when it pleased God to increase and enlarge the new reformation of Pietism, even in the large dominions of the then elector of Brandenburg, and therefore it fell out about the same time, that the new university at Halle, in Saxony, belonging to Brandenburg, was projected and in a solemn manner inaugurated. Here now our Dr Spener was made again beneficial and useful, not only bringing some of the principal authors of Pietism, that were little favoured and persecuted in other dominions, into Brandenburg, where they were gladly received in the new founded university of Halle; but also having proved ever since no small promoter and supporter, both to the professors of divinity there, by the world called Pietists, as also to all the pious foundations erected there and elsewhere within the territories of that prince, yea also much beyond them, and indeed to the whole Protestant reformation in

general, and the churches of the dispersion, till about the beginning of February in this present year 1705, he received his *quietus* by the will of God, being sweetly translated hence as in the chariot of divine love and peace, and leaving his name as a most fragrant perfume to posterity.

To this blessed man, whom God wonderfully conducted through all the stages of his life, richly adorning him with the manifold graces of his spirit, making him an instrument of blessings to nations, and a father to many thousands; we owe under God that hopeful reformation in the first place, which spreads itself at present so victoriously not only in the territories of the king of Prussia, but in many other parts of Germany also, under the name of Pietism; and therewith consequently all those good fruits which have flowed thence, whereof certainly both the university of Halle and the hospital of Glaucha are not the least inconsiderable. It may truly be said of him, that he was a burning and shining light in his generation. And as God in his infinite wisdom, was pleased to set up his light as it were in three candlesticks successively; so in each of these there was a peculiar dispensation and work, which was passed through; and without ever growing dim, it burnt still brighter and brighter, the light being greater in the second, than in the first; and in the third, than the second. In the first, what is called Pietism, was but an embryo: in the second, it was born into the world and received its name: after what manner this was, the reader shall now see in short; for to be very particular herein, might fill up of itself a large history.

Some masters of arts in the university of Leipsic had set up a private college, or conference among themselves, for the better understanding of the scriptures, and for the regulating both of their studies and conversation accordingly. This was called *Collegium Philobiblicum*; and, after the example of such like other exercises in the university, of which there were many kinds in all the arts and sciences, there were also certain rules agreed on for the sake of order and method. They met together once a week: and in the beginning they had more a regard to learning, than to the advancing of sincere piety. Their method generally was for one of the society to read a select portion out of the Old Testament in the Hebrew, or out of the New in Greek, or first one and then the other: and after he had explained the same, for the rest to add their observations likewise. The first part of the exercise was altogether critical, for the finding out the literal meaning of the text; and this was their chief labour. The other part consisted in the deducing of propositions and uses from it. This was kept up for some time with good success in a private chamber, after the evening service was ended on Sundays. But, as the number of students frequenting the same grew greater, and their zeal was more inflamed to the Divine word, this could not continue as it was: and, therefore, seeing that this their institution, contrary to their first intention, was become almost as good as public, they desired, for the better convenience to have now a director out of the order and faculty of divines, that might preside in these their meetings, and regulate the same in the best manner. So, upon application to him for this end, Dr Valentine Alberti readily accepts the charge offered him, and the meetings are thereupon kept in his house, at which he himself is often present, assisting in these exer-

cises, and adding his own observations, both practical and theoretical. There is a great concourse presently of the students, and even among the professors themselves, some openly encourage the same, and honour now and then with their presence this Philobiblical Society, as do also several travellers visiting the university. Which whole matter being early communicated to Dr Spener, a little before he removed into Saxony, and he being very much pleased with the design, a confirmatory letter was written by him hereupon to the masters, that were concerned in it, in which he not only fortified and encouraged them in their good resolution, but gave them also certain advices, by means whereof all things might be better directed for Christian edification, and the advancement of solid piety. By this means, in many was excited a vehement love for the study of the Holy Scripture, an earnest desire to search into the depths of it, and a fervent breathing after the life of Christ, with sincere endeavours to promote the ends of his holy religion. To which the method did very much conduce that was here observed. All was now begun and ended with prayer: after the lecture, both explicatory and applicatory of the text, it was a custom for the director to add his admonitions and counsels, the rest of the members to confer their observations, and even the students and auditors sometimes to propose theirs too. All this for a good while passed on very well, without raising any suspicion, but being generally rather commended and applauded as a most useful design. And from this sprung several other private exercises of the same nature among the students, by which the Scripture learning was exceedingly cultivated. Mr Frauck, who had been one of the first authors of this exercise, but had been absent from the university for a year or two, in which time he visited Lunenburg and Hamburg, diligently insisting in both these places on the same sacred study, while what was here begun took still deeper and deeper rooting; after having spent some of the first months of the year 1689 at Dresden, in the house of Dr Spener, who in all matters sufficiently instructed him, returned again to Leipsic; and there is not only joined a second time to the college and society aforesaid, for the propagating the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, but he himself opens a fresh Biblical school, as he had done before just upon his taking his master's degree. He began with the Epistle of St Paul to the Philippians, in which he succeeded even beyond hope, the Divine blessing accompanying his labours: wherein his principal aim was the reformation of his academical auditors; and powerfully to persuade as many as were content to take him as their tutor or master, that they should not take up only with the knowledge and learning that is needful to accomplish a good divine, but that, setting before themselves the primitive pattern, they should in all things study to behave themselves accordingly, as persons more peculiarly dedicated and consecrated to the service of the blessed Jesus. Being thus encouraged he proceeded to read upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, and, after that, upon the latter Epistle to the Corinthians: whence he took occasion to set forth both the obstacles and the helps to the study of divinity, and this with so great a concourse of students, that neither his own chamber, nor the school of the electoral scholars, which he had obtained for this end from the rector of the university, was able to hold them. In the middle of

the summer, Dr Maebius, dean of the faculty of divines, appointed him to read in his stead the public theological lectures for that season, according to custom, in the divinity-school: at which lectures (called *Cercules*) he, reading upon the Second Epistle to Timothy, was flocked to in a most unusual manner, he having ordinarily about three hundred auditors. Moreover, the masters, who were members of the Philobiblical Society, being hereby mightily encouraged and excited, were steadily confirmed in their resolution for the uniting with the research of Scripture the study of piety, and consulted all proper ways and methods to be taken for the same, under the conduct of the Divine grace, according to what in these lectures had been most lively represented. Hereupon some of them met together privately in the fear of the Lord. Mr Franck's study was the place pitched on for this purpose as most convenient; and there they gave themselves up diligently to sacred reading and meditation, with prayer, following the method of St Paul in his Epistle to Titus, which was for the use of the candidates of divinity expounded at this private exercise. But it was not permitted them to enjoy long this exercise alone; for many of the students, so soon as they heard of it, began to flock to it as much as to any other of the academical exercises.

At or about the same time, Mr John Caspar Schade, of the county of Henneberg, as a faithful fellow-labourer in the word, was instant both publicly and privately in promoting this holy design: wherefore he read upon the first epistles of St John and St Peter, to the no small excitement and edification of his auditors, which were as many as the straightness of the place could bear, and not less numerous than what followed Mr Franck. In the year 1691, he was made deacon of St Nicholas church at Berlin, the rector whereof was Dr Spener. He had, notwithstanding his youth, a deep insight into the great decay of the church, and spent his time much in catechizing of youth, for which he had a particular gift. He published a small treatise at Berlin, called, *A Memorial for Berlin*, upon the words, Luke xix. 42; wherein he exhorts them to prevent, by true repentance, the approaching judgments. In his two last sermons he foretold his death, commending to God the small flock of the pious in a most serious and compassionate farewell, and exhorting them with a great deal of fervency to remain faithful. After he had preached his last sermon, a malignant fever seized him, with which his head being distempered, he nevertheless, instead of talking in his delirium, as is usual, a deal of idle and nonsensical stuff, spent his hours with praising of God, in praying to him, and in incessantly repeating some devout ejaculation or other. Thus he repeated some hundred times the following expressions: "My Lord Jesus! Jesus! I live unto thee; I die unto thee; I belong to thee; I serve thee, my Jesus; I am thine:" and all this he cried from out of all the strength of his life, and with so loud a voice, as that in the neighbouring houses it was heard, and people flocked together at his house, not knowing what to make thereof. Being told of this, and cautioned that he might not tire himself with crying so loud, he said: "It doth not tire me; I must cry and preach repentance while there is yet a gasp of breath in me. Oh! if I had but cried louder, when I was in the pulpit, then I might now forbear it." At the beginning of his sickness he went through a

vehement inward combat to his greater purification, but soon after cried out: "Victory! victory! I have fought with the devils, and conquered them: oh! let us sing eternal hallelujahs!" He was so fervent in catechizing, and took such a pleasure in it, that, in the midst of his sickness, he caused the flock of little children to come before his bed, and having sung and prayed with them, he dismissed them with blessing. Once also when he observed that some of those who attended him were asleep, he said: "See how securely they sleep, being a lively emblem both of the ecclesiastical, political, and economical state, who are all fallen asleep; but the Lord is risen up to awaken them with a strong voice." A little before his death he prayed most fervently for the elector, the city, and his own congregation; but especially for his successor in that place, wishing that the same might reap, what had been sown by him. He died in the Lord 1698, in the 32d year of his age.

But to return to the affairs of Leipsick, while Mr Schade and Mr Franck were so usefully employed in reading upon the apostolical epistles, many were inflamed with an holy zeal thereby: and just then in the very warmth of these transactions, there comes unexpected, and is added to them, as by a singular providence of God, Mr Paul Anthony, being newly returned from his travels, he having accompanied, in the quality of chaplain, duke Augustus (now elector of Saxony, and king of Poland) in his tour through France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy; who had been a companion of Mr Franck a few years before, and had assisted in laying the foundation of the Philobiblical college: and, therefore, now with all cheerfulness unites himself with Mr Schade and him in this undertaking, (to whom also soon after joined Mr Achilleux.) He then being much affected with the zeal and ardent love of the scholars for the study of the scriptures, took in hand St John's gospel, and in the Prince's college (of which he was a fellow) expounded the same, with a mighty concourse also of the students, equal, if not superior to any of the rest. After which he expounded in like manner St Paul's first epistle to Timothy with the same satisfaction of his auditors.

Now, upon the opening of these Biblical schools or exercises, the students of divinity, who had been wont before to frequent none but either the philosophical or the homiletical schools, gave themselves so up to the ardent study of the Bible as these were little followed. The latter of these were a sort of exercises; in which the art of preaching was chiefly taught, and of which, at one time, there were no less than thirty at Leipsic; the great abuses whereof were taken notice of, and sharply reprehended by some eminent divines, as an impediment to solid theological learning. For the candidates of divinity being herein bred up to a superficial smattering in divine matters, and to an empty and fallacious oratory, made little or no progress in true and genuine theology, or would take much pains in searching the originals whence it flows. But now, instead of thinking it enough to fill handsomely a pulpit, and to act thence the orator, so as to draw into admiration a vulgar auditory by the help of some cramp, theological or metaphysical terms, with a little vain rhetoric, and gingling music of words; most of the students of divinity were convinced of the necessity of applying themselves to the original books themselves, where are the springs of all sacred and solid learning, with much more diligence than hitherto

had been customary in the university. Nay, several would hardly read any other books besides ; and these were so bought up in the original, as the book-sellers' shops were hardly able to supply what was called for ; especially the Greek editions of the New-Testament. Another consequence was this, that it was complained of hereupon earnestly by some, that the logical, metaphysical, and homiletical schools were no longer frequented, as before : which could not possibly be, since so great a part of the students did daily employ several hours in these sorts of exercises on the Holy Bible. It fell out also by the means hereof, that several young students, who, though they professed the study of divinity, did nevertheless walk after the manner of the world, being now awakened and convinced by the power of the divine word, which they met within those lectures and exercises, began henceforward to lead a serious and sober life with all diligence, and carefully to direct their studies to God's greater glory, and to the good and welfare of the church in a more eminent manner. Now, from some that frequented these pious exercises out of a vain curiosity, being unregenerate in their lives, and not able to bear the admonitions given them, first the masters that were members of the Biblical Society, then the hearers of Mr Franck, and lastly, as many as constantly frequented any of these schools or exercises and entered upon another course of life more suitable to the principles and spirit of Christianity, were, in derision called PIETISTS.

This new name being coined, there was no more to do for the adversaries, but straight to search out some heretical opinions to affix on them ; which is no hard matter to do at any time. To speak of abuses crept in, was presently interpreted a contempt of the holy institutions themselves : to inculcate holiness of life, was looked on as an asserting our salvation by works : and to press after a vital knowledge of God, as distinct from a dead one, was represented as altogether fanatical. The electoral court, and whole province of Saxony, is filled with the rumours of it, and in a little while after, all Germany. Books are written on both sides : *Apologies*, and *Anti-apologies*, come forth thick, and the first instruments of Pietism were banished from Liepsic.

But since God purposed, that this new reformation should spread further, he ordered it so, that Mr Franck was gladly received by Dr Breithaupt, then professor of divinity, and superintendent at Erfurt, in Thuringia, who being a person not only addicted to solid piety from his youth upwards, but also of great experience, learning, and knowledge in spiritual things, wanted but an opportunity of being supported and assisted, the better to push on a more practical reformation. And, therefore, seeing the wonderful hand of God in all that had been transacted hitherto with Mr Franck and his fellow-labourers at Leipsic, he promoted him to the pastorate of St Austins in Erfurt ; where now, by union of these two instruments, a marvellous revolution and change was wrought in the said great city of Erfurt, both by their preaching, and by Mr Franck's catechizing of little children, (who being crowded with great multitudes of them, succeeded therein to admiration), as also by the ministry of those students, that upon their being first awakened at Leipsic, flocked hither in great numbers, and were taken by the Lutheran citizens of Erfurt into their houses, in

order to tutor their children, and educate them in true fundamental piety and the fear of the Lord. So that at last the Roman Catholic magistrate being jealous of this unusual applause, and apprehensive, lest a new sect should rise there, referred the whole cause of the Pietists to the elector of Mentz ; and carried their fears, suspicions, and accusations, so far, that by a mandate from the said elector of Mentz (to whom the city of Erfurt belongs) all spiritual exercises were stopt and interdicted. And after some little while, both Dr Breithaupt and Mr Franck, were obliged to leave their city and territories. After this, in the year 1691, by Dr Spener's removal to Berlin, the face of affairs began much to change, and the persecuted to breathe a little freely, in that Dr Breithaupt was called by the court of Berlin to the professorship in divinity at the university of Halle, which was then but newly founded, and Mr Franck receiving likewise a call thither, was chosen to be professor of the oriental languages, and pastor at Glaucha, near Halle. And as it was in the time of the reformation of Luther, that as soon as he appeared at the head of the reformation, many begun to be raised and awakened both in Switzerland and France ; so likewise here, after the first motion at Leipsic, some were in like manner stirred up at Lunenburg, Halberstadt, Wolfenbittel, Gotha, and in other places ; who unanimously laboured in their respective places for a practical reformation, and more than superficial piety and spirituality ; but received at the two first places a very sorry treatment, which ended at last in an utter banishment of all Pietism thence.

But it must not be forgotten here, that as in the aforesaid reformation begun by Luther, so also in this, amidst the variety of subjects that entertained it, not being alike prepared, certain excesses and abuses did insinuate themselves, and tares were sown among the good wheat. All which was presently charged on the first instruments of this new reformation, who have soberly and solidly vindicated themselves on this head. And thus the evil, which the malice of the adversary hereby designed, has been made to work for an abundant good. Dr Antonius in his *Programma* to the students for Whitsuntide two years since, as pro-rector then of the university at Halle, taking notice then of this artifice of the enemy, to hinder the progress of the work of God, very warmly expostulates the injustice and unreasonableness of such a proceeding. " But how unjust is this, and how impious ? For who but a madman would charge Christ with the guilt of Judas ? or would blame the apostles and the godly prebsters of the Church of Ephesus, for that out of their own selves there did men arise speaking perverse things, and did thereby, as the apostle had before testified, draw away disciples after them ?" And afterwards he makes his most solemn appeal to the whole body of the students, that they might be witnesses both of what they heard and saw, and judge what manner of credit was to be given to the several particulars, vulgarly charged against the promoters of Christian learning and piety in that university, which is indeed worthy of being transcribed here whole. But this would be too far to transgress the bounds here set us. This may serve at present to give an idea of what is called Pietism, and to let the reader into an account of the manner of its rise : for to write an history of it would be to fill a volume.

However, it must not be omitted that the cause of

the persecutions on this account, both in Saxony, and in some parts of Germany, was principally this, viz. When the first instruments of Pietism (so called) came to be sensible where the root of the apostasy did lie, and that the decay of Christian piety, and corruption both in rites and doctrines, did generally spring for the most part from them that make a gain of godliness in the worst sense; and who climb into the sheepfold of Christ not by the true door; but either by the way of mere scholastic learning and unsanctified reason, or by application to worldly patrons, and other unlawful and sinister means; they could not but declare what they found and knew to be true. They saw raw, unexperienced, unexercised, students in the cross of Christ entrusted with the pastoral care of souls, while they themselves were often stupidly ignorant of the state of their own souls, and destitute of all the requisite qualifications of a true Christian pastor. By witnessing against which they drew presently on themselves the odium of the guilty, which produced several persecutions. Not only what was done at the courts of Saxony and Lunenburg, in order to suppress this growing sect (as they called it) of Pietism, are more than sufficient evidences of this matter; but besides, there are numerous other instances also, which might, for confirmation of this, be brought both from other courts of Germany, as also (not to mention the Switzers) that of Sweden itself. And no wonder it is, if in the midst of so much dust as was raised, several even of the more sober and religious part, were at first afraid of them, and were carried away with a multitude to think and speak evil of them. The refugees, that fled from other provinces of Germany for shelter into the marshes of Brandenburg, were also attacked again, as they had been before, by the violence of many of the clergy strongly prejudiced against them. But when the slanderings and accusations from the pulpit grew daily hotter and hotter, and the rumour thereof was spread, even to the electoral court of Berlin, several commissions were issued out for examining into the truth of the matters charged against them; which all turned to the disadvantage of their adversaries, and the justification of the truth. But chiefly the last commission of all, to which a certain sermon of Professor Franck gave birth, which he preached and printed against the false prophets; for when he spoke out plainly, that the general degeneracy of Christianity was owing principally to the lukewarmness of the clergy, they were so offended at it, as by aggravating hence their grievances at the royal court of Prussia, to necessitate the king to appoint a public commission for inquiring into the reports and grounds of all their accusations. But which fell out so favourable on the part of the Pietists, contrary to their expectations, as the accusers were silenced and confounded. And whereas the Pietists were chiefly accused and charged by the Anti-Pietists with heterodoxy, these delegates and commissioners did search into and examine most strictly and impartially their doctrine: whereby they found what was taught by them, to be perfectly conformable to the symbolical books, and the Augustan confession of faith. And since that time they have been protected, and favoured by his Prussian majesty, who has confirmed the foundations at Halle with many privileges.

SECTION II.

THE ABOVE WORK ATTENDED WITH VARIOUS GOOD FRUITS—
A GENERAL VIEW OF THEM.

Some of the most considerable Heads of the Work of Reformation carried on in the Lutheran Church in Germany, since the year 1688. Gathered by some strict Observers of the Signs of the Present Time.

1. CATECHETICAL exercises have been set up in a great many places, and carried on in a plain and more practical method. 2. The Holy Bible, and the New Testament, in particular, having been printed in vast multitudes, have either been given away gratis to the poorer sort of people, or at least sold at a very low and reasonable rate. 3. Spiritual and Biblical conferences on more practical subjects have been set on foot in several universities, for the greater edification and reformation of scholars. 4. Private exercises of piety have been set up in several places, for mutual edification, and met with some encouragement and approbation from the magistrates. 5. The education of youth has been more seriously laid to heart than formerly. Several pedagogues, and new schools, have been erected up and down, and some old ones refined from inveterate corruptions and profane customs. A greater regard is now had to religion in the modelling and governing of children than heretofore. 6. A more easy and compendious way, and a method more adapted to the capacities of children, has been found out, and begun to be practised in many schools. Many authors, stuffed with mere heathenish trash and fancies, apt to leaven and to prepossess the minds of children with a multitude of delusions and popular mistakes, have been turned out, and such taken in again, as favoured of more Christian and substantial principles. 7. The gentry up and down the country have been provided with good and able tutors, for the education of their children. This has proved exceeding helpful for spreading some degree of reformation throughout the country. 8. There are likewise some public schools furnished of late, with able and faithful teachers. 9. By this means children have in a little time made a considerable progress in learning, which heretofore was not to be obtained, but with a deal of toil and labour. Likewise there have not been wanting such, as in their more younger years, have given most visible proofs of a real and lively sense of piety. 10. Several good establishments have been set on foot, for educating young ladies in a sober and virtuous life. Hereby abundance of fashionable mistakes, obstructing a sound education of daughters, have been rectified, and a foundation laid for a future reformation of that sex. 11. Abundance of spiritual hymns, composed by able persons, have been added to the old ones, for the promoting of piety and devotion, both in church and private families. 12. Many writings of the fathers and other pieces of a primitive stamp, done into the vulgar language, have been published for the edification of the unlearned. 13. The intrinsic beauty and brightness of the primitive Church has been more unfolded, and the vast degeneracy and apostasy of the modern churches in all parties, drawn up to the life. 14. A great many writings, treating upon the several heads of practical divinity, have been published for the increase of Christian life and knowledge. 15. The article of

justification, and its coherence with true sanctification, or holiness of life, hath been set in a clearer light than formerly it was. 16. A better and exacter translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue has been attempted in these years. 17. The abominable corruptions, both in Church and State, have been laid open, and methods formed for opposing the farther inundation thereof. 18. Many false prophets and greedy intruders have been discovered and exposed. 19. The common way of philosophising has begun to lose its credit, and a philosophy more savouring of a Christian temper, and raised on more solid principles, set up again. 20. The logical, metaphysical, and homiletical schools have been less frequented, and more time spent on the Bible and exegetical conferences of theology, to a visible improvement of divinity scholars. 21. The wonted way of preaching, too much tied up to a fallacious and luxurious oratory, and fitted for catching the applause of men, has been discountenanced, and a plainer method, derived from power and inward experience, begun to be encouraged. 22. Funeral sermons, which used to be stuffed with I know not what vain praises and flatteries, begin to be rectified, and the names of happy, blessed, dear brother, &c. more sparingly, and with due regard bestowed on the deceased. 23. Some remains of foppish fancies and superstitions have been purged out more fully. 24. The liturgy of the Church, or the symbolical books, raised by some rigid men to too high a pitch of authority, have been reduced to their true boundaries. 25. Poetry begins to be refined from heathenish dregs and fancies, and to savour more of the gravity of a Christian style and temper. 26. In some universities, the life, manner, and conduct of young students, has been more narrowly inspected, and greater care taken, by timely discipline, to form them into a pious and virtuous life. 27. Public sermons have been more ordered for a general edification to give people a full insight into the main scope, and the whole drift of the apostolical writings. 28. The same writings of the Apostles have been handled with children in a plain Catechetical manner. Hereby the very children have been enabled to give an account of the whole drift and purport of each epistle and book in particular, and to read the Word of God with a greater gust than what is usual. 29. Brotherly love among different parties of religion begins to sprout forth, and the rigid spirit of partiality, deadening brotherly love and embraces, begins to give way. 30. The weakness of such endeavours, as only tend to the uniting of people of differing persuasions into one religious form and outward way of worship, hath been fuller discovered, and the impossibility thereof better looked into than in former ages. The uniting of people into one form, without the Spirit of Christ to raise an union on, begins to be thought labour in vain. 31. The brightness of the Gospel of Christ begins to shine forth in most distant countries. The voice of the turtle is heard in foreign parts. 32. The distinction betwixt the essential and accessory points of religion has been revived, and the former more preached up by some than the latter. 33. Likewise has the distinction betwixt mere morality and true spiritual Christianity been set up again. The idol of an heathenish morality has been turned out of some Churches, and the pure Spirit of Christ, as the only restoring principle of fallen nature, suffered to come in again, for rightly framing a Christian's life and

conversation. 34. The greatest points of Christian religion, viz., of a living faith in Christ; likewise of regeneration, mortification, contrition, resignation, self-denial, imitation of Christ, and others of that nature, too slightly handled hitherto, have begun to appear again, and to be known among Christians. 35. A great number of students of divinity, who too much throw off religion, and let loose the reins to disorder and impiety, have been truly converted to God, and hereby a step made towards taking from the devil the usual armour wherein he trusts; i. e. the corruption of the Clergy. 36. Hence the number of such as by sinister means, unlawful practices, and other underhand dealings and trickings, get into Church preferments, has begun to decrease. 37. Several Courts of Princes and Counts have been perfumed with the sweet savour of the Gospel of Christ, and hereby the spirit of vanity too visibly influencing the Courts of Princes checked and discouraged. 38. Nay, even some Priests have been reduced to the obedience of faith. 39. Several officers and soldiers, the generality of whom are too apt to plead an exemption from the strict rules of Christian discipline, have begun to repair to St. John, and to say, "Master, what shall we do?" 40. Likewise has the Lord been pleased to ordain a praise unto himself out of the mouth of babes and sucklings. 41. The spirit of prayer has been revived in a more eminent degree. Many young people have united in prayers and thanksgiving; the like being but little practised formerly. 42. The dying hours of some have been very edifying to the survivors. Many noble instances of a happy and comfortable death, and this even among children, have happened in these years. 43. Many unlawful trades condemned by the Christian religion, but connived at by the superiors, have been left off by some people, out of a principle of religion; and they themselves have chosen a more honest way of getting their livelihood. 44. Stage-plays and other public nurseries of vice, have begun to be preached down. 45. Many stolen goods have been returned to the right owner. 46. Some marriages have been transacted in a manner more becoming Christians. Jesus and his disciplines have been called in to assist at some marriages. 47. A spirit of piety is also stirring among servants. Some few families may be seen, where the master and the whole household truly fear the Lord. 48. People have been generally more inspired with a generous and enlarged care for the poor and indigent. There is up and down a motion towards erecting hospitals, and other good foundations, for a regular maintenance of the poor. 49. More particularly, care has been taken in some public foundations, not only to make provision for the body, but to see boldly gifts and charities improved to their true and genuine end, viz., the conversion and salvation of souls. 50. Many bad and inveterate customs, with other licentious practices, authorized in a manner by a long and sinful connivance of the magistracy, have been exposed by the well-wishers to a reformation, and checked by the rules of the Holy Gospel. 51. Several books of other nations, treating upon practical divinity, have been done into the vulgar language, for the encouragement of our own nation. 52. Many laymen (so called) have, by publishing books on practical subjects of divinity, highly promoted the interest of religion. 53. The duty of clergymen, and of ghostly fathers, set out in its several branches, and drawn up from primitive

writers, has been published for an encouragement of the modern clergy. 54. Many false enthusiasts, and pretenders to sublime and uncommon operations of the Spirit, have been detected, and some of them reduced to moderation and soundness of mind. 55. Some generous spirits begin to be more zealous to propagate the interest of the church-universal, than their own hereditary form and usual way of worship. 56. Some have laid out vast sums to have the Scripture translated into, and printed in foreign languages, (e. g. Bohemick, Vulgar Greek, &c.) for the universal benefit of whole nations. 57. Some regiments of soldiers have been furnished with pious chaplains, and hereby care taken of carrying some degree of religion into the wars. 58. A useful correspondence for promoting a mutual reformation in divers nations has been set a foot. 59. Several wits of the age have bowed to the Gospel, and are become fools for Christ's sake. 60. Some princes and persons of quality have been moved to great and generous acts of charity. Other well-wishers to the common good have been stirred up to support the missionaries in Malabar with large and unexpected contributions. 61. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has been rescued in some Churches from the abominable profanation of the wicked, too promiscuously admitted by careless priests and clergymen; and has been confined to those only, who, after a strict search into their life and principles, have been thought worthy partakers thereof. 62. Some few politicians and great statesmen have been converted to God, now diligently employing their talents for the promoting of the glory of God, and the benefit of others. 63. The unhappy names of distinction into Lutheranism, Calvinism, and into other human parties, begin to lose their credit with some; and Christ begins to be more preached up, as the great and only restorer of fallen nature.

SECTION III.

PROFESSOR FRANCK'S ORPHAN-HOUSE AT GLAUCHA.—DR WOODWARD'S AND DR KENNETH'S OPINION OF IT.—THE FIRST OCCASION OF ITS RISE IN THE YEAR 1694.—ITS WONDERFUL PRESERVATION.—THE ADVANTAGES TO BE EXPECTED FROM IT FOR THE GOOD OF SOULS.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM PROFESSOR FRANCK TO DR COTTON MATHER IN NEW ENGLAND, DECEMBER 19TH, 1714.

WE behold in the following narrative, such a glorious train of surprising providences in the behalf of a pious and charitable undertaking, as is enough to strengthen a very weak faith, and to enliven a heart almost dead in despondency. But here we must take due care that we do not abuse this glorious display of divine providence, by unwarrantable applications of it: where neither the call of God is so manifest, nor the matter so important, nor the qualifications for the undertaking so suitable, as in the case hereafter related. The mighty faith, zeal, diligence, self-renunciation, charity, and deep humility of Dr Franck, seem to be endowments of an uncommon size, and God has been pleased to employ them in uncommon efforts. And at last the Integrity of the good man's heart, supported by an invincible confidence in God, hath carried him through all the hardships of unkind censures and oppositions (the usual treatment of good designs) to the great glory of a superintending providence. This serves to teach us, that human foresight cannot apprehend the

height and length to which a good work may be advanced by a blessing from above: and it may be a seasonable encouragement to all those honourable and worthy persons among us, who have in singleness of heart engaged themselves in any of those four noble and blessed designs now, through the goodness of God, happily advancing among us, viz., the suppression of scandalous impiety and vice; the pious instruction of youth and ignorant families; the cultivation of religion by pious conference; and the propagation of the Christian faith among infidels.

THE RISE, OCCASION, AND PROGRESS OF THIS UNDERTAKING.

THERE being a very ancient custom in the city and neighbourhood of Halle in Germany, that such persons as are disposed to make charitable distributions among the poor, do appoint a particular day in which they order poor people to come to their doors to receive it; I willingly (says Professor Franck) fell in with this commendable custom, so soon as I came to be settled at Glaucha, as minister of that place; and withal I thought fit to give them some wholesome instructions, tending to the good of their souls, being grieved at the gross ignorance of this sort of people; which is one great cause of that wicked and dissolute sort of life, to which the generality of them abandon themselves. I therefore ordered the poor people to come every Thursday to my house, and told that now, for the future, both spiritual and temporal provisions was designed for them. This exercise was begun about the beginning of the year 1694. The number of the poor increasing, I was obliged to try several ways to keep up the work once begun. I caused first an alms box to be handed about every week to well-disposed students, and all such as were willing to contribute to so good a work; but this soon proving a burden to some, I laid this quite aside, and fixed a box in my parlour, with these words written over it, 1 John iii. 17. "Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" and under it 2 Cor. ix. 7. "Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give, not grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver." This was intended for a tacit admonition to all that came in, to open their hearts towards the poor. This box was put up in the beginning of the year 1695.

About a quarter of a year after the box was set up in my house, a certain person put into it at one time to the value of eighteen shillings and sixpence English. When I took this into my hands, I said, in full assurance of faith: "This is now a considerable fund, worthy to be laid out in some important undertaking; wherefore, I'll even take this for the foundation of a charity school." I did not confer with flesh and blood about this affair, knowing well enough that human reason foreseeing a future want, is too apt to fly back, and by its puzzling suggestions to break even the best ordered and concerted measures. So I caused the same day as many books to be bought as cost eight shillings, and then got a student to teach the poor children two hours in a day, who then readily accepted of these new books; but of twenty-seven distributed among them, four only came to our hands again, the rest being kept or sold by the children who went away with them, and never

came near us again. After this we obliged the children to leave their books behind when they had learned their lesson. For the charity school I got a place fitted up before my study, and caused a box to be fixed on one of the walls, at the top whereof, I set down these words: "For defraying the charges of putting to school poor children, and providing books and other necessaries for them; Anno 1695." And at the bottom Prov. xix. 17. "He that has pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord: and that which he hath given, will he pay him again."

After I had been thus employed for a while about this practice, I saw that all our endeavours upon these poor vagrants, and even upon such as seemed the most hopeful, were very much frustrated, because these good impressions, which perhaps during their stay in the school were stamped on their mind, were obliterated again whilst they were abroad. This therefore made me resolve to single out some of the children, and to venture upon their maintenance and their education too. And this was the first occasion that prepared my mind to concert measures for setting up an hospital, even before I knew of any fund whereon to raise my design; it happening to me, which is usual to persons under such circumstances as mine were, I mean, if one hath but courage enough to bestow one groat upon the poor, he afterwards will be as willing to part with a crown. Thus the first foundation of our hospital was laid, neither upon any settled fund for this purpose, nor upon any sure promise of great persons and their assistance, as hath been since reported by some, and conjectured by others, but entirely upon the providence and fatherly blessing of our great God, who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can either ask or think; and this made me not to scruple the truth and certainty of things not seen. Such of the orphans as seemed the most promising, I put out to persons of known integrity and piety, to be educated by them, because we had poor children brought together before we had built an house to receive them. In the mean time the Lord inclined the heart of a person of quality, to lay out the sum of a thousand crowns for the use of the poor, and two other persons supplied us with four hundred crowns, to encourage the design on foot, so that we now were able not only to defray the charges of maintaining the orphans, but to purchase also an house, into which we removed the twelve orphans (for so many we had now got together) from the persons hitherto entrusted with their care, and a student of divinity was appointed for the management thereof, who furnished them with diet, clothes, bedding and other necessaries, provided them with good schooling, and so proved a father to them. This was begun in the year 1696, a week before Whitsuntide.

After the children had been a while under this management, and the Lord most visibly relieved our wants, a larger project was set on foot, viz., to bring the hospital to a firmer and more complete settlement, especially since we saw that the number of the children so far increased that the aforesaid house proved too strait for them. All which excited me more and more to attempt the building of an hospital myself, the hiring of more houses scattered up and down, being attended with too many difficulties. The Lord knows we had not so much as would answer the cost of a small cottage, much less such a building as might hold about two hundred people. And yet he so strengthened my faith, and

gave me such a presence of mind, that I immediately resolved to lay the foundation of a new building. In the year 1698, July the 6th, the place being surveyed and adjusted, they begun to break ground, which, being finished a few days after, on the 13th of July, the foundation of an hospital was laid in the name of God. However, the Lord had provided so much money as enabled us to procure some timber; but as for the building itself, I was now to wait upon God, and from week to week to receive at his hand, what he would be graciously pleased to furnish me with, for carrying on the same. The building was carried on successfully, and after such a rate, that in the year 1699, by the 13th of July, that is, within the space of one year, they were ready to cover it with the roof, although it did not escape the froward censures of ill meaning people; it being sometimes censured on account of its bigness, and sometimes on account of its beauty and magnificence. But unto such I used to answer in short: "I must needs know of what bigness and value the house ought to be, which it is necessary to complete my design. But in the mean time I assure you that when the Lord has finished this house, he will be as able and rich to provide for the poor that are to lodge therein, as he was before."

By the foregoing account, any one may see in what manner our hospital was begun, viz., not with a settled fund laid up before-hand, but with a hearty dependance upon the providence of God, to which our care for a future supply was faithfully committed, after it had carried us safely through the trials and difficulties of one day. From whence any understanding man may easily gather that the management of this business must have been now and then attended with many extraordinary perplexities, which shall now be exemplified in some instances. Before Easter 1696, I found the provision for the poor so far exhausted, that I did not know where to get any thing towards defraying the charges of the ensuing week; (which happened before I had been used to such awakening trials.) But God was pleased to relieve our wants by an unexpected help: he inclined the heart of a person (who it was, where residing, or of what sex, the Lord knoweth) to pay down one thousand crowns for the relief of the poor; and this sum was delivered to me in such a time, when our provision was brought even to the last crumb. The Lord, whose work this was, be praised for ever, and reward this benefactor with his blessings a thousand fold!

At another time all provision was gone, when the steward declared there was a necessity of buying some cattle to furnish the table, and of providing twenty or thirty bushels of flour to be laid up, beside other necessaries, as wood, wool, &c., if we would manage our business to the best advantage. Under these pressing circumstances, I found one comfort, which was a presence of mind in prayer, joined with a confident dependance upon the Lord, who heareth the very cry of the young ravens. When prayer was over, I heard somebody knock at the door, which when I opened, there was an acquaintance of mine holding in his hand a letter and a parcel of money wrapt up, which he presented to me, and I found therein fifty crowns sent a great way for the relief of our poor.

In the year 1699, about February, I found myself under great straits, and indeed it was an hour of probation. All our provision being spent, and the

daily necessity of the poor calling for large supplies, that divine saying made deep impression upon me, "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you;" banishing temporal cares, and turning the whole bent of my soul upon a close union with God. When I was now laying out the last of the money, I said in my thoughts: "Lord, look upon my necessity!" Then going out of my chamber to repair to the College, where I was to attend my public lecture, I unexpectedly found a student in my house, that waited for my coming out, and presented me the sum of seventy crowns, sent by some friends to support the hospital, from a place above 200 English miles distant. And thus the Lord carried me through these trials, that neither the frame of my mind was discomposed within, nor our want discovered by any token without.—Soon after this, there was want again in every corner. The steward brought his book, and desired me to defray the weekly charges. My recourse was to God through faith. The expenses were necessary, and I saw not the least provision, nor any way to procure it. This made me resolve to retire into my closet, and to beg the Lord's assistance in so pressing a necessity; but I designed first to finish the talk I was then about, being employed in dictating something to my students. Having done with this, and preparing now for prayer, I received a letter from a merchant, intimating that he was ordered to pay a thousand crowns to me for the relief of the hospital. This put me in mind of that saying, Isaiah lxv. 24, "It shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear." Nevertheless I entered into my closet, but instead of begging and praying, as I had designed, I praised and extolled the name of the Lord, and hope that others, who perhaps may come to read this, will do the like with me.

About Michaelmas 1699, I was in great want again. In a fair day I took a walk, and viewing the most glorious fabric of the heavens, I found myself remarkably strengthened in faith, by the gracious operation of the Spirit of God; and these and the like thoughts were suggested to my mind: "How excellent a thing it is for any one, though deprived of all outward helps, and having nothing to depend on, but an interest in the living God, the Creator of heaven and earth, to put his trust in him alone, and not despond in extreme poverty." Now, though I well knew that the very same day I wanted money, yet I found myself not cast down; just as I came home, the steward addressing himself to me, said, "Is there any money brought in?" for it being Saturday, he was to pay the workmen employed in the building of the hospital. To this I answered, "No, but I believe in God." Scarce was the word out of my mouth, when I was told a student desired to speak with me, who then brought thirty crowns from a person whose name he would not discover. Hereupon I asked the steward, "How much he wanted at present?" He said, "Thirty crowns." I replied, "Here they are; but do ye want any more?" No, says he. And so we were supplied in that very moment we wanted some relief, and even with that very sum that was required, which rendered the providence of God the more conspicuous.

Another time all our provision was spent, then it fell out, that in addressing myself to the Lord, I

found myself deeply affected with the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread;" and my thoughts were fixed in a more particular manner upon the words, "This day," because on the very same day we greatly wanted it. While I was yet praying, a friend of mine brought four hundred crowns for the relief of the poor, and then I perceived the reason why I had found such a sweet savour in that expression, "This day," and praised the Lord, at whose disposal are all things. Another time I fell into the deepest poverty, and (what was more) I was urged by the importunity of most that were about me, calling for a supply to their pressing necessity. But having cast my eye upon the Lord, I answered them plainly thus: "Now, ye come all to seek money of me, but I know of another benefactor to go to," (meaning the Lord.) The word was scarce out of my mouth, when a friend, who was then just come off a journey, cast privately fourteen ducats into my hands, which proved a fresh instance of the endearing providence of God. Another time I stood in need of a great sum of money, inasmuch that an hundred crowns would not have served the turn; and yet I saw not the least appearance how I might be supplied with an hundred groats. The steward came and set forth the want we were in. I bid him to come again after dinner, and I resolved to put up my prayer to the Lord for his assistance. When he came again after dinner, I was still in the same want, and so appointed him to come in the evening. In the mean time a friend of mine came to see me, and with him I joined in prayers, and found myself much moved to praise and magnify the Lord for all his admirable dealings towards mankind, even from the beginning of the world, and the most remarkable instances came readily to my remembrance whilst I was praying. I was so elevated in praising and magnifying God, that I insisted only on that exercise of my present devotion, and found no inclination to put up many anxious petitions to be delivered of the present necessity. At length my friend taking his leave, I accompanied him to the door, where I found the steward waiting on one side for the money he wanted, and on the other a person who brought an hundred and fifty crowns for the support of the hospital.

At another time, thirty crowns were required to pay off the workmen. When the overseer of the building came to fetch the money, I was obliged to dismiss him with this comfort: "The Lord who is faithful will take care for us." Away he went, and found the workmen before the hospital waiting for their pay; but, by the way, he unexpectedly met with one of his acquaintance, to whom he unbosomed himself, and discovered the pressing circumstances he then was in, who thereupon readily lent him fourteen crowns; and so he went to pay at least some part of the money due to the workmen; but, before he had done, I received above thirty crowns from another place; whereupon I immediately sent away the aforesaid thirty crowns to pay off the workmen. At the end of the following week, we were reduced to like straits; and I was called upon for money, to recruit our provision, according to custom, on Friday, and to pay the workmen on Saturday; but there was not a farthing for either of these uses: so I said, "Twas now time again to rejoice; for the Lord would undoubtedly give us another instance of his providence." I despatched the steward with that saying of Samuel: "Hitherto

hath the Lord helped us." 1 Sam. vii. 12. Which expression is, as it were, turned into a most comfortable proverb among us, and experience hath been the most useful comment upon it. Betimes, next morning, fifty crowns were sent in, by means whereof the Lord graciously carried us through the difficulties of that week. Another time, being reduced to the lowest ebb, and the burden of unavoidable expences lying upon the steward, he found himself oppressed with care and concern, how to extricate himself. He got together as much as he could to discharge the debts; and, among the rest, he sold a silver spoon that had been presented to the hospital. But all this would not serve the turn. In this extremity an hundred crowns were delivered to me for the poor; and being thus provided, I sent presently sixty of them to the steward. Which strange providence, how effectual it was to raise his languishing faith, and to refresh his mind after so many toils and cares, may I think be easily conjectured. He said indeed: "Now I will rejoice, even in time of want, in hopes of seeing some discovery of the admirable providence of God," which had been hitherto, as he said, beyond his strength. A little while after, we had another hour of probation, but the Lord was pleased to supply us then likewise with fifty crowns, which was an help not in the least foreseen. At the same time I was acquainted, that twenty-eight cumin cherries were forthwith to be sent us from Leyden in Holland. Another time, being taken up with other affairs, I quite forgot the want we were in, having composed my mind to a quiet frame, that I might the better dispatch the business in hand. But at the same time I received a letter with a piece of gold of eighteen crowns value, whereby both our wants were relieved, and I myself kept from any disturbance in my other affairs. I remembered then the saying of the Lord: "All these things shall be added unto you."

Upon another time, when all provision was spent, one of my fellow-labourers, in the evening of the conference, mentioned the present want, which proved a matter of comfort, and presented to us an occasion to strengthen our faith, by means of a grateful remembrance of all the benefits we all along had received at the hand of God, and to rejoice in that great privilege, of a resigned dependence upon God, which alone is able to free the mind both from fearful doubts and wavering hopes, whereby generally such are haunted and hurried about, as for want of resignation, are left to their own shifts. Hereupon we put up our petitions, unanimously extolling the name of the Lord for his infinite goodness, and resigned our want to his fatherly protection. That very hour the Lord was pleased to incline the heart of a patron to relieve our want the next morning, giving a particular charge to some of his attendants to remember him of it. Accordingly the next day he sent three hundred crowns. Upon which occasion, I think fit to take notice, that a particular juncture of circumstances, working both from within and without, was observable in this affair, which rendered the providence of God more conspicuous at this time. In the year 1701, a certain lady offered to bestow every year as much salt as the hospital wanted. No sooner had she resolved on this, but another was moved hereby to send some corn for the benefit of the hospital. About June 1701, our flock beginning to decay, a person, who would not be known, presented us with five and twenty crowns,

and a General paid down the sum of an hundred crowns, which was followed with a gift of six sent by a Professor of Divinity. But (O how faithful is God!) when all this was not sufficient to defray the necessary charges, I just then received two letters of advice by the post; in one whereof I was told, that two hundred and fifty crowns should be paid down for the relief of the hospital. This sum came from a certain doctor of physic beyond sea, who ordered the payment thereof here; and I must needs say, it gave me no small encouragement; for I thought, "The Lord will rather excite some good souls beyond sea to assist us, than to let us suffer any want." The other letter of advice promised seventy crowns, which were collected far from the place in a charity-box by some friends for the relief of the hospital.

Soon after this the Lord inclined also the heart of a person in England, bountifully to disburse the sum of three hundred crowns for the hospital, which, by a bill of exchange, was sent hither. The Lord remember this benefit! I must say, that this support coming from abroad, proved a fresh instance both of the admirable providence of God, and of his perpetual care for relief.

About Harvest we met with a wonderful train of trials and deliverances: for though a certain minister had sent in twelve crowns, acquainting us withal, that a certain person had designed them for the hospital, who desired in the mean time the prayers of our poor in a certain concern they were then engaged in, and some other small sums fell in, yet all this seemed too little to carry us through the present want. But soon after a student brought forty crowns in silver, and five ducats in gold from a person whose name he would not tell, desiring only a receipt, which, while I was writing, a godly minister came to see me, and praised the Lord, when he heard after what manner our want was just then supplied, offering me at the same time a parcel of silver-lace, which a gentlewoman, now growing sensible of her vanities, had given him for the relief of our hospital; she having ript them off from her fine clothes, wherewith she heretofore usually endeavoured to adorn herself in the eye of the world, with positive order, that we should not sell it till we had burnt it, for fear that somebody else would apply it to the same ill use of gratifying their pride. But all this was soon spent in that extremity to which we were reduced. When the steward came for money, I had but a crown to give him; and soon after, when he importuned me again, I told him: "He had received the last crown yesterday; and I had not a farthing left." He asked, "What he should do with the man that used to cleave the wood, and the woman that cleaned the children; for, being poor people, they would sadly want their money?" adding, "If there was but one crown to be had, he would make shift." I replied, "There was not so much now in store; but the Lord knew it was an hospital for the poor, and that he had nothing for its maintenance." 'Tis true, says he; and so away he goeth pretty comfortable. Coming within sight of the hospital, he sees a waggon before it laden with corn, which one of our benefactors had caused to be conveyed thither; (knowing nothing of the want we then were reduced to) at which sight the steward was surprised with joy, exceedingly admiring the wonderful providence of God. Soon after he got also together the little money he wanted for the cleaver of the wood

and the woman that cleaned the children; and so was happily carried through the difficulties he at that time did lie under. It hath often happened, that some persons having only heard or read some account either of the good design of the undertaking, or of the wonderful ways by which the Lord supported us, have presently found themselves inclined to cast in something into our treasury for our relief: for instance, a certain nobleman hearing some passages of God's providence over this work, freely offered to pay down yearly the sum of twenty crowns: and he has been as good as his word.

In the year 1706, the account of the hospital was done into English at large, and published at London; and soon after about one hundred and fifty rix dollars were sent over from England, which some charitable gentlemen, upon reading the account of the Divine Providence over the hospital, were inclined to contribute towards its support. I must needs here mention, that the providence of God in the whole undertaking, hath been more illustriously visible, in regard of a train of many particular circumstances, and especially his inclining all sorts of people to an hearty concurrence in supporting the work after it was once begun, nay even such from whom (being themselves under straits) no such thing was expected. To these charitable persons we may apply St Paul's expression, 2 Cor. viii. 1, 2, wherein he commendeth the Macedonians, "That in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. For to their power, yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves." Some who were not able to contribute towards our support with ready money endeavoured to supply that defect either by personal labours, or by kind intercessions with others, or by good advice, and other acts of charity. Country-people have caused pewter-cups to be made at their own charge, and conveyed to us for the use of the hospital; and several pewterers have done the like; others have brought pewter dishes and plates; others vessels of copper for the same end. Several country women have readily bestowed some flax and thread; others have willingly made it into linen; and others employed themselves in making shirts of it for the use of the poor. Now and then some well-wishers to the hospital have clothed some of the children from head to foot; others would send in some of their corn after reaping; others would send meal, fish, cheese, and other supplies; others have made over to the hospital a parcel of books, which proved the foundation of erecting a library for the use of our poor students employed in the hospital; others would turn whole suits of finery into money, and clothe the poor therewith; others have sent hither, and others have sold silver-spoons, silver-buttons, silver-cups, gold-rings set with stones, golden-bracelets, neck-laces of gold, to support the poor withal. And such things have commonly fallen out, when great want and necessity have excited us to pray for relief. I forbear to mention all the small sums of money falling in now and then, which yet are not forgotten before the Lord, or in my heart, especially since my design only is to give at present some discovery of the gracious dealings, and providential footsteps of our great God, for which that may suffice which has been said already. In the mean time I protest that I do not despise the gift of any, let it be never so small; because I keep my eyes on

the one hand fixed on him who inclines the heart; and on the other, on the inward principle of that sincere and cordial affection, whence such charitable emanations are derived; so that now and then a few groats are as necessary and acceptable, as hundreds of crowns at some other times.

I will mention one branch more of this train of Divine Providences, and then I shall have done with this chapter; and that is, "The sincere and hearty concurrence of those that engaged with me in this affair, and their joint endeavours in promoting the good of their fellow creatures." This happily prevented all worldly by-ends relating to secular advantages and self-interest, and which are more agreeable to the character of an hireling, than of a faithful labourer in Christ's vineyard. Likewise all manner of debates, strife, envy, and other sinister practices of that nature, too apt to crowd in and to hinder the business of reformation. They have on the contrary rather borne one another's burden, and not only taken what care they could of the things and persons which have been committed to the particular charge of each of them, but have mutually encouraged one another, when they observed that their fellow-labourer could carry on the affair in which he was engaged, to a greater perfection. In this condition of affairs they had many opportunities for the exercise of faith and charity; and as on one hand, they gained much experience under these many trials they met with, so on the other, they have been supported by many visible marks of God's favour and kindness attending their endeavours. I confess, I more admire this branch of God's Providence, than the richest mines of silver and gold, and justly enumerate it among the means, whereby the whole undertaking has been begun and thus far carried on. Nay, all the supplies providence hath so wonderfully bestowed upon us, together with the best and most wisely contrived methods to carry on such a work, would hardly have answered expectation, if faithful men had been wanting for the management thereof. And I do not doubt in the least of God's blessing and good success, so long as He shall vouchsafe us such labourers, as impartially consult their consciences, and stand free from all engagement to self-interest. Whereas, on the contrary, if covetous hirelings, (who have no other aim in view in what they do, than to get a livelihood) or such as affect popular applause, should be entrusted with the management thereof, nothing would more certainly ensue than a sudden overthrow of the whole affair; and this makes me pray before-hand, "That the Lord would take it into his own protection, and never permit it to fall into the hands of such unfaithful stewards."

This account, I think, may give the reader some insight into the many difficulties and trials Providence hath carried us through, whilst we have been employed about this affair. For tho' our poor have not suffered want; yet we have met with such hours of probation, in which not only I had nothing, but could not so much as espy any means by which we might be supplied. When I first began to go about this business, I thought indeed that the Lord, in the first appearance or moment of our poverty would presently relieve our necessity. But I did not then know the meaning of that expression: "Mine hour is not yet come;" Providence tracing now and then such untrodden paths, that human reason is not able to follow them. And this proves a comment upon

David's saying: "But thou, O Lord, how long?" It has often happened, that I had not one farthing left, though the next day the steward was to go to market to buy provision for about three hundred persons. Such things as were not absolutely necessary, have been turned into money to buy bread. We happened once to be in the utmost want, when the steward finding me void of all relief, went back with as heavy heart, to see whether he could scrape together two groats to buy some candles, that the children might not be forced to sit in the dark, and be found nothing till night came on. And so it has often fallen out, that the steward having given me notice of the present want, has been obliged to go empty away; and I must confess, that the frame of my mind was not then perplexed at the want we were in, though by sharing the burthen the other lay under, I was not a little affected with the crossness of his circumstances. And such pressing necessities have often afflicted us, till all hope of help and relief was expired, and human reason did not see any manner of probability of being delivered from such straits.

I cannot forbear to mention here one instance more of a particular trial that fell upon the steward, when the hospital was just building, and of the extraordinary means whereby his sinking spirits were raised above the then pressing difficulties. The substance is as follows:—When the building of the hospital was just begun, and the workmen employed to carry off the rubbish, the steward or overseer had to grapple with abundance of difficulties; the labourers one while wanting stones, another while sand or lime, tired him very much with their importunate demands; he not being in a condition then to afford a present supply, because there were neither horses of our own, nor the least appearance of getting any hired for that use, it being just in the height of harvest. This now very much discouraged him, and cast him into sorrow and perplexity, when finding his thoughts overcast with deep care and concern, he got away into his closet, to be for a while by himself alone, and in some measure to recollect the scattered powers of his mind. He was but just retired, and venting himself to God in sighs and groanings, when the master brick-layer followed him at his heels, and called him back out of his privacy, telling him withal, that stones and other necessities were immediately to be provided, otherwise the workmen would cease from their work, and yet demand their full pay. This cast him down yet lower; however, away he went with the brick-layer, though he did not know how to break through these difficulties that surrounded him. When he came to the place where the men were at work, one of the labourers happened to find a piece of coin in the rubbish that was digged up. This he offered to the steward, who took it, and looking upon it he found the following words impressed thereon:—

"*Jehovah, Conditor, Condita, Coronide, Coronet.*" in English: "May Jehovah the builder crown this building with a happy conclusion!"

The reading of this inscription raised his sinking faith to that degree, that with great presence and readiness of mind he went to work again, hoping now that he should live to see the building brought to perfection, though at present, while they were but breaking ground, we had to encounter with many difficulties. In the mean time he contrived a way to get together such necessities as the brick-layer

had minded him of, and within a few days it happened, that two horses were made over to us, and some time after two more, and at last another, to help forward the building. And these instances I was willing here to set down, that I might give the reader some idea both of the pressing trials and happy deliverances we hitherto have met with; though I am sufficiently convinced, that narratives of this kind will seem over-simple and fanciful to the great wits of the age.

As for the spiritual benefits, which may be expected to accrue from such endeavours, and which we are chiefly to regard, they may easily be guessed at, considering the main scope of the whole undertaking, which is not to lay up provision for the body, but to save souls, and convert them to life everlasting; and so to use the former as a means only subservient for obtaining the latter.

Persons of candour and unbiased judgment may, without much difficulty, penetrate into the bottom of this affair, by taking an impartial survey of the whole method whereby the work is carried on. The end we aim at, and the means we make use of for obtaining the same, are all of a piece. The word of God is instilled into the children from their youth up. Unfeigned faith in our Lord Jesus Christ is laid for a foundation, and a real sense of Godliness, attended with a conscientious behaviour, are the most material points, to the obtaining whereof, our earnest endeavours are constantly directed. As near as is possible, such men are chosen to manage the work of inspection and education as we can safely rely upon, for their candour and integrity (as well as ability) on that behalf; expecting that they will render themselves worthy examples both by their words and their actions. And if it happens that we unexpectedly mistake in our election, the person convicted of any misdemeanour is obliged to make room for one that is better qualified. We prevent also, as much as in us lies, the spreading of infectious examples in the hospital to save the children the better from the danger their tenderness exposes them to; and we take it very kindly, when any body offers to assist us with good advice, towards forming a sound and complete scheme of education, and training up children to it.

Two hours are set apart every day, wherein all manner of poor, blind, lame, and impotent persons, both such as live amongst us, and such as come from abroad; as likewise exiles, and such as have lost their goods by fire, war, &c., and, in a word, all sorts of distressed people, are carefully instructed in the principles of religion, admonished, comforted, and at length supplied with some bodily relief. And this, I think, every one will allow to be a method useful for the public good.

Many poor orphans, for whose education no body was in the least concerned, and who otherways of necessity had been drawn away into numberless disorders and most heinous sins, have been withheld from the dangerous courses, which a beggar's life might have exposed them to, and thus instructed in the Word of God, that in time they may become good Christians and profitable subjects, which, without question, must turn to the general good of the kingdom.

Many boys of good natural parts and endowments by reason of which they might be made fit for great undertakings, but for want of education, lying buried under the rubbish of ignorance, are now found

out, and their pregnant genius (which would enable them to become great instruments of mischief) cultivated, and polished for the common benefit.

And what else may such foundations be more properly accounted then seminaries set up for the general good of the country? Here a foundation is laid, for training up good workmen in all trades, good schoolmasters, nay, good preachers and counsellors; who of course hereafter will think themselves the more obliged to serve every one, because they have both an experimental knowledge of God's Providence from their youth up, and the benefit of a sound and solid education.

By such undertakings, the country will be cleared by degrees of stubborn beggars, thieves, murderers, highwaymen, foot-pads, and the whole pack of loose and debauched people, who (as we may find if we search into the true reasons of such overflowing wickedness) commonly let loose the reins to disorder and impiety, because they never imbibed so much as the least tincture of a good education. Now an undertaking of this nature may, in tract of time, put a stop to the fierce torrent of such headstrong vices, and so conduce both to the spiritual and temporal good of the whole country.

By such visible instances of alms well bestowed, many may be encouraged the more willingly to contribute their charitable assistance towards the support of so necessary a work, who perhaps could not be otherways induced thereto by the most persuasive rhetoric, without such real demonstrations of the benefit resulting from their charity. By such charitable foundations, people will be melted down more and more into a gentle and compassionate temper of mind, and have the untractableness and stubbornness of their natural disposition softened into mutual acts of charity.

'Tis moreover a means to wear off, at least in some measure, that stain which Christian religion hath contracted in these our unhappy days; viz., that there is such a crowd of poor helpless people in the midst of these who stile themselves Christians: whereas the Lord requires of his people, that there should be no poor among them. Hence it is no small honour to a city or country, if the poor be regularly managed and maintained.

The prayers of poor fatherless children, and of all such as enjoy the benefits of hospitals, are the strongest wall and fortress to defend a city and land from the invasion of any adversary; as on the contrary, the tears or sighs of poor distressed people, who commonly express their grievances in that manner, when they lie neglected under extreme necessity, draw down the dreadful displeasure of Almighty God, and against that unhappy nation wherein such cruelty is practised.

A great many students, being every day employed in teaching the children, are prepared for a skilful management of schools up and down in the country, and having been used to an exact method, and a plain familiar way of discoursing people, even of the meanest capacity, they may prove instrumental to effect in some measure the reformation of schools, so highly necessary at this time.

And, in fine, every one, I think, will confess, that a town or country is so much the more abundantly blessed with temporal advantages, by how much the more effectual care is taken for the maintenance of the poor; experience itself bearing witness, that these governments are the most flourishing, which

concern themselves most in providing well for the poor.

Extract of a Letter from PROFESSOR FRANCK to Dr COTTON MATHEW, in New England, dated December 19, 1714, prefixed to Pietas Hallensis, Part III.

Reverend Sir,—It was the 1st of April, 1713, when I received your letter, dated the 10th of January, 1712, in the West Indies, together with the packet of books, and the piece of gold accompanying them: but as for those you sent me the 28th of May, 1711, (the copy whereof I find also inclosed in the packet just mentioned) they are not come to my hands. Both your letters have been very acceptable to me, not only on account of the present of money and books, so unexpectedly sent to our orphan house from the remote parts of the West Indies; but especially because I perceived you are of the number of those (of which, God be praised, I know not a few) who make it their business to promote the honour and glory of God on all occasions. This I have observed, partly from the books you have published concerning the propagation and increase of the knowledge of Christ, and partly from that pure pleasure and satisfaction which you say you took in reading the narrative relating to some establishments set up here, for the same end and purpose. And hence it is, that the encouragement you have given me, in a preface to one of your treatises, (together with your good wishes and prayers, whereof you assure us) hath wonderfully excited both myself and my fellow-labourers to extol the unspeakable goodness of God on that account. And for this divine mercy, which hath inspired you with so Christian a temper, I return my unfeigned thanks to the Lord, beseeching him that he will give you grace to continue steadfast in the same mind, and more and more establish you in the resolution of enlarging his kingdom in the country where he has been pleased to place you.

I hope you will be agreeably surprised into the praises of God, after you have read in the account here following, that the establishment set on foot in this country, have received considerable improvements since the time the book, commonly known by the title of *Footsteps of Providence*, was published in English, and entitled, *Pietas Hallensis*. As to the orphan-house itself, it appears from the English preface prefixed to the second part of the abstract of the said book, that about the latter end of the year 1709, there were maintained three hundred and sixty persons; whereas, at present, the number is increased to above one hundred more, who receive their daily dinner and supper in the house. There are at present about a hundred poor boys, and thirty girls, besides the apprentices employed in the printing-house, the library, and in the apothecary's shop; who, together with the servants belonging to the several stewards in their offices, amount to twenty-four: all which have their diet, that is, breakfast, dinner, and supper, with the necessary clothes provided them in the hospital. The rest, who are here freely boarded, are either poor students of divinity, or such scholars as have their schooling in the orphan-house. The number of such students is increased at present to one hundred and fifty, whom we call **ORDINARY COMMONERS**, having a place assigned them at the table, at their first reception into the house. For this benefice, they are obliged either to teach two

in transcribing such sermons as are publicly preached: or else some other matters relating to the good of the public. Twelve of these students have been maintained hitherto at the expence returned from England; the late Queen Anne having allowed a sum of money for that purpose. Of this, after her death, a certain account was sent us¹. The students boarded at this table, learn and teach the English tongue, and turn English books into German, &c., from whence this body of commoners has the name of the **ENGLISH TABLE**. The rest of the divinity-students and scholars are called **EXTRAORDINARY**, who have also a tolerable subsistence allowed them, though there be no determinate number of them.

But I must not pass over in silence the bookseller's shop and the printing presses, which have hitherto proved highly serviceable for promoting religion both at home and abroad. Abundance of books, tending to revive a spirit of primitive piety, have been all along published from the hospital's press, and attended with a singular blessing in the conversion of the readers. I will mention but one instance of this nature, which, I hope, may prove both edifying and entertaining to you, and which hath happened at a vast distance too; I mean in Siberia, a country to which many Swedish captives have been confined since the battle of Pultowa. It is as follows:

In the year 1708, after the Swedes in Poland, and other adjacent territories, had carried all before them by a continued course of victories, they made, at last, an eruption into Saxony, where they subsisted near a twelvemonth, their King having taken up his quarters in a village which is but a few miles distant from the city of Halle. Having quitted, at last, the electorate of Saxony, they returned into Poland, and endeavoured to carry their victorious arms into Russia, with their King at the head of them, leading them on every where by his presence. Being arrived at last to the uttermost parts of Ukraina, near the town of Pultowa, they found themselves reduced to a want of all necessaries on one hand, and surrounded with a numerous army of Muscovites on the other. It was then they were put to the necessity of engaging in battle with their enemies, the event whereof proved very fatal on the side of the Swedes; the greatest part of their army being taken prisoners by the Russians, and afterwards dispersed up and down through their vast dominions. This action happened in the year 1709, in the month of June. The King himself, having happily escaped the hands of his enemies, retired into the Turkish dominions, with a few that attended him; and, having resided there above five years, returned at last into Pomerania the 22d of November last. The Swedes, whom the Russians had made prisoners in the said action, were compelled to go into Muscovy; where some of them were ordered to continue, whilst others were carried away into the kingdom of Casan, and others again to Siberia itself, being every where exposed to great hardships and miseries. Under these dismal circumstances, many of them were powerfully wrought upon by the Divine Grace, and began seriously to reflect on their former life and condition. And truly what is said, Isa. xxvi. 16, may be fitly applied to the circumstances which they then were under: "Lord, in trouble have they visited thee; they poured out a

¹ A Prince George of Denmark gave at one time a thousand pounds.

prayer, when thy chastening was upon them." Of his matter I had ample relation sent me in a letter, subscribed in the name of all the rest, by several captains and ensigns: it was writ at Tobolsko, commonly called Tobolsko) the metropolis of Siberia, and dated in June, 1713. The substance of this letter is very remarkable upon several accounts; but I will content myself to insert here but a few passages, relating chiefly to the more interior operations of the good Spirit of God upon their minds. "After our infinitely good God, by his ineffable mercy, and ardent desire to save souls, hath suffered us to be carried prisoners to this place, and, at the same time given us some knowledge of the blindness of our hearts, we cannot but wonder how it was possible, we should trust to Divine Mercy, whilst we lived in a constant course of sinning, and conformed to all the fashions of a profane and impious world; nay, that this presumption could so far influence us, as perhaps to undergo death itself, on account of so strong a delusion, but no sooner were we touched with a sense of our own misery, by the lively power of Christ, (of which we were altogether ignorant) but we began to pant after the grace of God by most fervent desires; and it happened then very providentially, that one book or other, published at Halle, did happily come into our hands; by the reading whereof, we found ourselves so highly edified in this captivity, that we wish the Lord may give us grace to preserve the blessed fruit and effect thereof to our happy eternity!" Not long after, I received another letter, subscribed by the aforesaid officers, and thirty-two other persons. It contained an answer to what I had writ them in return to their first, and explained more at large what before they had mentioned but briefly. Other letters have been sent us from the town of Moscow and Archangel, confirming the same account we had received before, of the pious motions observed in many Swedish soldiers dispersed through Moscow and Casan. And of this, Reverend Sir, I thought to give you a few hints at present, to the end that you may praise the Lord for his marvellous works, and his unspeakable mercy bestowed on many souls in foreign parts.

Whilst I mention some of the Divine blessings attending the books printed in the hospital here; give me leave to acquaint you also with the impression of the New Testament in two divers languages, published in those latter years. The one is the Sclavonian; and the other is the vulgar Greek, with the original text added to it. This last mentioned edition came out in the year 1710, the charges being born by the Queen Dowager of Prussia, and the book itself designed for the use of the Greek churches: who, by reason of the Turks, under which they groan, are but meanly provided with copies of these Divine oracles. There was indeed another edition of the New Testament, printed in vulgar Greek at London, about the beginning of this present century; but the original text being wanted in that edition, it was supposed, that both texts, fitly joined together, might prove both more useful and agreeable to the churches in the Levant.

As for the Scalvonian New Testament, it hath been reprinted in these years at the charge of some friends, and is designed for the edification of the Bohemians, chiefly of those that are settled in Hungary. This undertaking was judged highly serviceable for the good of this nation: for, as the Papists do not allow the Protestants (or at least not

without many restrictions) the free exercise of their religion ; so it cannot be expected they should grant them a free use of the press, to publish books for the service of their own schools and churches. After this was happily finished, the like care was taken about John Arndt's books of *True Christianity* ; which being done into Sclavonic, are now actually in the press, in order to be disposed of for the improvement and benefit of the same nation. But as the Divine Providence hath thus supplied sundry nations with the book, containing the mysteries of salvation : so Germany hath had a great share in these providential mercies, relating to the Word of God in our native language. This hath been effected after a very agreeable manner, of which I cannot but add a brief account in this place :

A gentleman of the noble family, and, what is more, spiritually born again from above, I mean Charles Hildebrand, baron of Canstein, a true lover of all sincere servants of God, published a proposal in the year 1710, exhibiting a method in what manner the entire Bible, as well as the New Testament by itself, might be printed and purchased at a very moderate price, for the benefit of the poor. The substance of this proposal was : that such a number of types should be cast, as might compose so many pages as the whole book did contain ; and then, that all the forms thus composed be preserved entire for all the succeeding impressions. Many, so soon as they came to be acquainted with the design, did highly approve of it, as of a thing, whereby, in time, they might see a Bible printed off with as great care and exactness as the study of men was able to make it. In effect, some readily contributed several sums of money for rendering practicable a project of so public a use and advantage. In the year 1712, the beginning was made with publishing the New Testament, and the Psalter, which was joined to it. And truly, Sir, within the compass of thirty months, there were wrought off no less than seven editions, making up in all a number of 38,000 copies, and sold for about four pence a piece unbound, or for about the sixty-third part of an English pound sterling. The whole Bible printed in octavo hath had two editions, wherein there have been wrought off ten thousand copies ; and in the month of March of the year ensuing, an edition is coming forth in twelves, whereof five thousand copies will be published at once. The price of both volumes is so very inconsiderable, that for about twenty shillings English, there may be bought thirteen copies of the larger size, and twenty-one of the smaller. I do not doubt, reverend Sir, but you will greatly wonder at so uncommon a providence, which hath attended us in publishing the divine oracles at so low and easy a rate. It is certain that many, even in Germany, have been highly taken with this enterprize, as tending so much to the promoting of Christian knowledge among the poorer sort of people. It is true, that for these twenty or five and twenty years past, wherein the Lord hath visited these countries anew with a singular measure of the light of his knowledge, there hath been published so vast a number of German Bibles, and of the New Testament by itself, as hath hardly been done from the time of the reformation down to this present age. Hardly did a man ever hear that Bibles or New Testaments were disposed of at so cheap a rate as now they are vended in Germany ; so that now the meanest servant, let them be never so poor and in-

digent, may easily save a few pence for buying at least the New Testament, for their improvement in Christian knowledge. To which I must add, that several other towns have, in some degree, followed the example set them by the above said gentleman, and found means to print and sell the New Testament, though not quite so cheap as we afford it here, yet a great deal cheaper than it is usually sold by the ordinary printers and booksellers.

I could relate many other particulars of the establishments here, wherein they have proved an encouragement to others to undertake the like : but I'll mention but one or two more, out of a great number that might be produced. As soon as the orphan-house was finished here, there was a considerable stir in several cities and towns in Germany, to set about the same business of providing for the poor. A pious minister at Augsburg having read the historical narration of our hospital, entitled, *the Footsteps of Providence*, resolved immediately to concern himself more earnestly about the poor and fatherless in that place. After he had seriously recommended the design to the magistrates, he received into his care four poor persons, and employed the tutor of his own children to instruct them in the principles of religion. This pious beginning was blessed with so visible a success, that within the compass of about one year, the number of four increased and multiplied into fourscore persons. This happened in the year 1702. The poor were lodged in an house, freely bestowed for that use by another charitable gentleman. However, in the month of December, 1703, when the city of Augsburg was, by the French and Bavarians, besieged, this house was, with many others, reduced to ashes ; upon which the poor were dismissed for that time. However, after a little while, God, in his infinite mercy, provided them with another lodging again, and supported them to that degree, that their house proved a shelter both to many poor inhabitants, at that troublesome time, and to such soldiers, as being made prisoners of war were carried thither, and found help and comfort among the poor. Soon after, when the enemy was obliged to quit the town, the design was set on a better foundation, and hath been considerably improved ever since. Not to mention at present the city of Nuremberg, where a faithful minister of the Gospel hath found means to get the children of the poor parents instructed both in the fundamentals of religion, as well as in reading, writing, and other such necessary improvements.

In the year 1710, the following thing happened, worthy of our observations : a countryman, who, by driving a waggon, had hitherto gained his livelihood, being brought some time since to a solicitous care about his own soul, and its eternal salvation, found himself so deeply affected with the deplorable ignorance of so vast a number of people, that he formed a project of saving from eternal ruin, at least, some of the ignorant youths, wherewith the country did abound, and to give them such wholesome instructions as he thought proper for obtaining that end. He took up thoughts of building a house for their reception, and then to appoint a master for regulating their life and manners ; but seeing himself altogether destitute of such means as were necessary for accomplishing that design, he, without any more ado, sold waggon and horses, in order to build a house fit for his purpose. Many laughed at the poor man's enterprize, and others maliciously opposed it : but

himself, with unwearied application, pursuing the work, and relying on the power and goodness of God, for seasonable assistance, made his way through all lets and obstructions, and raised such a building as he supposed would answer the design in hand. There are now twenty children in it, who are not only provided with clothes and diet, but have also an able master set over them, to form their lives, and to train them up in the fear and knowledge of God. They have no other fund to depend upon, than what is cast in by occasional contributions of good and charitable Christians. I could add many other such instances of a more enlarged spirit of charity, which, of late, hath appeared in Germany, among Protestants of both denominations; but what is said may suffice, at present, to give you a taste of the good motions tending to a revival of practical piety in these parts, and particularly to a more careful education of poor and fatherless children.

However, I cannot but entertain you on this occasion with another charitable work, but of a very singular nature, and extending itself as far as the coast of Coromandel in the East Indies. You may perhaps remember, reverend Sir, that in the treatise which gives an account of the hospital here, there is up and down mention made of some Danish Missionaries sent to the coast of Coromandel, to attempt the conversion of the Malabar Heathens in those parts. Several pieces have been published in English relating to the rise and progress of this affair, some whereof are perhaps fallen into your hands by this time. I'll only subjoin here a few general hints of the whole undertaking, in case the aforesaid papers be not come to your sight. In the year 1705, two young candidates of Divinity, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutsch, natives of Germany, were sent by Frederick IV., the present King of Denmark, to the East Indies for the end above-mentioned. They arrived safely at Tranquebar in the month of June, 1706, and immediately applied themselves to learn the Portuguese and Malabar tongues.

The latter of these languages, though exceedingly hard and intricate, was, within eight months time, so far mastered by Mr Ziegenbalg, that he began to preach to the Malabar Heathens in the same, and, by this means, to explain unto them the method of salvation. In effect, God did not leave their endeavours without a blessing; for, soon after, some of these Heathens, being wrought upon by the word of salvation, did shake off their Pagan idolatry, and readily came over to Christianity. And this hopeful beginning proved a new encouragement to these labourers, to go on with the work so happily set on foot, though not without toil and difficulty: however, after a little while, they found so many lets and impediments in their way, raised both by Heathens and Christians, as seemed to break the very first efforts tending to the conversion of the Heathens to the Church of Christ. The Pagans were generally possessed with an utter aversion to the Christian religion; and this for no other reason, but because they saw so much impiety and profaneness abounding among those that call themselves by this name. This was attended again with many other fatal consequences: for no sooner did a Heathen embrace the Christian faith, but he was for ever banished from all his former goods and possessions, and left to the wide world, to shift for himself. However, there were some other impediments thrown in their

way, far more obstructive to the propagation of the Gospel, than all what the Heathens could do to oppose it. Those impediments were started on the part of the Christians themselves, whose duty it had been to aid and support so laudable an undertaking. But in the midst of these various obstacles, raised originally by the common enemy of souls, God was pleased to excite many persons in Germany, to favour the labours of the missionaries; especially after they were convinced, with what candour and diligence they endeavoured to manage the work committed to their trust. And truly considerable sums of money were required for settling and improving the several branches of this constitution: it was necessary that a Church should be built, that charity-schools should be set up, and all manner of Malabar and Christian books transcribed, for the improvement of the whole design.

About the latter end of the year 1708, when the work increased under their hands, three persons more were sent over on the same errand, viz., two missionaries, and one student of Divinity; the latter whereof had been employed in our charity schools here, and thereby acquired a good method of instructing children. They arrived at Tranquebar in July, 1709, in order to join the other two in the same design. It was about this time, or soon after, that these small endeavours, tending to the conversion of the Heathens in the East, came to be taken notice of in England, by the gentlemen of the worthy Society set up at London for Propagating Christian Knowledge. In the beginning of the year 1711, the said Society was pleased to write a letter to the Missionaries; and having chose them corresponding members of their body, invited them in very obliging terms, to a fixed correspondence by letters. They were, at the same time, supplied with a printing press, a font of Latin types, and other necessities, at the expence of the English nation; the whole being accompanied with a present of fifty pounds in money, for carrying on the better the design in hand. They conclude their letter with the following exhortation to a steady continuance of the whole work once begun: "But you, Rev. Sirs, accept in good part, both this brief account, (relating to the several undertakings set up in Great Britain for propagating religion at home and abroad) and invitation to a future correspondence by letters. Let our endeavours here in England, excite you faithfully to pursue the work you are engaged in. The greater number of those is, that run with you the same race, the more you ought to press forward towards the proposed end. Do not shrink back in your minds, whenever the enemy of souls assaults you, either with open violence, or endeavours to throw snares in your way, by his wonted craft and subtlety; leaving no stone unturned to stifle the work of God, if possible, in its first rise and infancy. Truth always comes off with triumph; and though it be pressed down for a while, yet nothing is able to oppress or destroy it. Let your victory be in the humility of Jesus Christ, and let universal love and benignity arm and surround you with patience, as with a shield, which is able to break all such weapons as may be lifted up against it." What an uncommon encouragement the Missionaries received from this moving exhortation, and the unexpected supply attending it, doth manifestly appear, from a letter they sent me in the year 1712. And truly it could not but give a new life to a work incumbered

with so many lets and disappointments, and which seemed to threaten it more and more on all sides.

Whilst these helps were sent over from England, for the benefit of the mission; we, in Germany, did whatever we could to prepare a font of Malabar types, in order to print off such books as were thought necessary for the church and schools gathering on the coast of Coromandel. We had an alphabet, or set of Malabar letters, transmitted to us from the East Indies, which served for a model, or pattern, in engraving and casting off a sufficient number of those characters. With these types, we printed off, as a specimen, the *Apostles' Creed*, together with a Latin and German translation thereof. After this, we committed the whole care of the press to Mr John Berlin, a student of divinity, who had learned the art of printing in the Orphan-house here, and thereby qualified himself for that employment. To him was joined Mr Jo. Theophilus Adler, a printer come from Leipsic, in Saxony, who freely offered himself to go over to the East Indies, and, jointly with Mr Berlin, to manage the printing part for the use of the mission. We readily embraced this offer, and looked upon it as a finger of Providence, thereby to settle this work on a good and promising foundation; since this person was not only acquainted with the art of printing, but had also a sufficient skill in graving and casting off the necessary letters. They set out from hence about the latter end of the year 1712, for England; and in February, 1713, having put themselves on board the English fleet, pursued their journey to India, where they happily landed the 29th of June following. Lately we received letters from them, with some specimens of their first labours among the Heathens, and the agreeable advice, that the New Testament, done into Malabarick by Mr Ziegenbalg, was then actually put to the press. And thus much may suffice, Rev. Sir, for giving you an information of a matter tending to the conversion of the Malabar Heathens in the East Indies; which, I hope, will prove no less acceptable than the other parts of this epistolary narrative.

Providence hath cast your lot in America, a country abounding with numerous and barbarous nations, who, living without the pales of the Christian church, stand in need as much as those in the East, of the saving light of the Gospel. I do not doubt but it would be very agreeable to our Missionaries, if a letter from your hand did give them a full account of all such methods as hitherto have been made use of for converting your West India Heathens to the Christian faith. And I heartily wish, that the like account may be also imparted to us with the first opportunity. I have in my hands a letter, dated at Boston, July 12, 1687, and writ by one Crescentius Mather, to John Leusden, heretofore, a famous philologist at Utrecht in Holland. I suppose the writer to be one of your relations. In this letter he mentions one John Eliot, and his unwearied labours, in spreading Christian knowledge among the Heathens there. He speaks likewise of some entire congregations, made up of such persons as were gained over to our holy religion by the diligence of that labourer. All which I have read with singular satisfaction, and wish to be fuller informed of the present state of all such endeavours as have a tendency that way. I should have concluded my letter here, were it not that I thought a word or two relating to our University, might possibly give you

some satisfaction. As for the whole university in general, I shall only say, that many look upon it as the most flourishing which is in Germany at this time. In the theological faculty, I have four fellow-labourers, the names whereof are as follows:—D. Joachim Justus Breithaupt, D. Paul Anthoy, Mr John Henry Michaelis, and Mr. Joachim Lannius. We live by God's blessing, in the bonds of hearty love and unity; and, by these combined endeavours, carry on the work we are entrusted with, according to that measure of grace every one hath bestowed upon him. Those that are committed to our care, we endeavour to render not only learned, but also truly pious, that the Church of Christ may be furnished in time with workmen rightly cutting the word of truth, and proving ensamples to the flock over which they are set. And though, in so doing, we have drawn upon us the odium of the profane and wicked, yet hath the Lord given us victory hitherto, and we confide in him, that he will grant also the same hereafter.

As for the charitable presents you have been pleased to bestow on our hospital here, though the first of two you mention is not come to my hands) I am, Rev. Sir, unfeignedly thankful; and beseech you to accept of the treatise here inclosed, as a small token of my candour and gratitude. I assure you, that from the time I have received your letters, frequent mention hath been made of your name in my applications to the Lord, and hope I shall not be wanting in so Christian a duty, even hereafter. And I do most heartily entreat you, that according to your promise, you would reciprocally shew the same Christian favour to me, and my fellow-labourers in the work of the Lord: the consequence whereof will be, that so vast a distance of places, our hearts will be, nevertheless, more and more united into one; till we shall see one another in these celestial mansions. Which, that God would grant us, for the sake of our common Saviour, Jesus Christ, is the hearty wish of, &c.,

AUGUST. HERMAN. FRANCE.

*Halle, in Saxony, }
December the 19th, 1714. }*

CHAPTER V.

OF THE SOCIETIES FOR REFORMATION AND PRO-
FAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, WHICH AROSE IN
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN THE LATTER
END OF THIS, AND BEGINNING OF NEXT CEN-
TURY.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.—PROFANENESS AND DEBAUCHERY GENERALLY
DISCOURAGED AND SUPPRESSED IN ENGLAND ABOUT THE MID-
DLE OF THIS CENTURY.—AFTERWARDS THEY OVERFLOWED
LIKE A FLOOD.—THE RISE AND SUCCESS OF THE ENDEAVOURS
OF A FEW PRIVATE PERSONS TO GET THE LAWS EXECUTED
AGAINST THEM.—THE DESIGN MEETS WITH OPPOSITION.—
BUT IS ENCOURAGED BY QUEEN MARY.—PROVIDENCE COUN-
TENANCES IT WITH REMARKABLE SUCCESS.—A SHORT AC-
COUNT OF THE ORIGINAL SOCIETY.—OF THE SECOND SOCIETY.
—THE THIRD.—THE FOURTH.—EIGHT MORE OF A DIFFERENT
CONSTITUTION, BUT LIKE DESIGN.—THIRTY-NINE RELIGIOUS
SOCIETIES OF ANOTHER KIND, OF WHICH AN ACCOUNT IS
GIVEN BY DR WOODWARD.—BESIDES THESE IN IRELAND.—
THE GREAT ADVANTAGES OF PIOUS PERSONS UNITING IN SO-
CITIES FOR CARRYING ON THIS WORK.—THE HAPPY FRUITS
OF IT IN LONDON AND DUBLIN.—SOMETHING OF THE SAME
SPIRIT IN SCOTLAND.—AN EARNEST PERSUASIVE TO SEAL IN
THIS WORK.

It may be hoped, that this plain discourse¹ will meet no other enemies than such as are likewise enemies to religion and virtue, and are lost to the sense of good and evil, since the only design of it is evidently to promote the true interest of religion. The observation has been long since made, that how many disputes soever there have been raised among the two various denominations of Christians, concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion, with respect either to faith or worship, it hath never been a dispute, whether the magistrate hath power to punish immoralities: the prosecution of men for their vices is not reckoned prosecution; it being as plainly the duty of the magistrate, from the Word of God, which obliges him to execute wrath upon those that do evil, as it is evident from the dismal effects of vice and wickedness in all ages, that laws against profaneness and debauchery are necessary for the preservation of communities, and that piety and virtue are requisite to their well-being; and that unrestrained vice and profaneness are as fatal to public societies, as they are destructive to private persons.

But though laws are necessary to the very being of communities, and good laws to their happiness, yet they cannot be supposed by any rational man, to be any more sufficient of themselves to procure the welfare of the body politic, without execution, than the best medicines can procure the health of the natural body, without the use and application of them. If therefore the execution of good laws be necessary, as is proved, to the welfare of communities; and those that concern matters of religion, as do those for the punishment of profaneness and debauchery, are allowed in a Christian country, to de-

serve the greatest regard, the interest of religion and the welfare of the community being so deeply concerned therein, it cannot be a matter of dispute, whether it becomes men that call themselves Christians, to promote the execution of such laws: nay, it cannot be well imagined, how men can have a zeal for the service of the great God of heaven and earth, or can have a due love to mankind, who have no regard to the honour of God, or welfare of their country. Now, what becomes all men in their several capacities to do in the promoting of the execution of our laws against profaneness and debauchery, my business, in the first place, is to show that it is practicable, and that it may be done by us of this nation; which I shall endeavour to prove, not only from what was done some years ago, in the times of usurpation, but from what hath been done within eight years past, in and about this city, and other parts of the kingdom. And, in the next place, I shall consider the particular obligations of some orders of men to give their hearty assistance in this pious work.

It is very well known, that, in the late times, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, open lewdness, and profanation of the Lord's day, were generally discouraged and suppressed. And it is as well known, to our shame, that those sins have not only since revived among us, by reason of the impunity of offenders, the countenance and preferment they have met with, and the contagion of great and ill-examples, but have been committed with great impudence, and without controul, without either shame, or the fear of the laws; so that they were seen and heard at noon-day, and in our open streets; and, as if we were resolved to out-do the impieties of the very Heathens, profaneness and even blasphemy, was too often the wit and entertainment of our scandalous play-houses, and sincere religion became the jest and scorn of our courts. And thus debauchery diffused itself throughout the whole body of the nation, till at last, our morals were so corrupted, that virtue and vice had with too many changed their names; it was reckoned breeding to swear, gallantry to be lewd, good humour to be drunk, and wit to despise sacred things; and it was enough to have rendered one suspected of fanaticism, or an abjectness of spirit, and a matter of reproach, not to suffer one's self to be carried away with this torrent of wickedness, and not to glory in those fashionable vices. Nay, it was thought an unpardonable rudeness, even for a clergyman, or magistrate, to reprove or punish one that was guilty of them, notwithstanding the solemn obligations of their oaths and vows to do it. And even after the accession of his present Majesty to the Crown though Popery immediately vanished, immorality and profaneness still kept their ground, as if they expected an establishment with our liberties after so long and peaceable a possession. Reformation was indeed talked of by some persons, as an excellent thing, and as a proper way of expressing our thankfulness to Almighty God for his mercies to this nation, and to procure a continuance of them to us, and to our posterity: but vice was looked upon as too formidable an enemy to be provoked, and public reformation was thought so difficult an undertaking, that those that gave it very good words, judged it not safe to set about it in the time of war, whilst there were so many in arms on the other side; and therefore they seemed to decline the thoughts of it till we should see the end of the uncertain war we were engaged in; though

¹ From the Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners in England and Ireland, with a Persuasive, &c., Fifth Edition, 1701. There are prefixed to this Book, 1. Approbations by a number of the nobility and Judges, as well as the clergy, above seventy in all. 2. An Address of the House of Commons to the King, for the suppressing of profaneness and vice. 3. The King's proclamation for preventing and punishing immorality and profaneness, Feb. 26th, 1697.

they were, I conceive, otherwise instructed by God's express command to the Jews: "When the host goeth forth against thine enemy, then keep thyself from every wicked thing." When things were in this dismal and almost desperate state, it came into the hearts, it seems, of five or six private gentlemen of the Church of England, to engage in this difficult and hazardous enterprise, who considering that the higher the tide of wickedness was, the more need there was of opposing it; that our crying sins were our greatest enemies, and most threatened our ruin; that we have always in force against them; and that they should have the laws of God with the prayers of good men on their side, resolved, whatever difficulties they met with, to make their efforts for promoting the execution of our laws against profaneness and debauchery, and the suppressing of them by advisable methods.

This was such an undertaking as we might well believe would soon alarm the enemy, but which the patrons of vice would make no doubt to defeat before any progress could be made; and which the prudent and wise men of the world, who rely on second causes, with too little regard to the first, the Almighty Creator and Governor of the world, "with whom (as King Asa expresses it in his prayer) it is nothing to help, whether with many or with those that have no power," would look on with pity, if not with derision; and so it proved, that the champions and advocates of debauchery put themselves in array to defend their wretched and infamous liberties: they set themselves to ridicule, to defame, and to oppose this design, and to "overthrow the hopes and expectations of the undertakers: and some others, whom in charity we would not look on as enemies of religion and virtue, though we cannot easily esteem them our friends, whose conduct has so greatly obstructed the progress of this design, consulting human prudence, or rather worldly policy, too much, and perhaps their own obligations too little, were very forward to censure these attempts as the effect of an imprudent and unreasonable zeal: but notwithstanding a furious opposition from adversaries, the ill offices of those from whom better things might have been expected, and the unkind neutrality of friends, these gentlemen, who in a little time began to add some others to their number, not only kept their ground, but made farther advances; for our late excellent Queen having this affair laid before her in the absence of the King by Dr Stillington, she had just sentiments of it, and therefore thought it became her to give it countenance: she graciously condescended to thank those who were concerned in it, and afterwards, upon this application made to her Majesty, she was pleased to send her letter to the justices of Middlesex, July 9, 1601, commanding them to put "the laws against profaneness and vice in execution with all fidelity and impartiality; and to this end, that they should be careful and diligent in encouraging all persons to do their part in giving informations against offenders, as they were obliged by their oath, as magistrates, to do:" and when there was further occasion, she showed she was in earnest to promote this design, by taking other more effectual methods for that purpose. But as it may well be supposed, that the Queen's patronizing of these endeavours could not but give credit and strength to them, so the affair, by her death, (it may as easily be imagined) must lose a great advantage;

but yet the loss (though it appeared exceedingly great) did not discourage those that were engaged in this enterprise. For as they at first set about it with little or no expectation of such a patroness, because they thought it would be an acceptable service of the King of Kings, and that it would promote the true interest of religion, and the welfare of their country; so the same considerations obliged them to pursue their design with equal vigour and zeal, though they were deprived of so great a friend and protector. And it seemed that Divine Providence by this time favoured their endeavours, by the great and remarkable success that had attended them; for multitudes of offenders had been by their means brought to punishment. The public opposition that was at first made to their undertaking was broke through, (which the Bishop of Gloucester, who hath been a great encourager of this undertaking, gave an account of in his vindication of it, which, it may be wished, there may never be any further occasion to remember) and the honesty of it had recommended it to the virtuous and unprejudiced part of the nation, whom the account of these matters had reached; the enemy, after a severe examination, having not been able to discover that any illegal methods had been used, or that any secular interest was pursued by those, who bestowed their time and their pains in carrying on so ungrateful and hazardous a work, as that of reformation will be always found, since it is the opposing of ill men in their sinful indulgencies, which are often more desirable to them than their very lives. With these encouragements they prosecuted their business, increasing their number by the addition of persons of considerable note, and of the best character; some of whom, though they were of different opinions from those of the Established Church as to some points, were willing to unite their strength in the common cause of Christianity, and engage in so noble a design, that had done so much good: by whose joint endeavours, great advances have been made towards a reformation of manners, which is every day getting ground, persons of various ranks, of considerable fortunes, and of the clearest character, offering assistance to it, not only in and about the city of London, but from several parts of the kingdom.

But since it hath been long desired, that a more distinct and clear view may be given to the world of this undertaking, and of the advances of it, which those that have been principally concerned in it (so industriously consulting privacy) have not hitherto been prevailed on by any temptations, either of vanity or resentment, to make public, being more desirous that it should be known by the good effects it produces, than by any history or narrative; I ask leave to present the world with a short scheme of the design, and some account of the managers of it, that the well-disposed part of the nation, that have hitherto been strangers to it, may, by the knowledge thereof, be induced to join in so good a work, and now especially, since this conjuncture is so favourable to it, beyond our expectation. There is a very large body of persons, composed of the original society before-mentioned, with the additions that have been since made by persons of eminency in the law, members of parliament, justices of peace, and considerable citizens of London, of known abilities and great integrity, who frequently meet to consult of the best methods for carrying on the business of reformation, and to be ready to advise and assist

others that are already engaged, or any that are willing to join in the same design. This society is at a considerable yearly charge for the effectual managing their business; but takes no contributions of any but their own members, by whose endeavours, as was said before, thousands of offenders in London and Westminster have been brought to punishment for swearing, drunkenness, and profanation of the Lord's-Day; and a great part of the kingdom has been awakened, in some measure, to a sense of their duty in this respect, and thereby a very hopeful progress is made towards a general reformation.

A second society is of about fifty persons, tradesmen and others, who have more especially applied themselves to the suppression of lewdness, by bringing the offenders to legal punishment: these may have actually suppressed and routed out about five hundred disorderly houses, and caused to be punished some thousands of lewd persons, besides swearers, drunkards, and profaners of the Lord's-Day, as may appear by their printed lists of offenders. These persons, by their prudent and legal management of their business, have received great countenance and encouragement in our courts of judicature, and very particular encouragement and assistance, for several years past, from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, who are sensible of the great service that is done by them, which they express upon proper occasions.

A third society is of constables, (of which sort of officers care is taken to form yearly a new body in this city) who meet to consider of the most effectual way to discharge their oaths, to acquaint one another of the difficulties they meet with to resolve on proper remedies, to divide themselves in the several parts of the city, so as to take in the whole to the best advantage, for the inspecting of disorderly houses, taking up of drunkards, lewd persons, profaners of the Lord's-Day, and swearers, out of the streets and markets, and carrying them before the magistrate: and I must observe, that this is found a very advisable and successful method for constables to take, for the suppressing of the abominable sin of swearing, when private persons are negligent in giving of informations, and the magistrate is careless of his duty.

A fourth rank of men, who have been so highly instrumental in this undertaking, that they may be reckoned a corner-stone of it, is of such as have made it some part of their business to give informations to the magistrate, as they have had opportunity, of such breaches of the laws as were before mentioned. Many of these persons have given the world a great and almost unheard-of example, in this corrupt age, of zeal and Christian courage, having underwent, at the beginning more especially of these proceedings, many abuses, and great reproaches, not only from exasperated and hardened offenders, but often from their lukewarm friends, irreligious relations, and sometimes from unfaithful magistrates, by whom they have been reviled, brow-beaten, and discouraged from performing such important service, so necessary to the welfare of their country.

There are eight other regulated and mixed bodies of house-keepers and officers, in the several quarters of London, Westminster, and Southwark, who differ in their constitution from those before-mentioned, but generally agree in the methods of inspecting the behaviour of constables and other officers, and going along with them, and assisting them in their search-

ing of disorderly houses, in taking up of offenders, and carrying them before the magistrate, and also in giving informations themselves, as there is occasion.

Besides those before-mentioned, there are about nine-and-thirty religious societies of another kind, in about London and Westminster, which are propagated into other parts of the nation: as Nottingham, Gloucester, &c., and even into Ireland, where they have been for some months since spreading in divers towns and cities of that kingdom; as Kilkenny, Drogheda, Maynooth, &c., especially in Dublin, where there are about ten of these societies, which are promoted by the Bishops and inferior Clergy there. These persons meet often to pray, sing Psalms, and read the Holy Scriptures together, and to reprove, exhort, and edify one another by their religious conferences. They moreover carry on at their meetings, designs of charity, of different kinds; such as relieving the wants of poor housekeepers, maintaining their children at school, setting of prisoners at liberty, supporting of lectures and daily prayers in our churches. These are the societies which our late Gracious Queen, as the learned Bishop that hath writ an essay on her memory tells us, took so great satisfaction in, "That she inquired often and much about them, and was glad they went on and prevailed;" which, thanks be to God, they continue to do, as the Reverend Dr Woodward, who hath obliged the world with a very particular account of the rise and progress of them, hath lately acquainted us. And these likewise are societies that have proved so exceedingly serviceable in the work of reformation, that they may be reckoned a chief support to it, as the late Archbishop Tillotson declared, upon several occasions, after he had examined their orders and inquired into their lives, that he thought they were to the Church of England.

I might now give an account of a society of ministers of the Church of England for carrying on this work, and another agreement of justices of the peace; but I am withheld at present by some considerations from descending to any further particulars concerning them; and must content himself with saying, what will easily be allowed, that the stated meetings of such persons are as proper, and may be more useful for the promoting of this work, than any other I have described. For what might we not expect from the zealous endeavours of these orders of men in this affair? which, 'tis obvious, will not be employed with so great effect as when they form themselves into societies, or at least have frequent or stated times of meeting for the prosecution of this business. It is true, that ministers and magistrates have greater advantages, as well as more particular obligations, than others, (as may hereafter appear) to be serviceable in this work of reformation; but yet when they act alone in this contention between virtue and vice, though they will do great good in our present circumstances, and much more than they will easily believe till they are heartily engaged in it; yet they must expect to be under disadvantages on some occasions as well as other single persons, who exert their zeal without a communication with one another, and particularly when they encounter combinations of wicked men, which it is not unlikely will sometimes happen. Do we not see by what methods the men of the world propagate wickedness, and countermines good designs? Is it not by their

clubs and confederacies? Are we not sensible with what advantages our civil concerns are carried on by companies and corporations? Nay, does not the account before us convince us of the great usefulness, or rather necessity, of good mens confederating and meeting frequently together, to concert methods, and encourage one another in this difficult work of confronting and suppressing of bare-faced and insolent wickedness? And that the reason why good men have not sooner or more generally done it, may be, because "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." Since therefore union and method seem evidently to give good men much the same advantage (abstracting from the consideration of the goodness of their cause, and the divine aid that they may expect) in their just and brave opposition to profaneness and immoralities, against the greater number, it is to be feared of the wicked, as discipline and good ground in war gives a small body of men against a very unequal number of those that are undisciplined, and with disadvantageous ground; it is highly to be wished, that not only societies of ministers and magistrates, but of all other degrees of men, were set up in prosecution of this design, in all parts of the kingdom, more especially in all towns, cities, and corporations. And it may charitably be hoped that there are but few, if any, such places, where there are not to be found three or four persons at least, of one or other denomination of Christians, that have a zeal for God and religion, who may easily form themselves into a society, which may enlarge by degrees, and which will, probably speaking, go a great way towards the suppressing public disorders where they are; but may have a marvellous effect, with God's blessing for this end, where there is a magistrate that makes a conscience of his duty, or a minister that encourages reformation; as would be manifest to any that had observed in how short a time, and to what a degree open wickedness hath been checked, where a zealous minister hath given himself the trouble, I might rather have said the pleasure, of meeting sometimes a society of his parishioners, to encourage their zeal and constancy in this work of reformation, even where the magistrates have been either open or secret enemies to it. The advantages, moreover, are too many to be insisted on in this place, for the exercising of our own graces, by our associating with our fellow Christians for the carrying on religious designs, in an age when Christian conversation, which hath an inestimable value with men of religion, is so exploded by a wicked world, and is with such difficulty met with. The forming therefore of good men into such pious combinations, for the over-balancing those of vice, the countermining the contrary attempts of all wicked men, and recovering the power as well as form of religion, is most earnestly recommended to all the friends of piety and virtue. And, methinks it may be expected from all that have any sincere regard to God's honour, their own and their country's happiness, that they should exert themselves, in their several capacities, with a noble zeal and emulation, for the perfecting of this great undertaking. And now especially the times of peace are returned, which we have been told, are the times of reformation, surely none that carry the face of Christians can with confidence offer new excuses any longer to postpone it; we may now hope for the assistance of some, at least, of the cautious and pru-

dent men amongst us, who have hitherto, with great gravity, stood neuters in this affair and that they will at last answer the expectation of good men from them, and suffer the generations to come to call them blessed. It is at least to be hoped, that if they are too great and wise to engage in the work themselves, they will not however obstruct it more than the open enemies of it can do, by their calling it an impracticable undertaking, whispering groundless jealousies of the design, or uncharitable and disadvantageous characters of the persons concerned in promoting it; but rather, that they will let the world see that their zeal is engaged in the carrying on of wiser and more successful methods, for the effecting of a national reformation. And one would think, that the employing our labour or authority in this noble design, of being instrumental in doing good to multitudes of souls, by suppressing of national sins, and, by consequence, the reviving the power and reputation of religion, and thereby preventing national judgments, should be more worth the concern and application of Christians, and should afford a more true and solid satisfaction than the pursuit of our worldly interests or pleasures. All indeed are not capable of being serviceable in the same way; but whether it be by executing the laws, or by preaching, discoursing, writing, informing, setting up of societies, or otherwise contributing towards it, which way soever it be that we can further his glorious work, it will, I think, be hard to find a good excuse for any that shall decline their concurrence, according to their advantages and opportunities, in an undertaking which it would become the greatest man upon earth to promote, which is now so far facilitated by the schemes that are laid, and the methods it is put into.

We have seen some few persons engaging in this enterprise before they had any methods to direct them, or many examples to encourage them, encountering opposition in the first forming their design, from open enemies) and perhaps false friends, suffering cruel mockings, unkind censures, and unjust reproaches, and yet not giving way. We have seen them surmounting their greatest difficulties, so that the main brunt seems now near over, and going on with that resolution and success, that the deluge of public wickedness is visibly abated. We are told that many thousands have been brought to punishment for swearing and cursing, by their means; seventy or eighty warrants a week having been executed on these offenders, in and about this city only, since the late Act of Parliament against swearing and cursing was made; which hath given so great and remarkable a check to those scandalous sins, that our constables sometimes of late have found it difficult to take up a swearer in divers of our streets and markets, where, within a few years past, horrid oaths, curses, and imprecations, were heard day and night; that a multitude of drunkards, and profaners of the Lord's Day, some of whom kept as it were open markets within a few years past, have been made examples by their means; that hundreds of disorderly houses, which were little better than stews, and nests for thieves, clippers and coiners, &c., have been rooted out and suppressed; and that some thousands of lewd persons have been imprisoned, fined, and whipt; so that the tower-end of the town and many of our streets, have been much purged of that pestilent generation of night-walkers, that used to infest them, which were a reproach to this noble

city, and a scandal to Christianity, forty or fifty of them having been sent in a week to bridewell, where they have of late received such discipline, that a considerable number of them have chosen rather to be transported to the plantations, to work there for an honest subsistence, than to expose themselves, by their lewd way of living, to shame and punishment, to poverty and disease, to all sorts of wicked practices, and the danger of the gallows, to which, in the conclusion, they are often, if not generally, brought. And I may justly add, that far greater things, by the application of the original society of gentlemen have been accomplished, than what have yet been mentioned, and such as I am not permitted at this time to discover. But this much may be said, that the endeavours of those gentlemen have not been confined to this city and kingdom, but have extended as far as Ireland, where they have had an influence, very little, I think, to the honour of that kingdom, from whence it had its first rise; of which, since a more particular account may be expected, I may satisfy myself, at present, with saying in general, of my own knowledge, that the transactions of reformation here having been, near two years since, laid before some few persons in Ireland, and most of those (I must again observe) private persons, and of the lower rank of men, with proper considerations to move them to unite in the same design, and methods to pursue it with advantage, it determined them to engage heartily in it: and they have prosecuted it with so much vigour, that there are now several societies for reformation in the city of Dublin, which I am assured, by divers accounts that I have in my hands from thence, are spreading into several parts of the kingdom, and are encouraged by his Excellency the Earl of Galway, (one of the Lords Justices of Ireland) the Archbishop of Dublin, many of the clergy, and the best of the magistrates and gentlemen of that city: in one of which societies, most of the parish ministers of Dublin, several of the pious Bishops, particularly the Archbishop, and divers other persons of quality, are members; some of whom have shewn a zeal, which if it prevailed the three kingdoms over, might soon produce a glorious reverse of the state they are now in, and which in less than two years' space hath succeeded, though not without such various oppositions as might be expected from combinations of bad men, to that degree in Dublin, that the profanation of the Lord's Day, by tippling in the public houses, by exercising of trade, and exposing of goods to sale, is almost suppressed; that lewd women are strictly inquired after, and severely punished, that they have transported themselves, as in England, to our plantations; and that swearing is so run down, that an oath is rarely heard in their streets; so that public disorders are remarkably cured, and, in short, vice is afraid and ashamed to shew its head, where within a few years past it was daring and triumphant.

We are likewise assured, that Scotland hath concurred in these matters, where his Majesty's proclamation against profaneness and debauchery, hath been issued out in very strict terms, and his late gracious letter to the parliament of that kingdom, takes notice of the progress that they have made in the forming of methods for the discouraging of vice and irreligion, and assures them, that it is a work most acceptable to him.

But to return to our own nation. We are made

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acquainted that many societies and bodies of men, of different ranks and persuasions, are engaged in this work, to which men of virtue, of temper, and unblemished reputation, may either join themselves, according to their quality, circumstances, or opportunities, or may form themselves into new bodies: that the public opposition that was made to it, which our posterity may blush to read of, is at an end, which, it is to be hoped, will be the last that we shall hear of in a Christian state, and under a Protestant government; that the city of London espouses it, where there are two sermons quarterly preached, and divers of them printed, to make men sensible of their obligations in this respect. And it is true also that swearing is much lessened, as we have reason to believe by the accounts we receive in most, if not in all parts of the kingdom, as other public disorders are in many; and that the societies for reformation have been in divers places already actually formed, and are going on in many others; as particularly in Gloucester, Leicester, Coventry, Shrewsbury, Hull, Nottingham, Tamworth, Newcastle, Chester, and several other corporations; so that in a few months' time, by the methods that are now taking, there is reason to believe, that we shall hear of a very considerable progress in this work from all parts of the nation. And now is this a time for men that would be reckoned Christians, to stand neutrals in an affair wherein their religion, their country, and their posterity, are so deeply concerned? let the men who can contentedly see the laws of God trampled upon; who can, in their ordinary conversation, in the streets, and even at their own tables, hear horrid oaths and curses, nay, men calling upon God for damnation upon themselves and others; in a word, offering high indignities to the glorious Majesty of their great Creator, consider, whether the very Heathens, who would not suffer their artificial deities to be affronted, or their religion to be despised; who, in sieges, and other distresses from their enemies, were more concerned for their images and altars than for their own houses, or private affairs, do not condemn them? But can men of conscience satisfy themselves with complaining of the iniquities of the age, and wishing for reformation, with giving only some good words to these proceedings, or even praying for God's blessing upon them, without doing, as they have opportunity, what is necessary to promote them? when, as it hath been said, we have the laws of God, of the nation, and, as we have reason to hope, the government on our side; and moreover, so many examples and so great success to encourage us; and have now, generally speaking, not much more to fear than calumnies and hard words, and most of those, it is to be hoped, from the enemies of God and goodness, which the best of men, and the best designs in all ages, have ever met with, and which, in such a case, it is our true glory to suffer? No; surely this is a time, as I shall endeavour to make appear, for all good men to join their hearts and hands, their interest and authority, in this so necessary, so great, and so glorious a work.

SECTION II.

MUCH OF THE SPIRIT OF CHRISTIANITY APPEARING IN MANY YOUNG PERSONS.—FORMER EDITIONS OF THIS ACCOUNT MADE USEFUL.—PROFESSOR FRANCK'S LETTER, JANUARY 21st, 1700.—MR JURIEU'S LETTER.—A LETTER FROM SWITZERLAND, JANUARY 12TH, 1700.—RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES IN NUREMBERG, AUGSBURG, AND RATISBON.

From Dr Woodward's Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in London, &c., Chap. i.

SINCE the pious education of our youth is a matter of the greatest importance to us both in Church and State; and since the whole hope of improving the next age, and of continuing the mercies of God with this, depends upon it: it cannot be unacceptable to any sober person to peruse a brief account of that which our good God hath done for us in this respect; to whom alone be the praise and glory of the whole.

It is the observation of many serious and judicious persons, that within the compass of a few years past there hath appeared much of the genuine spirit of Christianity in many young persons among us, whose pious disposition, together with their humble and inoffensive behaviour, have occasioned the praises of God in the mouths of many pious people; for they cannot but look on this blooming piety of these orthodox and sober persons as a very seasonable blessing of God, to excite new spirits in the degenerate professors of our holy religion to antidote those damnable heresies, and to check that exorbitant wickedness, which hath appeared with great impudence in these latter days.

When I first applied my mind to draw up a brief account of these things (being led thereto by sundry moving considerations) I advised with several divines and others about it; by whom it was generally concluded to be a work that might prove serviceable to the common interest of religion, and might revive the languishing state of it among us: which, as it is the only end I propose hereby, so indeed it is a consideration that needs no other to second it; for I know nothing more desirable in this world, than to invigorate a hearty concern for religion in it. And when this brief narrative was drawn up, and perused by several persons, who were acquainted with the most hidden springs and motions of these societies, they attested the justice and equality of it: in particular, the late reverend Dr Horneck, (who had a very perfect knowledge of them, and indeed was an eminent friend, or rather father, to them, from their first rise to the day of his death) in a discourse I had with him a little before his decease, was pleased to give this public testimony of it, "That it was a very faithful and modest account of the whole matter;" adding, that at the first appearance of these societies, they were looked upon with suspicion and dislike by many of our superiors, who now, said he, upon a fuller view of them do not only think them fit to be tolerated, but worthy to be encouraged; concluding with his prayer (in that pathetic and heavenly manner which was usual to him) "That God would bless and prosper these beginnings of reformation." This was the last discourse I had with that pious and worthy divine, who was soon translated from his painful labours, we hope, to eternal rest. And since the former editions of this *Account*, I have under-

stood, in my conversation with many divines in and about this city, and by letters from the remotest parts of this land, and from foreigners; in short, from many, whose faces I never saw, into whose hands this *Account* has fallen, that the piety of many persons, especially of the younger sort, has been evidently enlivened thereby; and that it had been read by many of them, with a very surprising joy. Yea, in some parts of this nation, several divines of considerable character have met together, to express their unanimous satisfaction and joy in these proceedings; of which they have given us account by letter. And on this occasion it comes to be known, that in some places the very scope and design of these societies have been begun and continued by several pious persons within the compass of a few years past, who knew nothing of these London societies, nor had so much as heard any report of them. In a certain town (which I forbear to name) some discreet and serious persons, considering the great benefit of a strict observance of the Lord's Day, came to a resolution to meet together on the evening before it, to enliven each other's affections towards spiritual things, as a meet preparation for the duties of the sacred day following. And finding the great advantages of this practice, they continued it for the space of three years; and then hearing what was done here in London, so suitably to their inclinations, they were lifted up with joy, and betook themselves to the same method. In some parts of the county of Lincoln, a most profane custom had long prevailed, to spend the three Lord's Days after Lammas (and of late many before it) in horse-racing and other riotous diversions. The disorder was endeavoured to be suppressed in Cromwell's days, but in vain; and afterwards by some gentlemen of the country, but with no better success. So that it had now, for several years past, been lamented by serious people, as an inveterate evil which was not to be redressed. But it pleased God, for a few years past, to stir up the spirits of the ministers of the adjacent parishes, with such zeal and indignation against the scandalous profaneness, that they took their constables and other proper assistants with them, and appeared with such courage and resolution against this rude assembly, that the whole multitude was overawed, and put to flight. So that, on such Lord's Days, when there used to be many hundreds of this lewd mob, you could only have beheld several devout ministers, with their constables, walking their rounds; or, if any vain persons looked that way, their next care was, to flee with such speed as might secure themselves from apprehension. And it is hoped, that the same care, continued yearly in this and other places, will perpetually prevent the like disorders; to suppress which, they resolve not to be wanting; as a minister informs me from the place. Nor is the benefit of this pious undertaking confined by the boundaries of this nation: the morals of her sister kingdom of Ireland have been happily improved by it. Yea, the accounts sent us from persons of the most eminent learning and piety, in distant countries, inform us of the sensible vigour and life of religion, which has been excited amongst them, by what they hear of its increase amongst us.

The pious and learned Dr Franck, Professor of Divinity in the city of Halle, in Saxony, writes thus concerning this matter to gentlemen in London: January 21st, 1700: "The eminent success of your pious undertakings has been made known to us

in Germany, by the Reverend Dr Jablonski, chaplain to the newly-crowned King of Prussia, who hath translated the account of your societies out of the English into the German language. Nor has this gentleman's pains proved unuseful; for, besides the good it has done to many particular persons, who have been thereby awakened to a greater concern for their spiritual edification, a great number of the citizens of Nuremburg, who had a little before begun to meet at each other's houses, in order to their mutual improvement in the knowledge of the truth, are, by this book, mightily encouraged and invigorated in good things; as a very pious minister (who, with two other divines, is wont to preside at these meetings) has, in the name of them all, informed me from the place. And indeed, the field of our Lord waxes more and more white unto harvest; and the true favour of the Gospel daily increases amongst persons of various ranks and conditions, both men and women, with a general desire of living suitably thereunto.

The eminent Monsieur Jurieu writes in a sort of transport concerning these matters, in a late letter of his to one in London: "rejoicing and praising God, that, amidst the many societies which he had observed to be made about the concerns of gold and silver, he had at last, through the goodness of God, received a most reviving account of pious persons united in prudent and effectual methods for the extirpation of vice, and the advancement of religion."

A very worthy gentleman writes thus from Schaffhausen in Switzerland, January 12th, 1700. "Dr W——'s full account of the religious societies in London, is translated and printed at Berlin, and is dedicated by the translator to the princess of Brandenburg, who is lately married to the young prince of Hesse-Cassel. We have here some examples of the same sort of societies; and it rejoices many amongst us to hear of the great piety and zeal that reigns in England."

A very learned and pious foreigner, who is pleased to favour me with his correspondence, in a letter of his (March 14, 1700) informs me, that not only at Nuremburg, but also at Augsburg and Ratibon, they find great benefit by their religious societies; and that some great persons begin to relish the divine favour of religion: among whom, alas! too many are so deeply immersed in carnal pleasures, that they have little taste of spiritual joy. He adds, that Dr Lange of Altorf had begun to use religious exercises with his scholars, in imitation of those at Halle, as Dr Spener had long since done at Frankfort. And that such as formerly disliked these things, began to be ashamed of being more vehement in opposing assignments for religion, than those for drinking and gaming, or the clubs of atheistical and profane men. Concluding thus: "For my own part, I look upon these things as comfortable signs, that the Spirit of God is now about a great work, to put a new face upon the whole Christian Church." I forbear to recite other extracts of foreign letters: and shall only observe, that as these happy effects upon other nations afford matter of comfort to such as have engaged in them here, so their noble victories over the impudence of public enormities at home, serve to encourage them in the pursuit of the scattered forces of the prince of darkness. The rather, because the Lord of hosts seems to fight for them; partly by dispiriting and intimidating the actors of vice and profaneness, who have been here-

tofore undauntingly bold and hardy in the commission in it; and partly by exciting the spirits of such as oppose them, even to a pitch of bravery, which somewhat resembles those of whom it is said in scripture, that "the Spirit of the Lord came upon them;" and then we always find that they prevailed, and came off with victory and success. So that it is beyond question, that if such as are of eminency amongst us did more generally give their assistance to this divine and glorious work, it would run on with vigour from one end of the land to the other. And how much this would tend to their comfort and glory, in that day wherein great men must give an account of their talents of power and authority, before that righteous judge, from whom they have received them, is not to be expressed: nor, on the contrary, can we conceive the horror and confusion, the regret and anguish, which shall then overwhelm such as drowsily forget, or cowardly hide, or basely misemploy, these weighty talents.

Of the Rise of these Societies about thirty-two years ago.—Dr Horneck and Mr Smithie's preaching blessed.—Some of their Meetings in the Year 1678.—Their Behaviour in the Reign of King James II.

I DO not here undertake to give an account of all the pious fellowships of youth, which have been amongst us in time past, (which, we may hope, has been the practice of serious young men in all ages, and among all the too various denominations of Christians) but to give a short narrative of the original of those regulated societies which are now, through the grace of God, conspicuous among us for many good works; and which, if duly encouraged, may very much contribute towards the support, honour, and advancement of these three kingdoms in Church and State, and yet are too little known to very many among us.

Now, as far as I am able to trace their first rise, it was thus introduced by the gracious providence of God: it is now about two and thirty years ago that several young men of the Church of England, in the cities of London and Westminster, were about the same time touched with a very affecting sense of their sins, and began to apply themselves in a very serious manner to religious thoughts and purposes. As to their manner of life before this, I am informed, that though some of them had been guilty of great neglect, and contempt of religion, they became very affectionate servants of God afterwards, (even to an eminency, in the judgment of some, who with wonder considered their happy change) yet the greater part of them were such as had enjoyed a sober education, and had not shared in the scandalous and heightened enormities of these latter days, otherwise than by their having been too insensible of the dishonour done to God by them. But they now began to look on their own and others' sins in another manner. I was, about that time, made privy to the spiritual sorrows of one of them, who with floods of tears lamented that he had not till then had any affecting apprehensions of the glorious Majesty and perfections of Almighty God, nor of his infinite love to men, in his Son Jesus Christ; and that he had not before felt any just convictions of the immense evil of every offence against God, though it be but, said he, in the wilful neglect or misperformance of any duty to him. But now he saw, and groaned

under all this, in very sharp and pungent convictions. And withal, perceiving the universal corruption of human nature, and the deplorable crookedness and deceit of man's heart, and with what a world of temptations we are encompassed, being withal besieged by many legions of infernal spirits: when he considered all this his soul was even poured out within him, and he was in danger of being overwhelmed with excessive sorrow. The case was very much the same with several young men at the same time, as he then told me; some of whom had been greatly tempted by the devil, that murderer from the beginning, to lay violent hands on themselves: which was also, he confessed, his own temptation; and that so urgent sometimes, that sleep departed from his eyes, as well as rest from his soul. In this mournful season, these disconsolate convicted persons often resorted to their ministers for spiritual advice and succour; betaking themselves in good earnest to the ways of real piety and eternal peace. And it many times fell out, as the same person informed me, that several of them met together, at the house of their spiritual physician, seeking cure for their wounded spirits; and so contracted a little acquaintance by those providential interviews. For, alas! as he suggested, there needed little other language but that of their looks, to discover their inward sorrows to each other, especially when they came prepared to open them to their minister; and they needed no other arguments to incline them to pity each other's case, but to consider their own; there being a propensity of nature, to succour those who groan under the like miseries with ourselves. So that by these, and the like means, they soon contracted a very intimate acquaintance.

The benefit of Dr Horneck's awakening sermons, and the morning lectures on the Lord's Day in Cornhill, preached by Mr Smithie (chiefly designed for the instruction of youth) having occasioned much of this happy work upon the spirits of these young men: they did more particularly apply themselves to these divines for direction, who had been instruments in the hand of God for their conviction. And upon their frequent application to these and other ministers, it was advised, that since their troubles arose from the same spiritual cause, and that their inclinations and resolutions centered in the same purpose of a holy life; they should meet together once a week, and apply themselves to good discourse, and things wherein they might edify one another. And for the better regulation of their meetings, several rules were prescribed them, being such as seemed most proper to effect the end proposed. Upon this they met together, and kept to their rules; and at every meeting (as it was advised) they considered the wants of the poor; which in process of time amounted to such considerable sums, that thereby many poor families were relieved, some people put into a way of trade suitable to their capacities, sundry prisoners set at liberty, some poor scholars furthered in their subsistence at the university, several orphans maintained, with many other good works. But they were not presently brought to these pious exercises, orders, and things of public benefit, to which they are now, by the grace of God, advanced. As no creature is born in its full perfection; so the improvement of these societies grew up by degrees, by conferring one with another, and by their enlarged desires of doing good, as occasions and advice were offered them. So that I cannot but

recommend Christian Society with the greatest earnestness to all sorts of men. It must needs be as useful to magistrates and ministers, in carrying on their arduous work of regulating and informing men's manners, as daily experience shews it to be to artists and tradesmen, who join together in companies and societies, and find their arts and interests advanced by a multitude of heads and hands. So that we may very properly pronounce Solomon's "Woe to him that is alone." These young men soon found the benefit of their conferences one with another; by which, as some of them have told me with joy, they better discovered their own corruptions, the devil's temptations, and how to countermines his subtle devices; as to which, each person communicated his experiences to the rest.

It seemed proper, for the management of their common stock for charitable uses, to choose two stewards, as the managers of their charity. And the two first stewards that I find (after diligent search) were in the year 1678, whose names I have by me, with a recorded succession of them to the beginning of the reign of King James the Second. In this unhappy juncture the face of the reformed religion began to be clouded, and all private meetings were suspected. And now, alas! some of these persons not having digged deep enough to have a firm root in religion, began to shrink and give back, like the seed in our Saviour's parable, which had no deepness of earth. They were afraid of the jealousy of the state against them; especially when they saw the bloody and merciless executions in city and country with which that reign began, which dyed it of such a crimson colour, as rendered it frightful to many, particularly to these young proselytes. Upon which some of them forsook their wonted assemblies, and getting loose from their strict rules and good society, they grew cool in religious concerns, and some of them grew vain and extravagant. But, through the grace of God, there was not a total tergiversation among these young disciples of our Lord; but, on the contrary, some of them being encouraged by others, who till then had not been of this society, being also grieved at heart to see some of their brethren turn their backs in the day of battle; and being animated with holy zeal against the growing interests of Popery, which then appeared not only open, but in armour; they took a more vigorous resolution than ever, to do what in them lay towards the maintaining and increasing the purity and power of religion in themselves and others. And seeing that the Popish mass was then publicly celebrated, not only at the Royal Chapel, but in other public places, they set up, at their own expence, public prayers every evening, at eight of the clock, at St. Clement-Danes, which never wanted a full and affectionate congregation. And not long after, they set up an evening monthly lecture in the same Church, to confirm communicants in their holy purposes and vows, which they had made at the Lord's table. And by this public lecture, which was greatly frequented, many were confirmed, both in the profession and practice of the true principles of primitive religion. For they were preached by the most eminent divines about the city, from whose lips and pens Popery received such wounds, as all her art will never be able to cure.

It was the design of these young men, from the first framing of their societies, to conceal their names from public knowledge, lest it should seem to be a

device to catch the applause of men; which is but a very poor matter, and an aerial blast, of little importance if attained, and usually of as little continuance. They looked upon it therefore with just disdain; and fixed their hearts on those exceeding great and precious promises, which the unchangeable God hath set before men. But they had now a particular reason for concealing their names from all but their ministers and a few friends; for the eyes of Pa:ists then in power were intent upon them, who, together with those their undersetters, whom gain and the promises of court favour, had brought over to their party, pried narrowly into all they did; so that they saw they had great reason, as well as the primitive Christians, to use the wisdom of the serpent, whilst they as carefully retained the innocence of the dove; especially being in the near neighbourhood of the court, which was then filled with foreign and domestic zealots for Popery, or with crouching false friends to Protestantism. In this juncture, upon advice, they changed the name of society for that of club; and instead of meeting at a friend's house, who might be endangered by it, they adjourned to some public house or other, where they could have a room to themselves; and, under the pretext of spending a shilling or two, they conferred seriously together in the same religious manner as formerly: by which honest artifice they carried on their good design without interruption, even to the end of that unhappy reign.

Their Christian Admonitions and good Discourse useful to others.—Concern to bring in others.—Their Apology to the Bishop of London.—Mystery of Apostates from them.—Their frequent communicating.—Their great love to each other.—Their Piety.—They increase to about Forty Societies within the Bills of Mortality.—Letter from the Minister of Old Romney in Kent.—Nine or Ten Societies in Dublin.—Of Professor Franck's labours at Halle.—Some Endeavours this way at Oxford and Cambridge.

THAT their constancy, piety, and good service to the public, in so hazardous a juncture, made them more known, and much esteemed, at the beginning of the reign of King William and Queen Mary; those instruments of God's providence, for the restoring of our religion and liberty, when the public enjoyment of both were just expiring.

The first design of those who joined in this religious fellowship looked no farther than the mutual assistance and consolation one of another in their Christian warfare. That by their interchanged counsels and exhortations, they might the better maintain their integrity in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. But as their sense of the blessedness of religion, and the value of immortal souls, increased, they could not but exercise bowels of compassion towards such as discovered little concern about these important matters. This inclined them to endeavour, by discourse with their acquaintance in proper seasons, to press upon them those divine arguments whereby themselves had been roused out of a state of carnal insensibleness. And finding that the grace of God many times seconded these their Christian admonitions, to good effect, they became more habituated to good discourse, especially where there was any probability of a civil acceptance of it. Inso-

much that at length they could not but stand amazed at the success which it pleased God to give them. One of them, to whom God had given a very deep sense of religious matters, and a very moving manner of expressing it, had such success, that he had, under God, induced most of his intimate acquaintance at least to an outward reformation. Upon this they made a private order at one of their assemblies, that every one should endeavour to bring in one other at least into their society: which they did to good effect. For I heard a very serious person bless God with great affection, that ever they made such an order, and took such resolutions: for, said he, this put one of them upon discourse with me about those things, which till that time I little minded; and which now I can never forget. This may recommend good discourse upon all proper occasions in company; which, wherever it is piously designed, and seriously performed, will be blessed of God to more excellent purposes than we can without trial conceive.

Thus then their religious fraternities grew and increased, even till they became conspicuous, and in some degree famous: which still induced other young men, who were of sober inclinations, to join with them; and as they multiplied in distant parts of the city, they erected new societies by the pattern of the old. This conspicuous advancement of these societies, in number and repute, gave occasion to some mistaken or ill affected persons to misrepresent them to the Bishop, as things leading to schism, spiritual pride, and many other ill consequences. And this made their names more public than ever they thought or desired to have them. For now they were obliged to appear and justify their undertaking: which they did in a very humble and solid apology addressed to the Bishop of London; wherein they humbly assured his Lordship, that their only design was, to quicken each other's affections towards spiritual things, and to advance their preparations for another world; and to this end, to assist each other to live in all respects as it becometh the Gospel. And that they desired to prosecute this Christian design in none but Christian methods; with due respect to their superiors in Church and State, and without any cause of offence to any one. And, in fine, their vindication appeared so reasonable and satisfactory, their assemblies so regular, and subordinate to the public worship, and their designs so truly Christian and inoffensive (all which was attested by several eminent divines on their behalf) that his Lordship dismissed them with these words; "God forbid that I should be against such excellent designs."

As to that dark and dismal case of some few of them, who after an appearance of zeal for this pious undertaking, and a temporary partnership in it, have fallen off to vanity and vice; it is like the cutting off a member to the rest of the body; they consider it with piercing grief, affliction, and indignation; though it be no new thing in every profession of religion, to have some false brethren. The first planters of Christianity had reason to sigh over the apostasy of a Judas, a Nicholas, a Demas, whom the love of this present world had ensnared. And I mention this, that every one who maketh profession of religion, and thinketh that he standeth, may take heed lest he fall: and that they may dig deep, and lay a firm foundation. Some of these unhappy revolvers from their former strictness of life, are now not able to bear the reproofs of their persevering brethren; they

shun their company, they know not how to converse with them, and are ashamed to look them in the face; and sometimes they pray them to disturb them no more by their admonitions, since they apprehend all the danger they threaten them with to be very true, and foresee their desperate end, sometimes with a terror not to be expressed. And their design seems to be, to divert those melancholy thoughts, as long as they can, with all the sensual amusements they can invent. So true is that observation, "That religion can torment those whom it cannot reclaim." To shun this fatal danger of apostatizing from God, and reversing their vows made to him; it is the practice of all these societies to partake of the holy supper of our Lord as frequently as they may, thereby to devote themselves afresh to their good Master, and to confirm their purposes of perpetual service to him, and as a means of receiving spiritual strength from him so to do. And in order to their more advised preparations for so solemn a work, there is in some one Church or more of this city, a sermon preached every Lord's Day in the evening (by the procurement of some of these societies) on the important subject of due preparation for the Lord's table, and a meet deportment after it; by which great good has been done, and a deep sense of religion wrought in many persons. And by this their care to acquit their consciences, as to this last command of our dying Lord, many of them have, through the grace of God, attained to that excellent primitive temper, of frequent communicating without growing formal; not lessening a due reverence by the frequency of it: nor extinguishing the proper exercises of divine love, thankfulness, and joy at this holy sacrifice of praise.

There is such love amongst those of them that have fallen under my observation, that scarce any natural brothers are so affectionate; and those who are newly admitted are soon contracted into the same fellowship of Christian brotherhood. They are also far from rigid censure and unkind treatment of any sorts of Christians. As they truly aim at real Christianity, so they value it wherever they find it. And as a learned foreigner writes, this is the effect it has abroad; and that where the Lutherans and Calvinists fall into these methods of advancing true piety, they become more kind and meek, that is, more Christian-like one to another.

It is required of such as desire to join themselves to them, that they give the society some testimony of their sincerity in this affair, and of their sense of spiritual things, with the real motives which lead them to this undertaking, and what they seriously purpose as to their future life. This is many times done in writing; and I have perused some of their papers, and have found them penned in such an honest, affectionate, and undisguised stile, with such pious and sensible expressions, and in so modest and humble a manner, that they would greatly affect any pious person to read them, and move him to break forth into pathetic praises to God, who hath given such grace to the rising generation in so degenerate an age.

As for the reproaches which ill people cast on these societies, it is what good things and persons have ever met with from the beginning, and must be expected to the end of the world. The scoffs and grudges of such people against anything, demonstrate that there is good in it; and indeed their commendations may be looked upon as an effectual defama-

tion. Upon such occasions of slanders and evil-speaking against them, I have heard them exhorting and recommending to each other the true Christian armour of humility, patience, and a resemblance of our blessed Saviour's silence under revilings, admiring the divine command of his, of returning blessing for cursing, and of endeavouring to overcome evil with good; minding one another, not to make any mention of their being of such or such a society; but to make their holy lives to testify, that they are real Christians. And thus by exhorting and encouraging one another in Christian duty, the piety of many of them has appeared very eminent and exemplary; insomuch that it is evident, even to demonstration, that their zeal hath in many places given new life to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, public prayers, singing of Psalms, and Christian conferences; duties which were in many places almost disused, or performed in a cool and languishing manner.

This is, as far as human eye can see, the real and only design of these societies, who seem with one heart to attempt, by the most pious and peaceable methods, to put a stop to our overflowing wickedness, remove our plagues, and to dispose us into a meetness for the blessings and gracious presence of God; by whose blessing they have of late years so increased amongst us, that there are now about forty distinct bodies of them within the compass of the bills of mortality: and these have produced the like in many other cities and country towns. I shall only instance particularly in a religious society at Old Romney, in Kent, concerning which we have this account from the minister of the place, in a letter to a gentleman in London, in the month of December, 1700. When I first came to my parish, about ten years ago, I found, to my great grief, the people very ignorant and irreligious; the place of Divine Worship indecently kept, and the public service neither understood nor attended. The ministration of the Lord's Supper was supported only by the piety of three or four communicants; and the divine ordinance of singing Psalms almost laid aside. Now, whilst I considered by what means I might redress this general neglect of religion, I was of opinion, that the setting up of such a religious society as I had known in the city of London would be very proper; but I feared that it would be impracticable in the country; especially where there appeared no competent dispositions towards it. So that at first I began to teach three or four youths the skill of singing Psalms orderly, and according to rules; withal, minding them of the indispensable duty of the spiritual fervency of their hearts in this heavenly exercise; which greatly tended, through the grace of God, to awaken their affections towards religion, and to give them a favour and relish of it. The improvement of these in singing Psalms being soon observed by others, many young men desired to be admitted to the same instruction; which being granted, and the number of them increasing daily, I began to shew them the unacceptableness of their psalmody to God, yea, the odiousness of it to God's infinite purity, except their hearts and lives were upright before him. Whereupon, after sundry exhortations, and serious deliberation, they readily submitted to the rules of a religious society; and they have been careful observers of them. By these means a general reviving of piety, and a solemn observance of the public ordinances, have been, through God's blessing, produced amongst us. So that a considerable number of

young people are carefully catechised, and by many pious books given to them, encouraged to fear God betimes; and by them many prudent ways are made use of to promote an effectual reformation of manners: and, to the joy of all pious souls, our shepherds, ploughmen, and other labourers, at their work perfume the air with the melodious singing of Psalms, to the praise of the great Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of men." Thus far that minister.

Other societies of this nature have been both formerly and lately formed in various parts of this nation, and even as far as Dublin, in Ireland; where from three or four persons with which they began, they are now increased to nine or ten societies, containing about three hundred persons. And they find such encouragement there from the pious Archbishop, and from several divines, and other considerable persons, that they have been the means of reviving a great sense of religion in many of the inhabitants of that city, and have begun a very hopeful reformation of manners among them; the Archbishop having signed his approbation of their Orders, which are copied from those in London. And indeed all these good effects were occasioned by the examples of the London societies, and by the removing of some few of the London associates to Dublin.

We hear also from divers parts abroad, of the laudable proficiency of religion and good learning in the newly erected university of Halle, in Saxony; proceeding chiefly from the pious conduct and indefatigable labours of their Professor, Dr Franck, who, besides his wonderful pains in the *Pædagogium*, or school, where youth of all ranks are carefully taught, and his inspection of a vast hospital of poor children, does also take a very particular care of the students in divinity. And by his lectures, conferences, and argumentations, demonstrates it to them, that their way to become eminent divines, is to apply themselves in the strongest efforts of faith and prayer to him, "in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge;" together with the most humble and serious application of mind to the sacred oracles, in order to the perfect knowledge of the will of the Lord, before they assume the character of his Ambassadors. And that when they have attained the experimental knowledge of God in the Lord Jesus Christ, though his grace, and have perceived the efficacy of his Holy Spirit, in their own conversion and renovation, they will be best able to exercise a pastoral care over the souls of others. And to this purpose, in a lecture of his, *De Abusibus Studii Theologici*, he shewed them them the mistake of those who seek the name of great divines, by canvassing impertinent notions and opinions, rather than endeavouring to attain the blessed communion with God, through faith in our divine Mediator, which (if St. Paul had a true notion and taste of these things) is to be preferred before all other acquirements in the world. And, finally, that a sound, practical sermon, sensibly and experimentally pressed on the consciences of men, would be of a greater use to the hearers, and more honour and comfort to the preacher, than all the flourishing harrangues of wit, and the elaborate ornaments of human rhetoric; though too many young divines seem to forget or undervalue the former, in the eager pursuit of the latter. And by these his theological institutions and societies, this reverend Professor has been instrumental in training up many learned and useful men; and is frequently addressed by persons of quality and

others, to supply them with chaplains, pastors, and schoolmasters, out of those who have had the advantage of being educated under his inspection.

I am informed that some particular methods, which have been very serviceable to religion, have likewise been endeavoured by several worthy persons in our Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. There can be no doubt but that the efforts of these famous Universities, to retrieve the primitive vigour of our religion, would excel all that has been already done of the like tendency by others. As truly we have reason to hope, that all serious endeavours of this nature, by all persons whatsoever, are likely to be blessed with greater success than can at first be apprehended: if we consider what has been already done by our religious societies, consisting for the most part of persons in the most private station and condition of life; the account of which will be the subject of the next chapter.

They long for a legal Suppression of Profaneness and Immorality.—Providence gives them Direction and Encouragement.—Their Zeal and Resolution. — The Housekeepers in the Tower Hamlets assist them.—Their Success in suppressing Lewdness, Sabbath Breaking, Drunkenness.—The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge begun in the year 1699.—The Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts.—Conferences of Ministers on Methods of advancing the interests of Religion.—Happy Fruits of the Societies for Reformation.—In Dublin, &c.—Their Manner of sending Relief to the Poor and the Sick.—The good Effects of it as to their spiritual as well as temporal Welfare.

As our sober young men found great joy in the serious application of their souls to religious matters, and in the society of those who joined with them in it; so were they not a little grieved, from day to day, by the profane and filthy conversations of such as proclaimed their contempt of God and religion in the open streets. And therefore they longed in their minds for a legal suppression of their scandalous enormities; of which they complained often one to another, and much lamented them in their prayers to God.

And since the magistrate cannot punish a transgressor with righteousness, but upon due conviction; and, whereas few are so rash as to trespass before the face of a righteous magistrate, it is absolutely necessary, in order to suppress public sin, that such persons, before whom the illegal fact is done, take care to inform the magistrate of it. For the execution of justice depends as much upon the proof of the matter of fact, as upon the execution of the penalty of the law: and where either the informer or the magistrates fails in his respective duty, justice is obstructed, the efficacy of the law nulled, iniquity cherished, and the wrath of God provoked. For if none give evidence against a transgressor, none can be punished, and all penal laws are vain. Besides, it is one great design of the temporal punishments of vice, by the laws of God and men, to render it ignominious, and to bring shame upon the committers of it, as an admonition to others, "that all may hear and fear, and do no more any such wickedness." Now this way of discountenancing vice is utterly

lost, where such penal laws are not put in execution: and the contrary takes place, namely, the transgressor grows impudent, and comes to glory in his shame; and hereby the community is apt to mistake the nature of vice, and to admire it.

Our associated young men had due convictions of these things, and were sensible that it must needs be as great a piece of charity to bring a profane person, by light and temporary punishments, to shun eternal torment, as to bind the hands of such distracted people as would otherwise tear their own flesh, and be their own murderers. And therefore they were ready to do all that became them in their places to check those public and scandalous sins, which were become very insolent in this city, and indeed very crying. They only wanted some directions to manage this affair in a due manner, according to the law, and to be countenanced by some magistrate in a work so proper to his office, and so worthy of his regard. And it was not long before a singular providence of God gave them a favourable opportunity to express their zeal for his name in this matter.

For, about this time four or five gentlemen of the Church of England (whose names deserve to be had in perpetual esteem, though I have not their leave to publish them here) falling into serious discourse upon the melancholy subject of the iniquity of the times, came at last to a most brave and generous resolution, to do all that they possibly could, by the authority of our laws to chastise and suppress those impudent vices and impieties which they saw very provoking in the sight of God, and very grievous to the spirits of all good men. And forasmuch as some of these gentlemen had made the knowledge of our laws their study, they collected an abstract of our penal laws against vice and profaneness, and drew up such prudential rules, as are fit for the legal conviction and prosecution of such as offend against them. And having (in the year 1691) by the motion of Dr Stillingfleet, then Bishop of Worcester, obtained the Queen's pious letter to the justices of peace, to act as it became their post in this important affair: and the justices having been made a very good order thereupon, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen doing the like: these gentlemen caused copies of all these to be printed, and to be sent all over the kingdom, at their own great expence, and lodged blank warrants in many hands all over the city, for the ease of informers, and other persons concerned; with many other excellent expedients to further a general reformation, which surely is the best of works. Of this one of our pious Bishops has given an account to the world, to the just honour of these worthy gentlemen, and to the shame of such as have reproached and opposed their righteous and religious undertaking. Now, this fell in very fitly with the disposition of our societies, who thereupon formed themselves into two considerable bodies, for information against public enormities; the one in London, the other in Westminster, the better to advance this work in all parts, according to their respective places of abode. And thereupon they gave punctual information to some magistrate or other, of those public acts of debauchery and profaneness which they observed to be committed by persons hardened in their sins; still keeping to the rule of the law, and the directions subservient thereunto, which these gentlemen had given them. And as these prudential methods testified the unblameableness of their conduct before men,

they also laboured to approve themselves to the all-seeing God, by the exercise of the following duties, viz.:—1. Christian poverty of spirit, in the sense of their own impurity and imperfection. 2. A disinterested mind, wholly renouncing all carnal ends. 3. Habitual prayer to God, with a courageous and unwearied pursuit of such things as are agreeable to his will, and subservient to his glory. 4. Unfeigned charity towards all men; especially to their souls and spiritual welfare. 5. Quiet resignation to the providence of God in all events. I found all these particulars written in a paper which they privately communicated one to the other. These were good and useful preparations, for that which they afterwards suffered on the account of their endeavours to suppress the scandalous vices and impieties of those times. For, wickedness being at that time insolent, and unused to restraint, these persons met with very outrageous resentments, and with bitter reproaches and threats from the passionate lovers of vice. Yea, they often ran the hazard of their lives in the prosecution of this design; which they underwent with Christian courage, being supported, under God, by several of our worthy Bishops and pious divines, who told them, That if any of them suffered in so divine a work, rightly principled and justly ordered, they would very much resemble the martyrs and confessors of Christ, and receive the reward of it in the other world. And in this respect the Bishop of Gloucester, and those worthy divines, Dr Horneck, Dr Jekyl, and Mr Edward Stephens, have most eminently signalized their zeal for their Great Master and his work.

And whereas our young men found it very often objected in common discourse, that they were only a few raw youths that engaged in this work, which seemed particularly to exasperate the persons prosecuted by them; they greatly wished for the concurrence of some grave and elderly persons to countenance and inspire them in this difficult enterprise. To this our good God, who would not suffer this excellent work, undertaken purely for his sake, to drop, was pleased, by his good providence, to administer a very seasonable support. For it fell out about this time, that the good service of several men, most of them housekeepers in the Tower Hamlets, came to be known, which was begun on this occasion. The inhabitants of those hamlets being much perplexed by pilfering people, pick-locks, housebreakers, and such ill persons; some of them began to inquire into the places which were suspected to harbour that sort of people. And by tracing out their places of resort, they soon dived into the true source of their grievances; namely, that these vicious persons living in shameful lewdness and idleness, and having no income by trade or estate to maintain them in it, they betook themselves to robbery, shop-lifting, burglary, and picking of locks and pockets, to maintain their expensive lusts, and lewd companions.

Upon this, some of the sober inhabitants of these hamlets set themselves, with great concern, and undaunted courage, to pull down the very nests of these disorders. They got warrants for search, and brought all suspected persons, to clear themselves in a legal way; and where it was requisite, they demanded security for their good behaviour. And whereas some of those who engaged in this work were of the public communion, and others of different persuasions, their lesser differences in

matters of religion did not in the least divide them in prosecuting of these things, which they saw were directly contrary to all religion. And such as did not act personally in this affair, yet perceiving the good that came of it, were inclined to contribute towards it. But there were some things wanting in this undertaking, in the defect of which it was much retarded, and had like to have sunk. The one was, a methodical way of proceeding, for want of which their endeavours were neither so orderly, nor so effectual as they afterwards proved. They also wanted a more compact incorporation of their members into one society or body, which might be moved and guided by the same prudent methods as if they all proceeded from the same soul. And lastly, their fund was low, and insufficient to defray the expence. Our aforesaid societies for giving informations having considered these circumstances, and having admired the zeal and courage of those honest and excellent men in these hamlets, and having observed how well they suited to make up what themselves wanted in years and experience, they resolved to concur with them, that their united forces might be the more victorious. And now their resolved work went on with happy success, the one emulating and pushing on the other. And in all cases they acted regularly, and in conformity to the rules approved by the learned in the law. They were instrumental in putting down several open markets that had been kept on the Lord's Day; and in suppressing some hundreds of houses of ill fame, bringing the frequenters of them to due shame and punishment. And by the means of this society alone, above two thousand persons have been legally prosecuted and convicted; and the names of these delinquents are set down in the black lists which they have printed. All which have been sentenced by the magistrates as the law directs, and have accordingly been punished. Besides this, the members of this society have legally convicted multitudes of notorious swearers, Sabbath breakers, and drunkards; and their proceedings in all these cases have been so strictly legal and unblameable, that they have for many years past received great countenance in the several courts of judicature; and have found very considerable encouragement from the Lord Mayor and court of Aldermen, who have honourably contributed towards the necessary expence of so great and useful an undertaking. But yet these endeavours of so general a good did not proceed without many a rub; if they had it would have been the first time that virtue had been advanced with ease and smoothness. We must have concluded, that either virtue or vice had lost its nature, if the one could supplant and dethrone the other without passionate opposition: yea, we might have thought that the devil had lost his envy to the good of mankind, or that all the legions of the infernal pit had been cast into a deep sleep, should they have suffered such a brave onset to be made upon the territories of darkness, without exerting all the power and interest they had, to oppose it. It was therefore no wonder at all, that the undertakers of this work met with many difficulties to struggle with in the prosecution of it. In truth, they experienced not only the rude assaults of licentious debauchees, which they expected; but too often the brow-beatings and discouragements of such as were bound, by the awful bond of an oath, and the divine trust of authority, to do otherwise; which was the more difficult to bear.

But there was great hope of a full redress to this grievance, when there came forth a pious proclamation from their majesties, January 1691, "Requiring all magistrates, ecclesiastical and civil, in their respective stations, to execute the laws of this realm against profaneness and immorality, as they would answer it to Almighty God, and upon pain of their majesties' highest displeasure; complaining also (most justly) that by a long continued neglect and connivance of the magistrates and officers concerned, these dissolute enormities had universally spread themselves, to the dishonour of God, and the scandal of our holy religion, &c." This proclamation was occasioned by the pious address of our archbishops and bishops to their majesties, as the preamble of it declares. And since this did not fully accomplish its end, it was followed (May 16th, 1693) by a personal excitation of the justices of Middlesex, to further this work with vigour, by the lord keeper, in a speech made to them to that purpose, by her majesty's special command: and partly by these supports, but chiefly by the good hand of God upon it, this enterprize has gained ground, notwithstanding the many ill turns that have been done it.

Insomuch that there are now near twenty societies, of various qualities and functions, formed in a subordination and correspondency one with another, and engaged in this Christian design, in and about this city and suburbs: all which have their set hours and places of meeting, to direct, support, and execute this their undertaking. In this number of the societies for reformation here given, I do not include any of the forty religious societies before-mentioned. For though they all agree in the promotion of virtue, and opposition of vice, yet their first and more direct design of association seems to be distinguished thus: in that the societies for reformation bent their utmost endeavours from the first to suppress public vice; whilst the religious societies endeavoured chiefly to promote a due sense of religion in their own breasts, though they have since been eminently instrumental in a public reformation.

And here, as I pass, I cannot but take notice, with great thankfulness to God, of a very honourable and beneficial society, erected in the year 1699, in this city, by which the promoting of Christian knowledge is vigorously endeavoured, which seems to fill up all that could be thought deficient in the methods that were before set on foot, in order to the general amendment of the lives and manners of men. For, whilst the societies for reformation pluck up the weeds, and prepare the ground, this sows the good seed; and the religious societies carry on both these excellent works amongst our youth, which is the proper season for it, and the direct way to make the next generation more virtuous and more happy. And that the whole world might partake of these great advantages, a society was erected by charter, at the latter end of the reign of King William the Third, for the propagation of the Christian religion in foreign parts; in which many thousands of pounds have been expended with great advantage. These extraordinary efforts against ignorance and impiety, vice, and infidelity, seem to presage a much better state of the Christian religion than hath appeared in many generations past; which God Almighty grant, for the sake of Jesus Christ! In the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which I was before describing, there are several persons engaged that

ale of eminent rank in church and state; and many, who are for the societies for reformation, who have fixed a most useful correspondence abroad with other protestant churches, and do very bountifully contribute towards the education of poor children, the supplying of poor families with books of piety and devotion, and towards the advancing of religion in our plantations. And from the great advantages which have been already reaped from the transactions of this society, it cannot but be the wish of such as understand, and desire to promote, the interest of the reformed churches, that in all Protestant states a like society was regularly established, in order to an amicable and intimate correspondence, which would directly counterme the politics of our Popish adversaries; and would tend to invigorate the practice of the blessed gospel, by their mutual assistance and advice in the concerns of religion, and by producing Christian charity, love, and agreement, one with another, which would exceedingly advance the essential interests of the church of Christ in general, and happily defeat very much of the devil's malice against it.

Great advantages have also been reaped from the monthly conferences of the parochial clergy, in divers parts of this kingdom, pursuant to the directions of our most reverend primate, in his circular letter, April 6th, 1699; in the fourth page of which we have this most excellent advice: "It were to be wished, that the clergy of every neighbourhood would agree upon frequent meetings, to consult for the good of religion in general, and to advise with one another about any difficulties that may happen in their respective cures; as, by what methods any evil custom may most easily be broken; how a sinner may most effectually be reclaimed; and, in general, how each of them, in their several circumstances, may contribute most to the advancement of religion." In the pursuit of these noble and blessed ends, many of the parochial clergy in the counties of Bedford, Nottingham, Lincoln, and many other places, have held monthly consultations, to treat of such matters as might render their labours more effectual in their respective cures. In order to which, in many places they contribute towards the buying of books of plain instruction, and of necessary devotion, for poor families; the small books being given, and the bigger ones lent. Towards which charitable work, divers well-disposed persons of the laity do readily contribute; there being scarce any piece of charity of such inestimable benefit, that is of so moderate an expence: due care being always taken, that no occasion be hereby administered to unnecessary dispute or controversy, but to the edifying of the whole body of Christ in love. And through these pious dispositions of the clergy, monthly lectures have been set up in divers places, with the leave of their diocesan; tending chiefly to the suppression of vice and immorality, and to raise the conversation of Christians to the heavenly temper of their holy faith; and after the sermon the neighbouring ministers retire into the vestry, or to some other convenient private house, to confer and act as aforesaid.

But, to return to our societies, their honest endeavours to stop the wide mouth of our crying sins, have, by the blessing of God, so far succeeded, that the impudence of lewd women, and the blasphemies of licentious tongues, are manifestly abated in our streets, and the works of darkness seem to be retiring to their proper scene, the obscurest corners that can

be found, as most remote from human observation and punishment. But the banishment of vice from the public view is not the only good that has been done even by these legal prosecutions, (though that is most highly valuable, as it takes away public scandals and temptations) but there have been many instances of persons apprehended in ill houses and company, who having something of modesty and tenderness remaining, have been alarmed out of this ill way of life, and have afterwards acknowledged the mercy of God, and the charity of men, in pulling them as fire-brands out of the fire. It would also tend to allay the passionate resentments of such as fall under the magistrates' discipline, as they did foresee the invaluable kindness of stopping their way, though with thorns, to prevent their running into the infernal pit. O! that man had faith to make a due estimate of the certain and necessary consequences of these things, which a few moments will exemplify upon every soul of us, in eternal bliss or torment.

It was the deep sense of these great things which first engaged the hearts and hands of those few pious gentlemen in this most noble work, who do not now (blessed be God) act alone in it. Several other gentlemen, and eminent citizens, are now incorporated with them; and they meet frequently to superintend, direct, and pursue this best of works; consulting the best and most advisable methods to carry it on, spending a great deal of time weekly, and sometimes daily, in it, and furthering it by very large and honourable contributions. And by these means, many thousands of vicious and profane persons have been brought to just punishment; to which the late excellent law against profane swearing and cursing has been very serviceable; and were it but enlarged in a line or two, to make the work of information easier, it would soon banish the hellish, senseless sin of blasphemy, and other public impieties, out of this nation. This late law against profane swearing has also done good service in the kingdom of Ireland, where it has been vigorously put in execution; concerning which, a person of quality writes thus from Dublin, in a letter to his friend in London, October 28th, 1697. "The reformation goes on in this city very vigorously; when we were presented with a thousand warrants against profane swearing, by a gentleman from London, it was thought we should never have needed more; but those have all been put in execution, and we are now printing a third thousand of them more. The last Lord's-day I believe there were eight or nine pounds levied in ale-houses, and above a hundred bakers have paid within this last quarter, for profaning the Lord's Day in the business of their trade, besides tailors, drovers, and others, and bawdy-houses and whores are hunted down with a high hand. Bridewell is filled with them, and this without any great assistance from the magistracy. Some persons of our societies being put upon the grand jury for the city, do it effectually: ten or twelve lewd women have been taken up in a night, in the houses as well as streets; and this twice or thrice a week. But I must add, however, that this reformation, in every part of it, is beholden to our recorder, who shews more zeal and application to it, than any magistrate in London or Middlesex has done, since I have been acquainted with these matters." There is also a society of this kind in Drogheda, in Maynooth, and in Kilkenny; and several divines are endeavouring

to plant them in other parts of Ireland. But I return nearer home.

Their manner of disbursing their bounty to sick and distressed people, is such as renders it a double benefit; for they usually send their alms by the hands of two or more of their most serious members, who make a personal inquiry into their necessities, and usually introduce some reasonable discourse, suitable to the affliction of the person or family which they relieve: which many times proves the better charity of the two. For the poor afflicted persons being partly awakened by the rod of God upon them, and being surprised by such a visit and bounty from persons unknown to them, and not a little pleased to hear such savoury speeches drop from the lips of such young persons: all these things together have sometimes been happily instrumental in propagating a sense of religion in some persons, who scarce ever before felt any thing of it: and of exciting it where it had before taken place. So that I have sometimes had greater thanks from some who, upon my recommendation, have enjoyed these spiritual expressions of their charity, compassion, and consolation, than for their other bounty; though they have confessed themselves almost ravished in the consideration of both. It has sometimes pleased God to reduce some of their own members, by sickness, or other means, to a low condition; and then they have duly called to mind the Apostolic rule of shewing piety at home; they have afforded them suitable supplies in their sickness and distress, and buried them decently after their decease.

I was once present at one of their conferences, when a poor man came with most earnest affection to return them thanks for what they had done, both for his body and soul. It seems he was a perfect stranger to them all, and to every other person in the place where God cast him down by a sharp and long sickness, in which, as he said, his body and soul had like to have perished together. He had lived a very ill life, and been much disused to the ordinances of God, by reason of his seafaring life: and being now come on shore sick, and being above a hundred miles from his abode and acquaintance, he fell into great want. Upon which some of the society perceiving his distress, recommended him to the rest; and they readily allowed him a weekly pension for eight weeks together, till he was recovered. And one of the society being a surgeon, carefully dressed a very grievous sore which he had; and, by God's blessing restored it to perfect soundness. Others of them went to him, and read good books in his bed; which tended to the improvement of God's visitation upon him. They also fetched the minister of the place to him, and got a collection from some charitable neighbours for him. And, upon the whole, he recovered, and seemed to be a reformed man, and came then to render his praises to God, and thanks to his Christian friends. I mention but few of multitudes of such instances.

SECTION III.

SOME ACCOUNTS PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1707, OF WHAT WAS DONE, AND DOING, UPON THE DESIGN OF PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE IN ENGLAND, WALES, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND.—AND OF THE SUCCESS OF THE SOCIETIES FOR REFORMATION.

WITHIN the cities of London and Westminster, and within ten miles thereof, there are sixty-four charity

schools, in which there are constantly maintained above fifteen hundred boys, and near one thousand girls. For the support of this charity, there have been voluntary subscriptions amounting to near three thousand pounds a year.

In other remoter parts of this kingdom, according to the example of this city, there are about one hundred and forty charity schools of the like nature, wherein about three thousand poor children have been freely taught, and a good part of them clothed, some wholly maintained, and several of them disposed well in the world. Most of this is done by the charitable contribution of the inhabitants.

In Wales, the governor and company of the mine-adventurers of England allow, within two several counties, twenty pounds a-year in each for charity schools, to instruct the children of the miners and workmen belonging to the said company. In another county the lord of the manor and freeholders are building a charity school on the Waste, and enclosing part thereof, which, is to be given for ever for teaching the poor children of that lordship. And within other counties some numbers of poor children are taught at the expence of private persons.

In Ireland there is published an account of some charity schools set up in the city of Dublin, in imitation, as the account expreseth it, of the charity schools in London.

And there are lately come abroad some proposals concerning the propagating of Christian knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and foreign parts of the world, inviting all whose heart God shall incline to subscribe for such sums of their benevolence, as they shall think fit for the promoting that good design; and, which makes this matter so promising, it is informed, several persons have already subscribed for considerable sums; so that there is ground to hope this design shall have good effect, it having pleased God wonderfully to countenance such projects, as appears from the foresaid undertaking of Mr Franck; and have we not some instances of the like nature nearer at home, in England, in what is before narrated?

As to the success of the societies for reformation of manners erected lately in England, and by their examples in divers other nations, and countries both of Europe and America, it may be found particularly and largely related in a treatise, entitled *An Account of the Progress of the Reformation of Manners in England and Scotland, and Ireland, and other parts of Europe and America, with Reasons and Directions for our engaging in this glorious Work*, of which I have seen the fourteenth edition, wherein are related, and not only the endeavours of such societies for reformation in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also in the English plantations in America; and not only in New England but in Jamaica. And that for propagating this design, the account of these societies hath been translated into the French and Dutch languages, and into Latin. And he had an account of divers letters concerning the approbation and imitation of these societies from Switzerland, and from Germany and Denmark, and from Berlin, and from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and from divers Professors of Divinity in Leyden and Utrecht. And that there have been transmitted into Sweden, and several other countries, the books of reformation, for promoting of the design in these countries. There also ye have an account of the great good

they have done for promoting the sincere practice of religion, by their procuring so many books and papers to be written for the awakening of men to a sense of their sin, and concern for their souls, and giving away, at their own expense, a great number of these books and papers for reformation from drunkenness, swearing, uncleanness, and profaning of the Lord's Day, and such like vices, &c.

SECTION IV.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE RISE OF THE THREE GREAT SOCIETIES IN ENGLAND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE GOSPEL.—AND OF THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND.

AT London there are three great companies for the advancement of religion. The first was founded by the English Parliament on the 27th of July, 1649, established by King Charles II. in 1661, and styled, "The Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and the Parts adjacent in America." And, as the design is for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians only, this society have all along had their commissioners, for the Indian affairs, at Boston. The second was erected by King William III. on June 16th, 1701, and named "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." and their endeavours are for promoting the Church of England in the English colonies. The third is called, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge;" which received their name at the end of 1701. And their design is, 1. To promote and encourage the erecting of charity schools in all parts of England and Wales. 2. To disperse, both at home and abroad, Bibles and other tracts of religion: and, in general, to advance the honour of God, and the good of mankind, by promoting Christian knowledge, both at home and in other parts of the world, by the best methods that should offer.

As to the society in Scotland, about the year 1663, when there was a cloud over that Church, there were many fellowships (as they were then called) in Edinburgh. These were blessed means of edification and comfort, and keeping up a lively frame both in city and country. But through the severe persecution, in the year 1677, or about that time, these fellowships gave up, and were no more heard of. After the revolution several societies set up in the same way, particularly one in 1699, in which there were several honourable gentlemen of weight and distinction. In this capacity they exerted themselves to curb the growing immoralities of the age, and that with success. And laying to heart the deplorable condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, through ignorance, superstition, and barbarity, they engaged together in a voluntary subscription for a sum of money, to be employed in erecting charity schools. This done, and there appearing some prospect of success, these gentlemen were encouraged to apply to members of Parliament, and others in power, that the state of the Highlands, &c. might be considered, and methods proposed for the reformation thereof, if such were authorised by Act of Parliament: a memorial of these things was published, and sent up and down. The General Assembly, in the year 1704, were applied to, who recommended a collection for this purpose. Other pious and charitable persons were spoke to, to contribute, and, in 1707, the Assembly appointed a select Committee to meet with the worthy gentlemen on their project.

They had many meetings, and at last printed a paper, entitled, *Proposals concerning propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and foreign parts of the World*. The design, thus published, several contributed liberally thereto. Many of the nobility took it by the hand; a royal proclamation was emitted recommending it; and, in the year 1709, royal letters patent were obtained, establishing a Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which first convened at Edinburgh, Thursday, the 3d of November, 1709; which society do maintain schools, at which are educated and instructed in Christian principles, upwards of 5,000 scholars, according to the annual reports of visitations certified by the Presbyteries. With respect to their management, it may be observed in the general, that never any public design was managed in a more honest and disinterested manner, than this is, and always has been, now for a long tract of years. The first projectors thereof, now with God, will be had in everlasting remembrance. Of their number were the right honourable Lord Crossrig, Lord Cullen, Lord Newhall, Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate, Mr Robert Alexander, one of the principal clerks of session, Mr William Brodie, one of the commissaries of Edinburgh, Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, and Nichol Spence, late agent for the Church, &c.

CHAPTER VI.

SOME PARTICULAR PERSONS REMARKABLE FOR THEIR ZEAL AND CHARITY IN PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. — 1. GOUGE. — 2. BOYLE. — 3. TUNIUS. — 4. WINSTOW. — 5. BRAND.

MR THOMAS GOUGE. He was minister at St Sepulchres in London, eldest son to Dr William Gouge. That which, of all our graces shone brightest in him, and was his most proper and peculiar character, was his cheerful and unwearied diligence in acts of pious charity. He had a singular sagacity and prudence in devising the most effectual ways of doing good, and in managing and disposing his charity to the best purposes, and to the greatest extent; always, if it were possible, making it to serve some good end of piety and religion, as the instruction of poor children in the principles of religion; and furnishing grown persons that were ignorant, with the Bible, and other good books; strictly obliging those to whom he gave them, to a diligent reading of them, and when he had opportunity, exacting of them an account how they had profited by them. In his occasional alms to the poor, in which he was very free and bountiful, the relief he gave them, was always mingled with good council, and as great a tenderness and compassion for their souls as for their bodies; which very often attained the good effect it was likely to have, the one making way for the other. Another instance of his remarkable zeal and charity in propagating religion, was when he was ejected or silenced from preaching in the year 1662, and had quitted his living of St Sepulchres, upon dissatisfaction about the terms of conformity. He then having a compassion for those parts of Wales, which were distressed with ignorance, and wanted means of knowledge, made a journey into South Wales; and in every town where he

came, he enquired what poor people there were, that had any children, whom they were willing to have taught English, and to read and write, and to learn the catechism; and where he met with a competent number, he enquired for fit persons to instruct them; a man for the boys, and a woman for the girls; and agreed with them for a penny, or twopence a week, which he undertook to pay.

Mr Edmund Calamy saith, "When he had lost much by the fire, and had settled his children, and had his wife taken from him by death, he had but about one hundred and fifty pounds a year left, and he gave a hundred of it to charitable uses. It was his daily work to do all the good he could, with as great diligence and constancy, as other men labour at their trades. He visited the poor, and stirred up the rich in whom he had any interest, to devote at least the tenth part of their estates to works of charity.—Dr Owen saith, "that he was a person eminently suited unto that work he was called unto. For whereas he was deprived of all outward advantages (as well as many others) not only increasing his wealth in the world, but of ordinary supplies for himself, and family, beyond his peculiar patrimony, he abundantly manifested himself to have lived in the faith of that truth, which he endeavoured to implant in the minds and consciences of others, and did but invite men unto the same belief and practice with himself."—Dr Manton saith, "That he was a meet advocate for so good a cause, for we willingly bear every man in his own faculty, none so fit to exhort others to charity, as those that are eminently charitable themselves. When he was between sixty and seventy years old, he used to travel into Wales, and disperse what money he could spare himself, or collect from others, among the poor persecuted ministers there. He settled in the chief towns of Wales a great many schools, to the number of three or four hundred, for women, to teach children to read, having himself undertaken to pay them for many hundred children. He preached in Wales till they drove him from place to place by persecution. He went constantly to the parish churches, and sometimes communicated with them; and was authorized by an old university-license, to preach occasionally; and yet for so doing, was excommunicated even in Wales, and that while he was doing all this good."

For about nine or ten years before his death, he did almost wholly apply his charity to Wales, because there he judged was most occasion for it: and, because this was a very great work, he did not only lay out upon it whatever he could spare out of his own estate, but employed his whole time and pains to excite and engage the charity of others for his assistance in it. And in this he had two excellent designs; one, to have poor children brought up to read, and to be carefully instructed in the principles of religion: the other to furnish persons of grown age, the poor especially, with the necessary helps and means of knowledge, as the Bible, and other books of piety and devotion, in their own language; to which end he procured the Church Catechism, the Practice of Piety, besides several other pious and useful books, some of them to be translated into the Welch tongue; and great numbers of them all, to be printed, and sent down to the chief towns in Wales, to be sold at easy rates to those that were able to buy them, and to be freely given to those that were not. And in both these designs, through the

blessing of God upon his unwearied endeavours, he found very great success, for, by the large and bountiful contributions, which chiefly by his industry and prudent application, were obtained from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions, from the nobility and gentry of Wales, and the neighbouring counties and several of that quality in and about London: and from that perpetual fountain of charity the city of London, led on and encouraged by the most bountiful example of the right honourable the lord mayor, and the court of aldermen; to all which he constantly added two thirds of his own estate; I say, by all these together, there were every year eight hundred, sometimes a thousand poor children educated, and by this example, several of the most considerable towns of Wales were excited to bring up at their own charge the like number of poor children in the like manner, and under his inspection and care. He likewise gave very great numbers of the books above-mentioned, both in the Welch and English tongues, to the poorer sort, so many as were unable to buy them, and willing to read them. But, which was the greatest work of all, and amounted indeed to a mighty charge, he procured a new and very fair impression of the Bible in the Welch tongue, to a number of eight thousand, one thousand whereof were freely given to the poor; and the rest were sent to the principal cities and towns in Wales, to be sold to the rich at very reasonable and low rates. A work of that charge, that it was not likely to have been done any other way; and for which this age, and perhaps the next, will have great cause to thank God on his behalf. He was used to say often with pleasure, "That he had two livings, which he would not exchange for two of the greatest in England, meaning Wales, where he used to travel every year to spread knowledge, piety, and charity; and Christ's Hospital, where he used freely to catechize the poor children, in order to the well laying the foundations of religion in them in their tender years."

I shall here subjoin an account of his charities in Wales for one year, by which some judgment may be made, as to the rest. It was in the year 1674, before his excellent impression of the Bible, in the Welch tongue; it was printed about that time in a single sheet, which is apt to be lost; whereas it is pity, but it should be preserved to posterity; it was in these words, "An Account of what hath been done in Wales this last Year, from Midsummer 1674, to March 25th, 1675, in pursuance of the above trust, upon the encouragement of divers worthy persons, to this pious and charitable design. 1. In fifty-one of the chief towns of Wales, eight hundred and twelve poor children have been, and are put to school, to learn English over and above the five hundred put to school the last year by the charity of others, before this trust began. 2. There have been bought and distributed in several families, thirty-two Welch Bibles, which were all that could be had in Wales or London. 3. There were two hundred and forty New Testaments in Welch, to be given away to poor people, that can read Welch. 4. And five hundred Whole Duties of Man in Welch to be distributed in like manner. All which charitable undertaking, hath already provoked divers of the better sort of the Welch, to put above five hundred of the poorest Welch children to school, upon their account. So that about one thousand eight hundred and fifty in all, are already put to school to learn to read English.

In these good works, he employed all his time and care, and pains, and his whole heart was in them, so that he was very little affected with anything else. And the good success he had was a continual feast to him; and gave him a perpetual serenity both of mind and countenance. His great love and zeal for this work made all the pains and difficulties of it seem nothing to him: he would rise early and sit up late, and continued in the same diligence and industry to the last, though he was in the threescore and seventeenth year of his age. And, that he might manage the distribution of his great charity with his own hands, and see the good effects of it with his own eyes, he always once, but usually twice a-year, at his own charge travelled over a great part of Wales: so that, all things considered, there have not, since the primitive times, been many to whom that glorious character of the Son of God might be better applied, than "he went about doing good."

2. The Honourable ROBERT BOYLE. It appeared to those, who conversed most with him, in his enquiries into nature, that his main design in that, on which as he had in his own eye most constantly, so he took care to put others often in mind of it, was to raise in himself and others vaster thoughts of the greatness and glory, and of the wisdom and goodness of God. This was so deep in his thoughts, that he concludes the article of his will which relates to that illustrious body, the royal society, in these words, "wishing them also a happy success in their laudable attempts, to discover the true nature of the works of God; and praying that they and all other searchers into physical truths, may cordially refer their attainments to the glory of the great Author of Nature, and to the comfort of mankind." As he was a very devout worshipper of God, so he was no less a devout Christian. He thought pure and disinterested Christianity was so bright and so glorious a thing, that he was much troubled at the disputes and divisions which had arisen about some lesser matters, while the great and the most important, as well as the most universally acknowledged, truths were by all sides almost as generally neglected as they were confessed. He had therefore designed—though some accidents did, upon great considerations, divert him from settling it during his life, but not from ordering it by his will, that a liberal provision should be made for one, who should in a very few well digested sermons, every year, set forth the truth of the Christian religion in general, without descending to the subdivisions among Christians, and who should be changed every third year, so that this noble study and employment might pass through many hands, by which means many might become masters of the argument. He was at the charge of the translation and impression of the New Testament into the Malayan language, which he sent over all the East Indies. He gave a noble reward to him that translated Grotius's book of the Truth of the Christian Religion into Arabic, and was at the charge of a whole impression, which he took care to order to be scattered in all the countries where that language is understood. He was resolved to have carried on the impression of the New Testament into the Turkish language, but the company thought it became them to be the doers of it, and so suffered him only to give a large share towards it. He was at £700 charge in the edition of the Irish Bible, which he ordered to be distributed in Ireland; and he contributed liberally both to the

impressions of the Welch Bible, and of the Irish Bible for Scotland. He gave, during his life, £300 to advance the design of propagating the Christian Religion in America, and as soon as he heard the East India Company were entertaining propositions for the like design in the East, he presently sent £100 for a beginning and an example, but intended to carry it much farther, when it should be set on foot to purpose.

3. Mr ROBERT JUNIUS, late of Delpht, in Holland, was nominated by the honoured and pious senate, of the famous expedition of the united provinces, for the conversion of the Eastern Indians, and particularly in Formosa: who accordingly undertook the charge, went over to the place, bestowed much pains in laying the ground-work, and principles of religion amongst them; so that of persons grown up (adult) in Formosa 5900 of both sexes, gave up their names to Christ; and professing their faith, and giving fit answers to questions propounded out of the Word of God, were baptized by him. He set up schoolmasters to instruct others, and gained six hundred scholars to read; collected the chief heads of religion, and composed several prayers, and translated certain psalms into the Formosan language. This in the Northern parts mostly: but in the Southern, also, he planted churches in twenty-three towns, and promoted the worship of the true God. At last, having set divers pastors over them, being grown weak and unserviceable in body, and desirous to see his aged mother, and native country, he returned home again. This narration is published in Latin, by Casp. Sebellius, and prefixed to his book, called *Antidotum Ambitionis*, and attested by several others. See the narrative published in London 1660.

4. Mr WINSLOW, in several relations, gives the following account as to the Indians in New-England. First time, October 28, 1646. Four of us (saith he) having sought God, went, according to appointment, to the wigwam (or tent made of boughs and mats) of Waaubon (an Indian governor) who had given up his eldest son before, to be educated by the English in the knowledge of God; where we found many Indians gathered together from all quarters, to learn of us the knowledge of God. We preached in the Indian tongue above an hour; the Indians attended very diligently, professing they understood all that was taught them. Then we propounded questions, and desired them to propound questions to us; which they did. 1. *Quest.* How may we come to know Jesus Christ? 2. *Quest.* Whether God or Jesus Christ did understand Indian prayers? 3. *Quest.* Whether Englishmen were at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus, as they? This question being answered, and we demanding if they were weary; they answering no: a time was agreed upon for our coming again.

The second time, Nov. 11, 1646, meeting all in at Waaubon's wigwam, we found more Indians than at the first. After prayer, we asked them three questions, which were thus answered. 1. *Quest.* Who made you and all the world? *Ans.* God. 2. Who do you look should save you from sin and hell? *Ans.* Jesus Christ. 3. *Quest.* How many commandments? *Ans.* Ten. After this we preached of God, Christ, sin, punishment of sin, God's now offering salvation unto them, with which some were much affected; one wept much. They propounded questions to us. 1. An old man asked, Is it not late, for one so old as I am, to repent? 2. Seeing

we all come from one father, how came the English to know God more than we? 3. How may we come to serve God? 4. If a man have stolen, and restored again, and was punished by the Sachim (Indian governor) what then? *Ans.* God's anger burns like fire against all such sins, but if he fly to God's mercy in Christ, and repent, God will forgive him. Upon this the man drew back, hung down his head, as smitten at the heart, and his eyes ready to drop, saying, "Me little know Jesus Christ, else I should seek him better."

Third time, Nov. 26, 1646. We met again, found more wigwams built. The preacher hearing that other Indians had discouraged these, he encouraged them. The same week one Wimpas, a sage Indian, with two stout young men, brought his son, and three other Indian children, to be taught English, and the knowledge of God; the two young men offering their service for the like end; and certifying, that the old man, (who had asked if such a one could be saved) his wife, and one of his six sons (who were Pawaws) were resolved to hear the Word, and seek to the devil no more.

5. The Rev. Mr BRAND. Dr Annesly (whose non-such zeal in promoting the Gospel has been so successful in this part of the world) gives the following account of him in the narrative of his life, wherein he seems to have been actuated by a double portion of the same Spirit, whilst he writes the story of his friend. He tells us, his zeal for promoting the Gospel was so extensive, that, besides his constant weekly catechizing where he resided, he promoted the constancy of it in all schools and places to which he was a benefactor; and engaged all ministers, to whose support he contributed, to be diligent in it, often examining the conduct and success of those he trusted with it. And besides these, again, he hired several other persons in distant places to catechise children, and all others willing to be instructed; and, once a-month, or oftener, rode to visit and catechize them himself, and to encourage them to do well; and especially those who were old, and yet ignorant, and therefore ashamed to come to frequent those exercises, he gave them books or money, according to their quality; and to allure masters and parents to send their children or servants, he would also present them with books curiously bound and gilt; and to such as were poor, he would give more money than they could earn in the time spent in learning. His discourse with parents and masters themselves was catechetical, and yet not disparaging; all his questions to all sorts so instructively worded, that they could not miss a right answer, and his whole method charming and welcome in families, schools, and public assemblies, to both old and young, ignorant, and knowing. He exhorted all he came near to become catechists, or catechumens. He gave away many thousands of catechisms, and many hundreds with expositions, not only of those of the Assembly's but very many of Dr Comber's, and of Mr Thomas Adam's *Principles of Christian Religion, cleared and confirmed by the Articles and Homilies*: neither would he be quiet until he made his disciples thoroughly understand the points he put them to. In short, our author says, his heart was on his exercise living and dying; and that he never knew any one so painful, and at such care and cost about it, as he.

He dispersed incredible numbers of the most practical, pious sorts of books, not only of small, but considerable price, viz., some thousands, if not ten thousands of catechisms, many with expositions; some thousands of Shepherd's *Sincere Convert*, R. Allein's *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, Mr Joseph Allein, *Of Conversion*, several of Mr Baxter's works, as his *Call to the Unconverted*, his *Now or Never*, his *Saint's Rest*, &c. Particularly he and some others, of whom he was chief, having agreed for an impression of twenty thousand of Mr Joseph Allein's book *Of Conversion*, he paid down fifty pounds himself, as earnest, for the printing and dispersing them through England and Wales; and afterwards procured an impression of twenty thousand more, to be sold at under rates. He also disposed some writings of Conformists, viz., Pink's *Trial of sincere Love to Christ*, Caley, *Of Eternity*, Wade, *Of Redemption of Time*, Dent's *Plain Man's Path-Way to Heaven*, Scudder's *Daily Walk*, Reiner's *Precepts*, &c., also, Fox's *Martyrs*, in three volumes, and Charnock's *Works* in two volumes, several annotations and commentaries on the scriptures, and several libraries to young students, and candidates for the ministry. Above all, his care and policy was to disperse Bibles by giving way, perhaps some thousands; and when he found some were so tender of charging him with such gifts, that they had rather be without, he contrived between his friends and himself to distribute them at one shilling and sixpence a piece, on conditions not to sell them again; by which he caught many that refused them gratis, and returned some money towards buying more: and he not only gave such books to assist the poor, but to allure and oblige the rich, he presented them also with books most proper for them, richly bound, to make them the more acceptable. In a word, all houses and places wherever he came, or could send, were stored with pious books, where they would accept them; and he never made a journey, but in every inn, or other place, where he lodged or stopt, he employed all the little time he had, and all opportunities he could find, to fasten good counsel, or good books, or both, on all he met with, of what condition soever: of which our author gives several instances in page 60, &c. to 65. To sum up his charitable expenses, a notable, prying, intelligent person, who lived some years in the same house with him, affirms, that to his knowledge, he spent about three hundred pounds a-year that way, besides what he could not find out, which could not but be very considerable, besides the many large charities he continually procured from others, which no man was more successful in doing, even from the most covetous persons; he sometimes using to say, He would not sell his estate, because entailed, but he would squeeze it as long as he lived; and that he would accept of no man's estate, if he must be tied from using it on spiritual accounts: and he would often pity the condition of wicked rich men. In fine, his zeal for doing good was such, he could as soon cease to live, as cease to attempt it, there being one place where he was contriving to settle a minister, notwithstanding his weakness, when he died. Such was the life, and such the exit of this godly man. The author applies the whole with the same counsel to the reader that our Saviour gave to the Jewish Scribe: "Go, and do thou likewise."

BOOK IV.

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

OF THE DANISH MISSIONARIES IN THE EAST INDIES, 1706, &c.—SOME INSTANCES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL IN THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA FROM 1705 TO 1734, VIZ., AT TAUNTON, AT WINDHAM, IN CONNECTICUT, AT FREEHOLD, IN NEW JERSEY, AND THAT REMARKABLE REVIVAL AT NORTHAMPTON, 1734.—THE SALTZBURGERS IN GERMANY FORSAKE THEIR COUNTRY FOR THE GOSPEL.—RELIGIOUS SOCIETY AT OXFORD.—MR JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY, THEIR LABOURS AND SUCCESS.—MR WHITEFIELD'S LABOURS AND SUCCESS.—THE EXTENSIVE REVIVAL IN THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA, WHICH BEGAN CHIEFLY IN THE END OF 1739, AND CONTINUED FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS, SPREADING AND INCREASING GREATLY IN VARIOUS PLACES.—REVIVAL IN SCOTLAND, 1742.—MR BRAINERD'S LABOURS AND SUCCESS AMONG THE INDIANS IN AMERICA, 1744, &c.—REVIVAL IN HOLLAND, 1750, &c.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DANISH MISSIONARIES IN THE EAST INDIES, 1706, &c.

SECTION I.

ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THEIR LABOURS AND SUCCESS, FROM THE PAMPHLET, ENTITLED, PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN THE EAST, PART I., PRINTED 1709.—PART II., PRINTED 1710.—PART III., PRINTED 1714.—EXTRACT FROM THE ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGION OF THE MALABARIANS, PRINTED 1717.—LETTERS BETWEEN KING GEORGE I. AND THE MISSIONARIES, 1717, 1718.

FROM MILLAR'S PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY, Vol. II.,
Page, 479, &c.

WE have distinct accounts of the propagation of the gospel among the heathens in the East Indies, by the Danish Missionaries; their zeal and piety deserves commendation, and may be a pattern to those who shall afterwards travel in the like work; and, therefore, though the papers concerning this affair be in several hands, I shall here give an abstract of them.

The first account I have seen is in a pamphlet, entitled, *The Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, translated from the Dutch, and printed at London in 1709, where we find that, in the year 1705, Frederick IV., King of Denmark, after he had considered a motion made him by one of his chaplains, resolved upon sending some missionaries to Tranquebar, situated on the coast of Coromandel, in the East Indies, to attempt the conversion of the Malabar heathens. In order to this, he made application to the Professors of Divinity, in Halle, a most flourishing university, to supply his Majesty with such

persons as should be thought fit to undertake a design of that importance. Mr Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Mr Henry Plutschow resolved to go upon so difficult an errand; for so it might be looked upon, considering how little had been done hitherto by Protestants, and what untrodden paths and unknown difficulties they might be obliged to press through. The design did not end with these two; the harvest being so great, so few hands could not manage it. Three more Missionaries were sent after them, who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in April, 1709. But the two already named embarked at Copenhagen, November 29th, 1705, and arrived at the said Cape, the 23d of April following. Thence they departed, with many fervent wishes of such as were friends to the design, and, after many hardships, landed at Tranquebar, in the East Indies, on the 9th of July, 1706. While they were aboard their ship, they applied themselves to the study of the Portuguese and Malabarick languages, the former being of as extensive use as the latter in the East Indies. The Missionaries being arrived, by the help of a Malabar who had served the East India Company, and was skilled in the European languages, they acquired such skill, as to be able to preach both in the Portuguese and Malabar tongues. One Modalipa, a Malabar gentleman, was their first convert from Paganism, and, after him, two others, whom they took into their service, who were willing to be instructed in the principles of Christianity; and in a little time they baptized five heathens in the Danish church. By the way we may observe, that Tranquebar, where the Missionaries laboured, has been in the hands of the Danes these eighty years, and is by them considerably improved; it was but a small village, but is now a populous town, surrounded with strong walls, and provided with a good

Fortaleza or citadel There are three Christian Churches in it; a Danish Church for the use of that nation, the Jerusalem Church, for the converted Malabarians; and another belonging to the Papists. There is besides a large mosque built by the Mahometans, and five huge pagods frequented by the Malabar Heathens. Some of the adjacent towns and villages, fifteen in number, are subject to the Danish Government. The largest of these is Borejar, containing almost as many inhabitants as Tranquebar itself, and Tilliar, a fine large town; the rest of the villages are not so populous. Through all these, the Danish missionaries preached the Gospel.

Another pamphlet, giving account of the progress of these missionaries, is printed in the year 1710. They gained more and more ground among the Heathens in Malabar; God opened a door to speak the mysteries of Christ, though his servants met with a deal of opposition. However, their congregation was increased to above one hundred; and they had hopes, that there would be a considerable addition in a short time. They tell us, that the Malabarians did not only resort from very distant places, to hear the word preached in their own language, but had also many private conferences with the Christian missionaries, upon the subject of the salvation of their souls. Mr Ziegenbalg, who is the greatest proficient in the Malabar tongue, has sent over several treatises composed by himself in that language, bearing the following titles, *Twenty-six Sermons, preached at Jerusalem Church, upon all the articles of the Christian Religion. A Draught of the Examination of such as are to be Baptized. A Book of Psalms usually sung in our Churches.* As for the outside of these books, they are of a quite different dress from these in Europe; there is neither paper nor leather, pen nor ink made use of; the characters, by the help of iron tools, are impressed on a sort of leaves of a certain tree, much like a palm-tree; and at the end of every leaf a hole is made, and through the hole a string is drawn, whereby they are kept together, but must be untied whenever the print of these characters is to be read. The missionaries designed to solicit the king of Tanjour, for liberty to travel freely in his dominions, and to preach the Gospel of Christ to such of the Heathens as are willing to receive it; but were obliged to lay aside this design, being informed, that no such address will be received, except it be accompanied with great gifts and presents, which they are not able to offer. But they entered on a journey to Madras, January 7th, 1710. When Mr Ziegenbalg's congregation were afraid of his leaving them, they entreated him with tears not to quit them, but to return as soon as possible, which he promised to do. Last New Year's day, he wrote a pretty long letter to the Heathens in Malabar, laying down the most proper means for their real conversion to God, and inviting them to espouse the interest of their souls, while it was brought so near their doors: he transcribed copies of this letter, and dispersed the same among the Heathens, with the Gospel of St Matthew; and a small treatise, containing the *Principles of Christianity*, presenting it even to the Brahmans, and talking with the Heathen about these things almost every hour. But I cannot enlarge on all the particulars. The same author also informs us, that their new planted congregation at Tranquebar was increasing under the gracious influence of God, though in its very in-

fancy surrounded with various oppositions and persecutions, the common attendants of the Gospel of Christ. Our whole congregation (says he) both of these who are actually baptized, and the Catechumens, is increased to about an hundred and sixty persons. Our Malabaric school is in very great forwardness, and provided with an able master, who, before his conversion to Christianity, was one of the most able and famous poets and schoolmasters at Tranquebar. His conversion caused a great alarm among the Heathens, who never expected any such thing; but now all is quiet again. We have begun to set up some manufactories, which we hope, may prove in time, beneficial to the main work we are carrying on, if we are powerfully supported by our superiors. I do not question but hundreds of Heathens would have been initiated into Christianity by this time, but these supports being wanting, we endeavour the more to bring the few that are entered into the lists of our religion, to a more solid and experimental taste thereof. But, above all things, I must tell you, what taketh me most, is the education of the Malabar children here. They are of a good promising temper, being not yet prepossessed with so many headstrong prejudices against Christianity. They are sooner wrought upon into a sense of the fear of God. Certainly we look on our youth as a stock and nursery, from whence, in time, plentiful supplies may be drawn, for enriching our Malabaric Church, with such members as may prove a glory and ornament to the Christian religion. It is true, there are but few of the grown Heathens, who are willing to be baptized into the name of Christ; and yet there is always a concurrence of people attending our sermons, and other parts of divine service: and, doubtless, many return with strong convictions left upon their minds: all this gives me a fair prospect of gaining a large door for the word in process of time." He tells also, "That the English at Fort St David have been very encouraging to this noble design." He adds, "The Roman Catholic missionaries have made a wonderful progress, and continue to overrun the country; but since their chief design is to make proselytes to a party, such as fall under their management are left in the utmost darkness and ignorance, without receiving the least tincture of real inward piety and conversion." Our author met with a Brahman, who had been baptized four years before that by these Popish missionaries, and yet knew nothing of Christianity, but that he was sprinkled with water; yea, carried still about with him the usual badge whereby these Pagan priests distinguish themselves from the common people, which is a little Heathenish idolet, fastened before their breasts; he also anointed his breast and forehead after the way of these Pagan priests, with an ointment made of ashes and cow dung. This is the sorry conversion of Heathens by the Popish missionaries.

In a third pamphlet, under the same title, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, printed at London in 1714, we have a further account of this good work. The missionaries set up a charity school for advancing their design: they got a few Malabar boys, and laid the foundation of the school in 1706; to engage the Heathen as much as possible, they not only instructed their children gratis, but also provided many of them with food and raiment, as their exigence required. This, in the very infancy of the design, could not but leave a good impression upon

the grown Heathens, who hardly ever before had seen any such thing as love among Christians, except that love which they usually place in the riches and treasures of India. As this sort of love is too obvious, from the conduct of Christians in these parts, so it has disgraced the best of religions to a prodigy, and rendered the name of a Christian scandalous to a proverb. The missionaries erected one Malabar and one Portuguese school, sharing the management of these schools betwixt them; when the number of scholars increased, they were assisted by ushers. One of the most expensive branches of the whole undertaking was, the transcribing of books for the use of their schools; they sometimes employed four, five, or six kanakappel or transcribers, as the exigence of the work did require, and their circumstances allow: they neglected not any opportunity of conversing with Heathens come to age, about the state of their souls, and the eternal truths of the Christian faith, but found them bigotted to their Pagan superstitions. Some attended out of curiosity, some from a view to temporal interest, and some did make a step towards Christianity, but were soon shaken, on the approach of any suffering, and started back to Paganism. Some were highly pleased when they heard the missionaries talk of the contempt of the world, and of a reformation of manners; but as soon as they touched the grand article of Jesus Christ, and upon baptism, as the first inlet to a spiritual life, they flinched from it, and said, "They could be happy without all this." As for the adult Heathens, who were willing to be initiated by baptism into the Christian faith; they are carefully instructed for some months together, before that sacrament is administered to them; that so the missionaries may discover at least the operation of the Spirit of God working within, and inspiring them with a hearty desire to submit to the rules of the Gospel. We must suppose the devil, as the god of this world, has an extraordinary power in these vast Pagan dominions, benighted for so many ages with Heathenish darkness, superstition, and idolatry: so as they are thereby become a cage of unclean birds, and a receptacle of demons and wicked spirits. This is perhaps the reason, that some of the Catechumens are now and then haunted by most terrible temptations, the enemy of souls terrifying them one time with diabolical visions, and at another with frightful suggestions offered to the mind from within; so unwilling is he to quit one of his wonted palaces. And this usually befalls them much about the time of their approaching baptism.

The missionaries erected a church, and preached in it in August, 1707, in presence of a numerous company of Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, who had a sermon preached to them both in the Malabaric and Portuguese language.

Since an exact knowledge of the Malabar divinity is necessary to refute and raze the foundation of their idolatrous worship, Mr Ziegenbalg purchased a good many books wherein it is contained, and applied himself to that study.

But what tended in a special manner to advance this good design of propagating Christianity among the Heathen in that country was, the printing of the Malabar New Testament, which was begun October 1708, and ended in March, 1711. About the latter end of that year one thousand two hundred and fifty copies of the New Testament in Portuguese were printed off: the missionaries settled a correspond-

ence with the corporation for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, at London, and the said society did very charitably send them a printing press with all necessary utensils, six hundred weight of types, one hundred reams of paper, with other valuable contributions: and one Mr Jonas Finck, a native of Silesia, did go to the East Indies to be their printer. With this assistance, a good many little books were printed for the use of the Malabaric school, and the converted Heathens in these parts. The titles of these books are to be seen in the said pamphlet.

The packet of letters from these parts, in September, 1712, and in January, 1713, gives account, that in the Malabaric and Portuguese Churches, there were, in January, 1713, of persons baptized two hundred and seven, and Catechumens prepared for baptism twenty-six. In the five charity schools were seventy-eight children, of which fifty-nine were clothed and maintained upon the public expense, and some persons employed in preparing food for them, and doing other services about the churches and schools. The missionaries hope, that in a little time some of the more advanced scholars in the Malabaric school, will be fit to be employed in the quality of schoolmasters, catechists, and transcribers.

There is another pamphlet, giving an account of the religion, government, and economy of the Malabarians, sent by the Danish missionaries to their correspondents in Europe, translated from High-Dutch, and printed in London in 1717. The whole is pleasing and edifying, by way of question and answer. But I shall only notice a few queries. *Quest. 2.* "Have you discovered some true workings of grace in the souls of these Catechumens? are you sure there is more in their conversion than a bare external compliance with, and verbal confession of the Christian doctrine? what proofs and indications have you of an inward work of grace?" *Ans.* After the Gospel of Christ has begun to be preached to this Heathen world, many commotions have been observed among Heathens, Mahometans, and Popishly affected Christians. Before we began to preach here, every one thought himself safe in his wonted way of religion, without any doubt about his future salvation; but after we have begun to call in question the goodness of their religion, and alarmed them into some doubts and apprehensions, many have exclaimed against us, and loaded our labour with lies and calumnies: others have been so far convinced, as to own, they stand in need of a thorough conversion, and been willing to discourse with us more at large about their better concerns; but then they have suffered themselves to be diverted from so good a design by the cunning of Satan. Others of the Heathen have agreed with us in many points, and have approved of whatever is written in the Word of God concerning a holy and virtuous life; but then they have refused the name of Christians, pretending, they could be saved without all this. Some at last have been entirely convinced of the necessity of believing on Christ, and of being baptised in his holy name, and have fully complied with these terms. However, before their admission to so sacred an ordinance, they have been faithfully instructed in the most necessary articles of our religion, especially about the nature of faith in Christ, and true repentance preceding it. Whenever we found so desirable a change in some degree upon their minds, attended with a hearty desire to be ad-

mitted to baptism, we then made no further delay in administering it to them, for fear of giving their friends occasion to obstruct the design and by the craft of the devil, to make them return to Heathenism, as it has happened to some: yet none have ever been admitted to baptism without previous instruction in the principles of the catechism for two or three months together.—None of these Catechumens but has his share both of outward afflictions and inward temptations, during that time wherein he was prepared for baptism. When baptised, we must leave them to the powerful operation of the good Spirit of God, and thank the Lord for so promising a beginning he has hitherto granted to our weak endeavours, in rescuing some from Heathenish errors and superstitions, particularly in the midst of so many impediments that surround us on all hands. *Quest. 3.* What method do you observe in preaching and administering the sacraments? *Ans.* When I first began to preach in Malabaric, I did always chuse such a sentence of scripture as treated upon an article of faith, and this I explained in an easy doctrinal manner. According to this method I preached twenty-five sermons, and therein I opened, as well as I could, the principal branches of our holy religion. Afterwards being straitened in time, I could not set down any longer my sermons at large, but was fain to preach without the help of such notes. However, I did earnestly meditate upon every point I was to propose, that I might deliver it in a good connection, and with all plainness—expounding the text, and then applying it by way of instruction, correction, consolation &c. My fellow-labourer has hitherto preached on the gospels in the Portuguese tongue, and in that language he catechises every week. In the administration of the holy communion, we follow the liturgy of the Church of Denmark; every one that intends to receive the sacrament must give notice of it eight days before. During this time he is every day catechised one hour, admonished, and prepared for receiving that ordinance. Baptism is likewise administered conform to that ritual."

The fourth volume of letters concerning the propagation of Christianity by the Danish missionaries is not yet published, so far as I know. I write this in August, 1723; but by several letters printed at London in the year 1720, it appears, that the said missionaries wrote to our present Sovereign King George, the following letter—

"To the King of Great Britain.

"It is not unknown to your Majesty, that God hath inclined the heart of his Danish Majesty King Frederick the Fourth, to begin the propagation of the gospel among the Heathens in the East Indies, with the management whereof we, the unworthy servants and dispensers of the Word of God, are intrusted; and, according to the talents God has been pleased to bestow upon us from above, we endeavour with all diligence and fidelity, both by preaching and writing, to promote the conversion of the gentiles. There are many pious and learned gentlemen in your Majesty's kingdom, who take great pleasure in this work, and have seconded it in the best manner, both by the good advice and assistance; and your Majesty having been graciously pleased to permit Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, one of the underwritten missionaries, when at London last year, with all humility to give your Majesty a verbal account of the whole undertaking, we cannot but entertain good

hopes from thence, that your Majesty will receive with some satisfaction, from the midst of the Heathens in this country, our joyful acknowledgements for the favourable inclinations your Majesty was pleased to express towards the work of conversion carried on among them. Among all the crowned heads of the Protestant powers, your Majesty, by means of a large extensive commerce your subjects are engaged in with other nations, hath the fairest opportunity of publishing the Gospel of Christ in divers languages, among those that do not believe it, and thereby to promote the conversion of the Heathens: and it is not a small number of your Majesty's subjects, as well those of high rank, as others in a lower station, who heartily espouse the propagation of the gospel, and promoting Christian knowledge. These considerations make us hope, that your Majesty being firmly seated on your throne, will be more at leisure to regard and lay to heart the spreading of the saving Gospel of Christ in the Pagan world. This will be accompanied with a continual blessing in this life, and an eternal reward in that which is to come. As we desire hereby to return our most humble acknowledgements, for the great assistance received from your Majesty's subjects of Great Britain towards carrying on this work in the Heathen world; so we do further most humbly beseech your Majesty, to have this most Christian design in most gracious remembrance, and to continue to favour both the mission and us who are engaged in it. We wish your Majesty, and all the Royal family of Great Britain, a plentiful effusion of divine grace, and all temporal blessings, with a happy and prosperous Government; and continue with the greatest submission, &c.

"Written at Tranquebar in the East Indies, upon the coast of Coromandel, January 2d, 1717.

"BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG.

"JOHN ERNEST GRUNDLER."

To which letter, our sovereign returned the following answer.—"It is a most acceptable relation you have given us in a letter, dated the 2d of January of this present year, not only because the work of conversion to the Christian faith begun among the Heathens, does, by the grace of God, prosperously advance; but, also, that in this our kingdom is shown so much of laudable zeal towards supporting the propagation of the gospel. We wish you health and strength long to discharge your function, with a continued happy success: and as we shall be always very well pleased to hear of the progress thereof, so we shall, at a proper season be found ready to assist you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and your encouragement. Given at our palace at Hampton Court, Aug. 23, 1717, the fourth year of our reign. We remain graciously inclined to you,

GEORGE R."

To this letter the said missionaries made a suitable return; as follows—

"To the King of Great Britain, &c.

"Your Majesty's most gracious letter of the Aug. 23, 1717, came to us on the 4th of May following. We received it with the greatest joy imaginable, and were highly comforted and quickened in our zeal for the glory of Almighty God, when we read these your Majesty's most gracious expressions: 'As we shall be always well pleased to hear of the happy success and progress of this work, so we shall, at a

proper season, be found ready to assist you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair and your encouragement.' Your Majesty hereby most graciously allows us to make a further report of the state of our affairs, and we thence conceive joyful hopes, that your Majesty will add to the glorious title of defender of the faith, the noble character of its zealous promoter, not only by supporting the reign of Jesus Christ in your own dominions, but also by promoting and extending it among the Heathens and Infidels, in the most remote parts of the world. Therefore, after having heartily thanked God Almighty for inclining your Majesty's heart toward so holy a design, and with the profoundest submission acknowledged your Majesty's high favour toward us your unworthy servants; may it please your Majesty to accept of the following account of the state of that work in which we are employed. We the missionaries, on our part are endeavouring, according to the measure of the grace God Almighty has imparted to us, plentifully to spread abroad the seed of the Word of God among the Heathens in their own language, there being no other means for touching the hearts of Heathens in order to their conversion. We also maintain Indians to assist us as catechists, for which function we first prepare them, by instructing them in the saving faith of Jesus Christ, and then send them to propagate it among the Heathens. To such places whither the instruction of the gospel by word of mouth cannot reach, we send our printed Malabarian books, which are read in these parts by many of all sorts and degrees. As we are perfectly sensible, that to promote and perpetuate such an undertaking, a solid foundation must be laid by translating the Holy Scriptures, and publishing other instructive books in the language of the country, we did a good while ago finish and publish a translation of the New Testament, and are now labouring with great application, in translating the Old Testament into the Malabarian and Portuguese languages: besides, we compose every year some books for instructing of the Heathens, containing the fundamentals of the Christian religion; for better publication of which, the printing press we have received from our benefactors in England, is of great use to us. That our printing press may always be provided with a sufficient quantity of letters, we entertain in the mission persons for cutting moulds, and casting letters, as also for binding books, being furnished every year with the necessary tools and materials from England, by the laudable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. To supply the want of paper, we have been at great expense in erecting a paper mill here. And so under the invocation of the name of God, we plentifully dispense, both by word of mouth and writing, in this Heathen country, the gospel; which makes a happy impression on the minds of many of the inhabitants. Some indeed, particularly their Brahmans or priests, gainsay and scoff; others come to a sense of the abominations of idolatry, and leave off worshipping their idols: others are brought to better principles, and shew in their discourse and writing, that they have got a greater light than their forefathers: others again give full assent to all the truths of Christianity, but out of a worldly consideration waive baptism and the name of Christians. But some break through all difficulties, and, subduing their reason to the obedience of faith, resolutely profess Christianity; these are for some time instructed by us and our catechists, and after-

wards, when they give true signs of repentance and conversion, are received into the bosom of the Christian Church, by holy baptism. These who are become members of our congregation, we are instructing with all diligence, that Jesus Christ may be formed within them; our private exercises with them are daily catechisings, by sending out catechists to their habitations, to enquire into their way of life, to examine them upon the catechism, to pray with them, and to make a report to us, the missionaries, of what passes among them. To exercise them in praying, we have set hours thrice a week, in which prayers are read to them in private. We give free occasion to every one of them, to communicate to us their concerns. Our public exercises consist in preaching to them, every Sunday in the morning, a sermon in the Malabarian language, and another in the Portuguese; and in the afternoon we catechise in both languages. Besides, we preach a sermon in the High Dutch for the Europeans: every Wednesday we catechise a church in Portuguese; and every Friday in Malabarian. As to the children of either sex that belong to our congregation, we instruct them all in our schools, in the principles of Christianity, reading, writing, and other useful knowledge; they are maintained in every thing at our charge. We have erected a seminary for such as we design for the service of the gospel, to be furnished thence with proper catechists, preceptors, and clerks. Such boys as want necessary capacity, we put to learn handy-crafts. We have also established schools, one in this town, and another in a populous borough not far off, where they are instructed by Christian tutors, and have full allowance, except victuals and clothes, which their parents find them. The Lord having so blessed our labours, that the new congregation increases every year; the first Church which we built became too narrow, upon which we found it necessary to build one more spacious; and it pleased God to furnish us with means to finish it in two years time; and we are now constantly preaching in it in three languages. We have likewise, at the desire of the English who live on this coast, erected two schools, one at Fort St George and another at Fort St David. The present governor of Fort St George is a special friend to the mission, and has lately remitted to it a considerable present. The rest of our friends here have cheerfully supplied our wants this year. The Lord, whose work it is, guide us for the future by his Divine Providence, and stir up in Europe many promoters among persons of all ranks, that, in these last times, the salvation of the Heathens may be sought with earnestness, and their conversion promoted by the whole Christian Church. That our most merciful God may crown your Majesty with all prosperity, is the prayer of your Majesty's, &c.

"BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG.

"JOHN ERNEST GRUNDLER.

"Tranquebar, November 24th, 1718."

SECTION II.

IN 1710, THE SOCIETY AT LONDON FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE UNDERTAKES THE MANAGEMENT OF CHARITIES PUT INTO THEIR HANDS FOR SUPPORTING THE PROTESTANT MISSION AT TRANQUEBAR, THEN MAINTAINED BY THE KING OF DENMARK.—IN 1728, THERE IS A NEW MISSION FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE HEATHENS AT MADRAS.—AND AT CUDALORE, NEAR FORT ST DAVID.—IN 1740, THE NUMBER OF THOSE WHO HAD JOINED THE CHRISTIAN CONGREGATIONS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE MISSION AMOUNTS TO FIVE THOUSAND, NINE HUNDRED, AND FIFTY-NINE, OF WHICH THERE THEN REMAINED ALIVE THREE THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED, AND SIXTY-SIX.—THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW IN THE MALABARIAN TONGUE.—THE NEW TESTAMENT AND PSALTER IN ARABIC.—SALTSBURGH AND GEORGIA.

FROM PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 26, § 6.

THE Society at London for Promoting Christian Knowledge did in the year 1710 undertake the management of such charities as were, or should be put into their hands, for the support and enlargement of the Protestant mission, then maintained by the King of Denmark at Tranquebar in the East Indies, for the conversion of the Heathen of those parts. Accordingly they from time to time assisted the missionaries with money, a printing press, paper, and other necessities, (as they were enabled) until the year 1728; when, upon a proposal made by the reverend Mr Schultz, one of the Danish missionaries, to remove to Fort St George, and there being a new mission, for the conversion of the Heathen at Madras, the society engaged for the support of the same, though at an expence that did then far exceed their ability, trusting to the goodness and blessing of Almighty God; which expence has been since greatly increased by the addition of two ministers; and will be more by such extraordinary charges as must necessarily attend the enlargement of the mission to Cuddalore, (near Fort St David, another English settlement) which has been since made by the society. However, the society cheerfully rely upon the same wise and gracious Providence, which has hitherto wonderfully prospered this, and all other their undertakings, to raise up such a true Christian spirit, as will abundantly supply whatever money shall be wanting to carry on so pious and glorious a design, as that of enlarging the kingdom of Jesus Christ upon earth.

In the month of June, July, August, and September, 1742, the society received several letters from their missionaries and correspondents in East India; and by that from Mr Schultz, their missionary at Madras, near Fort St George, dated the 29th of January, 1741-42, they hear, "That by the Kent, Captain Robson, he had received their favour of March 30th, 1741; but as the ship did not touch at Fort St George, none of the goods sent over to the mission were then come to him." He at the same time informs them, "That the English mission there was in much the same state as the year before; and that the number of children in the school, kept gratis, amounts to thirty. That some of the youths, who had been wholly instructed in that school, were now able to perform the duty of schoolmasters and catechists; and three of them continued with him, and were assistant to him in one or other of these respects: and that a fourth was gone upon the like

service to the mission at Tranquebar. That besides their mission-school in the Malabarian tongue, they have begun to keep up a little Portuguese one for poor Protestant children that come from Pallicatte and Sadras. That a certain native of Borear, near Tranquebar, together with his wife, having been converted to Christianity by the opportunities they met with at Fort St George, and afterwards so far instructed as to be able to teach, and do the duty of a Catechist, had been some years with them in the mission in that capacity; but having a mind to go and see his relations at Tranquebar, as soon as he came to Negapatnam, the Dutch minister there chose him to the same office among the black Christians in that town." He concludes with wishes "That it may please God to continue his favours to the people in that country, and enable the society to be the instruments thereof."

The Rev. Mr John Ernest Guister, and Mr John Zachary Kiernander, missionaries at Cuddalore, near Fort St. David's, by their joint letter of September 8th, 1741, signify, "That they had received, on the 24th of July, the society's favour of February 6th, 1741-2, but none of a later date, either from England or Germany; the latter ships not being then arrived. That they had now sent a journal of their proceedings for the first six months of that year, together with the minutes of their conferences for that time." In two other letters, both dated January 19th, 1741-2, they acquaint the society, "That the favour of theirs, of March 30th, 1741, was then come safe to them. That they had now conveyed to Madras the journal and conference minutes for the latter six months of the years past; and intended to send duplicates, together with their money accounts, by the ship which is to be dispatched from Fort St David's." Also we find, "That they apply themselves closely to the work of their mission: that they have already made great proficiency in the Malabarian language; and are taking pains to perfect a grammar and dictionary of it, upon a plan of Mr Sartorius; nay, that Mr Guister is already able to preach in it, and to hold frequent conferences with the natives."

The Rev. Messieurs Dal, Bosse, Obuch, Wiedebrook, Kohlhoff, Fabricius, and Zeglin, Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, by their letter of December 31st, 1741, signify, "That, by God's good providence, they have found opportunities of making known the gospel beyond the kingdom of Tanjour, by putting into the hands of the chief officers of the Mogul's army, the New Testament in Arabic, as well as several little treatises in the Tamulian tongue. That the work of their mission at home, and in the country around Tranquebar, goes on with extraordinary success; so that their congregation had in the year 1739 been increased with seven hundred and thirty eight souls. That the new buildings they had begun for the Malabarian schools were almost finished, at an expence of eight thousand three hundred and seventy-two dollars; and that they had just printed a new correct edition of the gospel in the Tamalio language, together with a Grammar; to which they hoped ere long to add a new and complete Dictionary."

Along with this letter there came another from the same missionaries, dated December 31st, 1741, to acquaint the society with the state of their mission, and the Christian religion in those parts; which is as follows, viz. :—"That their congregations were

increased, the Portuguese with sixteen, and the Malabarian of the town, with an hundred and seventeen souls, including seventeen that had been instructed and christened on that side of Cape Comorin, by Mr Walther, one of their brethren, on board the Danish ship, when he was going back for Europe. That to the Malabarian congregation in the country an hundred and three were added; so that the whole increase for that year was two hundred and thirty-six souls." These new augmentations, added to all former accounts from the beginning of the mission, make up a number of five thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine souls; whereof there remained alive three thousand seven hundred and sixty-six at the end of the year 1740. The Malabarian school at present consists of eighty-two boys, and fifty-seven girls. The Portuguese (besides five boys and five girls from abroad) of sixteen boys, and seventeen girls, maintained with all necessaries by benefactions from Europe, making in all an hundred and seventy-two children. That the children of the Malabarian school had taken possession of the new buildings; and that one great design of this school was to be a seminary for ministers, schoolmasters, and catechists, among the natives, as the most likely means to propagate Christianity in those parts. That, by leave of the college at Copenhagen they had, 28th December, ordained Diego, a man of excellent character, to be a priest, because Aaron was now infirm, and not able to perform the duties of a minister to so large a congregation. That as to their printing this year, they had got a new edition of a small treatise, called, *The Way to Salvation*, in the Malabar tongue; which was all they could do, because of a scarcity of paper, except two or three sheets of the Portuguese Bible. That the printing of the Portuguese Old Testament was very earnestly desired by the Dutch ministers at Batavia. That the Heidelberg Catechism in the Cingalese tongue had been printed at Ceylon; and the gospel according to St Matthew in the Malabarian, that language being used in the North of Ceylon. That the Rev. Mr Cramer, who alone knew the Malabarian language, being dead; and Mr Wetselius, who alone knows the Cingalese, being old, there is occasion for more ministers in that island. That the Rev. Mr Aguiar, who had lived ten years as a Protestant missionary at Collicatta, in Bengal, was appointed a Portuguese preacher at Columbo, and other places of Ceylon. That, at Batavia, there was a great want of Portuguese and Malayan preachers, by reason several were lately deceased. That Mr Sichterman, the Dutch director at Hooghly in Bengal, greatly wishing a Protestant mission might be established at Collicatta, had promised to give any missionaries all the liberty and encouragement in the Dutch territories that lay in his power. They then give a brief account of some troubles in the kingdom of Tanjour; and that Mr Obuch, in company with Mr Wiedebroek, having travelled to Nagapatnam, and fetched a small compass farther into the country, preaching the gospel, had got a hurt, but was happily recovered; though after a confinement of three quarters of a year to his bed. They conclude with hearty prayers and wishes to God for the society, and a blessing on all their designs.

Other corresponding members have given their opinions and advices concerning the mission, which have been taken into most deliberate consideration

by the society; after which, particular answers were sent, (in pursuance of their express orders and directions) to all these letters by the Heathcote, Captain Jonathan Cape, now bound to Fort St George, together with the things desired by the missionaries, and the usual remittances to them: and, by the continued favour of the directors of the East India Company, to so Christian and charitable a design, all these remittances in goods and money went freight-free; for which the society desire those gentlemen to accept of their heartiest thanks, in public testimony of their gratitude.

In the year 1720, the society extended their regard to the Greek Church in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt. To this end they published proposals for printing here, with a new set of types, the New Testament and Psalter in Arabic, and were enabled, by the blessing of God, on the recommendation of the Bishops, joined to the charity and zeal of their own members, to procure an edition of above six thousand Psalters, and ten thousand Testaments, as also of five thousand Catechetical Instructions, with an Abridgement of the History of the Bible annexed in Arabic; at so large an expense as the sum of two thousand nine hundred and seventy-six pounds, one shilling and sixpence halfpenny, to which his late Majesty was a bountiful contributor, by a gracious benefaction of five hundred pounds; five thousand six hundred and sixty-eight Psalters, two thousand six hundred and eighty-two New Testaments, and two thousand two hundred and twenty Catechetical Instructions, with the abridgement aforesaid, have been already sent to those parts, or into Persia, by means of their correspondent in Russia, which were most thankfully received; and the rest are reserved to be sent as occasion shall offer.

In the beginning of the year 1732, the society, when they heard the melancholy account of the sufferings of the Protestants in Saltzburg, (having first obtained his Majesty's leave) resolved upon doing all that lay in their power to raise collections for their persecuted brethren. To this end, in June the same year, they published, *An Account of the Sufferings of the Persecuted Protestants in the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, &c.*, and afterwards published *A further Account of their Sufferings, &c.*, with an *Extract of the Journals of M. Von Reck, the Commissary of the First Transport of Saltzburgers to Georgia; and of the Ministers that accompanied them thither, 1733.* These accounts being enforced by the generous example of many noble and honourable persons, as also by liberal contributions, and earnest exhortations from the Bishops and their Clergy, had, through God's blessing, so good an effect upon the minds of charitable and well-disposed Christians of every rank and denomination, that the society (besides making many large remittances to Germany) have been enabled to send over to the English colony in Georgia, in the years 1733, 1734, 1735, and 1741, four transports, consisting of more than two hundred Protestant Emigrants, chiefly Saltzburgers; who, with two missionaries and a schoolmaster, are settled by themselves at Ebenezer; where lands are assigned to them by the Trustees for establishing the said colony: and the society are informed by letters of the 15th of March, 1738-9, that they are well pleased with the healthiness of the climate, and the fruitfulness of their plantations.

The great expenses of these transports, and the

many extraordinary charges that have been necessary for the support and encouragement of this infant settlement, together with an hundred pounds a year, as a salary for their two missionaries and schoolmaster, have so far reduced the charities belonging to this branch of the society's designs, that they have nothing left now to answer any future wants and contingencies, excepting two thousand five hundred pounds, new South-Sea annuities, which have been purchased as a standing fund for paying the aforesaid annual salary to the missionaries and schoolmaster, till some certain and settled provision can be made for them in Georgia; but for particulars, the society refer themselves to their books of receipts and disbursements on this account, which may be inspected gratis by any person calling on their Secretary, at their house in Bartlett's Buildings, London; of which two extracts have been already published and dispersed among the benefactors to this excellent charity, with the thanks of the society, and their prayers that God would eternally reward so great and seasonable an instance of Christian beneficence, as had been ministered on this occasion to persecuted Protestants, when driven out of their native country, under the most pitiable circumstances of distress.

CHAPTER II.

IN NEW ENGLAND FROM 1705 TO 1734.

INTRODUCTION.—THE SAD DECAT OF VITAL RELIGION IN NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE DEATH OF THE FIRST PLANTERS.—THE COMPLAINTS OF THEIR GODLY MINISTERS ON THAT ACCOUNT.

From PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, Nos. 12, 13, 14.

1. MR SAMUEL DANFORTH, a pious and learned minister in Roxbury, in his sermon before the general court of the Massachusetts colony on May 11th, 1670, being the day of election of magistrates, hath the following words, "Whether we have not in a great measure forgot our errand into the wilderness, is a solemn and serious inquiry. You have solemnly professed before God, angels and men, that the cause of your leaving your country, kindred, and fathers' houses, and transporting yourselves and your wives, little ones, and substance over the vast ocean into this howling wilderness, was your liberty to walk in the faith of the Gospel, with all good conscience, according to the order of the Gospel, and your enjoyment of the pure worship of God according to his institution, without human mixtures and impositions. Now let us consider whether our ancient and primitive affections to the Lord Jesus his glorious gospel remain. Let us call to remembrance the former days, and consider, whether it was not then better with us than it is now. In our first and best times the kingdom of Heaven broke in upon us with a holy violence, and every man pressed into it. What mighty efficacy and power had the clear and faithful dispensation of the gospel upon your hearts? how affectionately and zealously did you entertain the kingdom of God? how careful were you, even all sorts, young and old, high and low, to take hold of the opportunities of your spiritual good and edification? ordering your secular affairs so as not to interfere with your general calling. How diligent and faithful in preparing

your hearts for the reception of the word? laying apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, that you might receive with meekness the engrafted word; and purging out all malice, guile, hypocrisy, envy, and all evil speaking; and, as new-born babes, desiring the sincere milk of the word. How attentive in hearing the everlasting gospel? watching daily at the gates of wisdom, and waiting at the posts of her doors: that ye might find eternal life, and obtain favour of the Lord. Gleaning day by day in the field of God's ordinances, and beating out what you had gleaned, by repetition and conference. How painful in recollecting, repeating and discoursing what you heard? whetting the Word of God upon the hearts of your children, servants, and neighbours. How fervent in prayer to God for his blessing on the seed sown? O what an esteem for Christ's faithful ambassadors in those days? how precious were they in your eyes? counting yourselves happy in the enjoyment of a pious, learned, and orthodox ministry. What ardent desires after communion with Christ in his ordinances? what solicitude to seek the Lord after the right order? what fervent zeal against all manner of heterodoxies? what holy endeavour to propagate religion to your children and posterity? charging them to know the God of their fathers and serve him with a perfect heart; publicly asserting and maintaining their interest in the Lord, and in his holy covenant, and zealously opposing those that denied the same. Then had the churches rest and were edified; walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost. O how your faith grew exceedingly! you proceeded from faith to faith, from a less to a greater degree, growing up in him who is your head; and receiving abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness. O how your love and charity towards each other abounded! O what comfort of love! what a holy sympathy! weeping with those that wept, and rejoicing with those that rejoiced!

"But who is there left among you that saw these churches in their first glory? and how do you see them now? are they not in your eyes in comparison thereof as nothing? is not the temper, complexion, and countenance of the churches strangely altered? doth not a careless, remiss, flat, dry, cold, dead frame of spirit grow upon us secretly, strongly, prodigiously? they that have ordinances as though they had none; they that hear the word as though they heard it not; and they that pray as though they prayed not; and they that receive the sacraments as though they received them not; and they that are exercised in holy things, using them by the by, as matters of custom and ceremony. Pride, contention, worldliness, covetousness, luxury, drunkenness, and uncleanness break in like a flood upon us; and good men grow cold in their love to God, and one another."

2. The Rev. Dr Increase Mather, in a treatise entitled, *Pray for the Rising Generation*, printed in 1678, writes, as follows. "Prayer is needful on this account, in that conversions are become rare in this age of the world. They that have their thoughts exercised in discerning things of this nature, have had sad apprehensions with reference unto this matter; that the work of conversion hath been at a great stand in the world. In the last age, in the days of our fathers, in other parts of the world, scarce a sermon preached but some evidently converted, and sometimes hundreds in a sermon. Which of us can

say we have seen the like? clear, sound conversions are not frequent in some congregations. The body of the rising generation is a poor, perishing, unconverted, and (except the Lord pour down his Spirit) an undone generation. Many that are profane, drunkards, swearers, lascivious, scoffers at the power of godliness, despisers of those that are good, disobedient. Others that are only civil, and outwardly conformed to good order, by reason of their education, but never knew what the new birth means."

3. Mr Samuel Torrey, pastor of the Church at Weymouth, in his sermon entitled, *A Plea for the Life of Dying Religion*, from Deut. xxxii. 47. "Because it is your life;" preached before the general court of the Massachusetts colony on May 16th, 1683, being the day of their election, says: "That there hath been a vital decay, a decay upon the very vitals of religion, by a deep declension in the life and power of it; that there is already a great death upon religion, little more left than a name to live; that the things which remain, are ready to die; and that we are in great danger of dying together with it: this is one of the most awakening, and humbling considerations of our present state and condition. Oh! the many deadly symptoms that are upon our religion! consider we then how much it is dying, respecting the very being of it, by the general failure of the work of conversion; whereby only it is that religion is propagated, continued, and upheld in being among any people. As converting work doth cease, so religion doth die away; though more insensibly, yet most irrecoverably. How much religion is dying in the very hearts of sincere Christians, by their declensions in grace, holiness, and the power of godliness! how much it is dying, respecting the visible profession, and practice of it: partly by the formality of churches; but more by the hypocrisy, and apostacy of formal, hypocritical professors! how much it is dying under the prevailing power of those sins and evils, which are utterly inconsistent with, and destructive of the life of it! those sins continuing, and prevailing, religion cannot live, it must needs die."

4. Dr Increase Mather, in his book entitled, *The Glory departing from New England*: printed in 1702, writes as follows:—"We are the posterity of the good old Puritan nonconformists in England, who were a strict and holy people. Such were our fathers who followed the Lord into this wilderness. O New England! New England! look to it that the glory be not removed from thee! for it begins to go! O tremble; for it is going, it is gradually departing! although there is that of divine glory still remaining, which we ought to be very thankful for; nevertheless, much of it is gone. You that are aged persons, and can remember what New England was fifty years ago, that saw these churches in their first glory; is there not a sad decay and diminution of that glory! how is the gold become dim! the most fine gold changed! Alas! what a change is there in that which hath been our glory! time was, when these churches were beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners. What a glorious presence of Christ was there in all his ordinances: many were converted, and willingly declared what God had done for their souls: and there were added to the churches daily such as should be saved. But, are not sound conversions become rare in this day and in many congregations? look into pulpits, and see if there is such a glory there as

once there was: New England has had teachers eminent for learning, and no less eminent for holiness, and all ministerial accomplishments. When will Boston see a Cotton and a Norton again? when will New England see a Hooker, a Shepherd, a Mitchel? not to mention others. No little part of the glory was laid in the dust, when these eminent servants of Christ were laid in their graves. Look into our civil state; does Christ reign there as once He did? how many churches, how many towns are there in New England that we may sigh over them and say,—the glory is gone! how many are there among us, whose fathers, in coming into the wilderness, designed nothing but religion, but they are not for another interest! There is sad cause to fear that greater departures of the glory are hastening upon us. For, 1st, those sins which have provoked the Lord to remove his glory, are not reformed; our iniquities testify against us, and our backslidings are many. That there is a general defection in New England from primitive purity and piety in many respects, is so plain it cannot be denied. 2dly, There are ministers who are not like their predecessors, nor principled nor spirited as they were. 3dly, The providence of God is threatening to pull down the wall which has been a defence to these churches. 4thly, That which some have thought was the special design of Providence in bringing choice people into this part of the world seems to be now over. It has been by wise and good men conjectured that the Lord's more peculiar design was that the world might see a specimen of what shall be over all the earth in the glorious times expected."

5. Dr Increase Mather, in a preface to a course of sermons on *Early Piety* by some ministers of Boston, printed 1711, writes, "I am now in the eighty-third year of my age; and having had an opportunity to converse with the first planters of this country, and having been for sixty-five years a preacher of the Gospel; I cannot but be in the disposition of those ancient men who had seen the foundation of the first house, and wept with a loud voice to see what a change the work of the temple had upon it. I wish it were no other than the weakness of Horace's old man, the *Laudator Temporis Acti*, when I complain there is a grievous decay of piety in the land, and a leaving the first love, and that the beauties of holiness are not to be seen as once they were; and the very interest of New England seems to be changed from a religious to a worldly one. Oh! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears." And, in a sermon in the aforementioned book, on *Early Piety*, he further writes, "The children of New England are or once were for the most part the children of godly men. What did our forefathers come into this wilderness for? not to gain estates, as men do now, but for religion, and that they might leave their children in a hopeful way of being truly religious. There was a famous man that preached before one of the greatest assemblies that ever was preached unto, seventy years ago; and he told them, I have lived in a country seven years, and all that time I never heard one profane oath, and all that time I never did see a man drunk in that land. Where was that country? It was New England! but ah degenerate New England, what art thou come to at this day? how are those sins become common in thee, that once were not so much as heard of in this land!"

6. Lastly, There is the following remarkable passage in a sermon of the late Dr Cotton Mather, at the public lecture in Boston, printed in 1706, entitled, *The Good old Way*: "It is confessed by all, who know anything of the matter; and, oh! why not with rivers of tears bewailed! that there is a general, and an horrible decay of Christianity, among the professors of it. The glorious and heavenly religion of our precious Christ, generally appears with quite another face, in the lives of Christians at this day, than what it had in the lives of the saints, into whose hands it was first of all delivered. The modern Christianity is, too generally, but a very shadow of the ancient! ah! sinful nation, ah! children that are corrupters; what have your hands done, to defile, and to deface, a jewel, which restored unto its native lustre, would outshine the sun in the firmament! so notorious is the decay of Christianity, that whole books are written to inquire into it. The complaints of the corruptions that are become epidemical in the lives of Christians, and little short of universal, are everywhere, every day wounding our ears. At last they are come so far, that one of the English Bishops has let fall this mournful passage; 'were a wise man to chuse his religion, by the lives of them who profess it, perhaps Christianity would be the last religion he would chuse.' And, sadder yet! there has been a set of Protestants in the best island under heaven: Protestants who have made a profession of more than ordinary purity; there was a time when their behaviour did much answer their profession; but I have lately read another, insulting over them, that these also have of later time almost wholly lost the reputation which mankind once allowed unto them. In these deplorable circumstances of Christianity, what shall be done? it is now past mere conjecture with me; I am now got up unto an absolute certainty; that we are entered into that age, wherein the primitive Christianity shall be revived unto astonishment; the enemies of it shall see it and be grieved, they shall gnash their teeth and melt away."

SECTION I.

OF THE REVIVAL IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1680, UPON A SOLEMN RENEWING OF COVENANT WITH GOD, AND ONE ANOTHER.—OF THE REVIVAL IN TAUNTON, IN FEBRUARY 1705, WHICH BEGAN WITH MEETINGS FOR PRAYER AMONG THE YOUNG MEN, AND SOCIETIES FOR REFORMATION IN IMITATION OF THOSE AT LONDON.—OF OLD MR STODDART'S FIVE HARVESTS AT NORTHAMPTON.—OF THE REVIVAL AT WINDHAM IN CONNECTICUT COLONY IN 1721.—OF THE AWAKENING BY THE EARTHQUAKE, OCTOBER 1727.—AND THE REVIVAL AT FREEHOLD IN NEW JERSEY, 1731, &c.

From PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, Nos. 14, 15, 10, 90, 91, 100.

1. In 1679, the Massachusetts government called a Synod of all the churches in that colony to consider and answer these two most important questions. "1. What were the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England? 2. What is to be done that so these evils may be reformed?" And among their answers to the second question, the Synod advised the several churches to an express and solemn renewal of covenant with God and one another: with which many complied, and thereupon there was a considerable revival of religion among them. And Dr Cotton Mather tells

us (in his *Church History of New England*, Book v.) that "Very remarkable was the blessing of God on the churches, which did not so sleep (as some others) not only by a great advancement of holiness in the people; but also by a great addition of converts to their holy fellowship. And many thousand spectators will testify that they never saw the special presence of the great God our Saviour more notably discovered than in the solemnity of these opportunities." Dr Cotton Mather likewise adds, that "The Massachusetts colony was not alone in such essays of reformation; but the colonies of Plymouth and Connecticut," &c. And yet sadly goes on in the following words, "Our manifold indispositions to recover the dying power of godliness were punished with successive calamities; under all of which the apostacies from that godliness have rather increased than abated. Although there has been a glorious profession of religion made by the body of this people unto this day, yea, and although there be thousands, who, by keeping their hearts with all diligence, and by ordering their conversations aright, justify their profession; yet the number of them that so strictly walk with God, has been woefully decaying. The old spirit of New England has been sensibly going out of the world, as the old saints in whom it was, have gone: and instead thereof, the spirit of the world, with a lamentable neglect of strict piety, has crept in upon the rising generation." Thus, alas, that revival of religion in New England about the year 1680, soon passed away.

2. A second instance of some revival of religion in this country was about the year 1705; which I find in a book printed at London in 1706, intitled, *A Help to National Reformation*; and in three manuscript letters of the Rev. Mr Samuel Danforth of Taunton, a worthy son of the Rev. Mr Danforth of Roxbury before mentioned. The passages in the said printed books are as follow:—"A rev. divine of New England, in his letter dated from Boston, the 23d of November, 1705, says thus: "Our societies for the suppression of disorders, increase and prosper in this town; there are two more such societies added unto the former; there are also religious societies without number in this country that meet at proper times, to pray together, and repeat sermons, and forward one another in the fear of God. In some towns of this country the ministers, who furnish themselves with a society for the suppression of disorders, hardly find any notorious disorders to be suppressed; but then their societies are helpful unto them in doing abundance of good for the advancement of serious religion in the neighbourhood, and to make their ministry much more profitable in the weekly exercise of it." A gentleman writes from New England, in his letter of the 20th of November, 1705: "To gratify your desires to know what progress we make here in our societies, I add a line or two to certify, That in Boston the societies for suppressing disorders (of which mention was made in my former letters) are upheld, and two other societies of the same nature erected. All which are spirited to be active according to their abilities and influence to promote virtue, and discountenance and suppress vice. And not only in Boston are such good things done, and doing, but in many places in the province besides. Omitting many other things that might be enumerated as to other places, I shall sum up, in short, an account of what hath been done in a town called Taunton, through the rich mercy of God. The Rev. Mr

Danforth, minister there, having seen some printed accounts of the Methods for reformation in Old England, in imitation thereof (after earnest prayers to God for success) obtained of several inhabitants of the place (that were noted for sobriety and zeal against sin) to meet with him once in each month, to consult what might be done to promote a reformation of disorders there. And after a day improved in fasting and prayer together, they first attempted to induce the heads of families to set up family worship; and God gave them great success; so that most of the families in large towns hearkened to their exhortations and reproofs; and set upon the practice of family prayer morning and evening every day. Having heard and read some accounts of the religious societies of young men in London, they were encouraged to endeavour the like among them. And beyond their expectation, God working with them, prevailed with the greatest part of the youth, to form themselves into societies for religious exercises, signing some good rules to be observed by them therein, much like the orders of the societies of young men in London. The good effect whereof was the putting an end to the utter banishment of their former disorderly and profane meetings to drink, &c.

The three manuscript letters from the said Mr Danforth of Taunton, are these: "TAUNTON, Feb. 20th, 1704-5.—SIR,—We are much encouraged by an unusual and amazing impression made by God's Spirit on all sorts among us, especially on the young men and women. It is almost incredible how many visit me with discoveries of the extreme distress of mind they are in about their spiritual condition. And the young men, instead of their merry meetings, are now forming themselves into regular meetings for prayer, repetition of sermons, signing the same orders which I obtained some years ago a copy of from the young men's meeting in the North of Boston. Some awful deaths and amazing providences have occurred with the word preached to this good effect. The profanest among us seemed startled at the sudden change upon the rising generation. We need much prayer, that these strivings of the Spirit may have a saving issue and effect. Our family meetings are more and more frequented; and two more setting up at two remote corners of our large town, where we despaired of seeing any. Our last society, which was yesterday, had almost nothing to do, only to express their joy to each other, that the disorderly concourse of youth was now over. We are, both church and all inhabitants, to renew the covenant for reformation this week, which this people made with God the last Philip Indian war. We agreed to turn our next society meeting into a fast also, for special reasons: one of which was, that we find prayer our best weapon to reform vice; and the devil's kingdom cannot stand before it: also, as worldly men, when they find the world comes hovering in upon them, will pull the harder for it, which should make us pray more earnestly and fervently; having had encouragement so far, that when we can do nothing else but stretch our withered hands in God's work, yet even doing of that shall not be in vain. Some remarkables in the progress of our reformation work I shall not commit to writing at present, but, if common fame do not bring them to you, shall reserve them to be discovered by word of mouth. The Lord be with you all, Amen. Yours entirely, S. D."

March 8th, 1704-5.—"SIR,—It was a most comfortable day the first of March, when we renewed the reformation covenant, of which I suppose you have a copy by you already; only we added an engagement to reform idleness, unnecessary frequenting houses of public entertainment, irreverent behaviour in public worship, neglect of family prayer, promise-breaking, and walking with slanderers and reproachers and others; and that we should all in our families be subject to good order and government. It was read to the brethren and sisters in the forenoon, they standing up as an outward sign of their inward consent, to the rest of the inhabitants; in the afternoon, they standing up also when it was read, and then every one that stood up brought his name ready writ in a paper and put into the box, that it might be put on church record. The forenoon text was Hebrews xii. 4, about resisting and striving against sin, the common enemy of us all. The afternoon text was 2d Chron. xxix 10. We gave liberty to all men and women from sixteen years old and upwards to act with us; and had three hundred names given in to list under Christ, against the sins of the times. The whole acted with such gravity, and tears of good affection, as would affect an heart of stone: parents weeping for joy, seeing their children give their names to Christ. And we had several children of the church in neighbouring towns, who came and joined with us in it. We have a hundred more than will yet bind themselves in the covenant, that were then detained from meeting. Let God have the glory. Yesterday fourteen were propounded to the Church: some for full communion, others for baptism; being adult persons. All this calls for prayer and humble walking with God, and hope in his mercy. S. D."

Taunton, March 20th, 1704-5.—"SIR,—I have now yours, and have sent you two letters this week. I have little to add, and no time to enlarge; but my time is spent in daily discourse with the young people visiting me with their doubts, fears and agonies. Religion flourishes to amazement and admiration; that so we should be at once touched with soul-affliction, and this in all corners of the place; and that our late conversions should be attended with more than usual degrees of horror, and Satan permitted to wrestle with them by extraordinary temptations, and assaults, and hours of darkness. But, I hope, the deeper the wound, the more sound may be the cure: and I have little time to think of worldly matters; scarce time to study sermons, as I used to do; but find God can bless mean preparations, whenever he pleases: that such shall be most cried up and commended, which I have had scarce time to methodize. I think sometimes that the time of the pouring out of the Spirit upon all flesh may be at the door. Let us be earnest in prayer, that Christ's kingdom may come; and that being an instrument of good to others, I may not be myself a cast-away.—Yours, S. D."

3. We shall next give those particular instances of the revival of religion at Northampton, in the days of the late Mr Solomon Stoddard, as Mr Edwards gives them in the two following paragraphs, written in 1736. "I am the third minister that has been settled in this town: Mr Ebenezer Mather, who was the first, was ordained in July, 1669. He was one whose heart was much in his work; abundant in labours for the good of precious souls: he had the high esteem and great love of his people, and was blessed

with no small success. Mr Stoddard, who succeeded him, came first to the town the November after his death, but was not ordained till September 11th, 1672, and died February 11th, 1728-9. So that he continued in the work of the ministry here, from his coming to town, near sixty years. And as he was eminent for his gifts and grace, so he was blessed, from the beginning, with extraordinary success in his ministry, in the conversion of many souls. He had five harvests, as he called them: the first was about the year 1679; the second was about 1683; the third about 1696; the fourth about the year 1712; the fifth and last about 1718. Some of these times were much more remarkable than others, and the in-gathering of souls more plentiful. Those that were about 1683, and 1696, and 1712, were much greater than either the first or the last; but in each of them, I have heard my grandfather say, the greater part of the young people in the town seemed to be mainly concerned for their eternal salvation.

4. There was also a remarkable instance of the revival of religion in the year 1721, at Windham in Connecticut colony. The account is contained in a Preface to a Sermon preached by Mr Adams of New London on a day of thanksgiving at Windham, for the late remarkable success of the gospel among them, in which Preface, it is said, "It seems to be something necessary that some account should be given of the occasion of the ensuing discourse, and it may, through the blessing of God, be useful unto many, when they shall hear of the grace of God unto others, and how he hath been mercifully pleased to visit his people."

Windham is a town of about thirty years standing, where the Rev. Mr Samuel Whiting hath been employed in the work of the ministry from the beginning. God hath been pleased to make him a very rich blessing among them, and doubtless many will have reason to bless God for ever in that their lot hath been cast to dwell under his ministry. Not only hath he seen the town flourishing to that degree in this short space of time, as that two other societies are already sprung out therefrom, but he hath had the comfort to observe that many living and serious Christians have been born there. But of late there has been a greater stirring than ordinary among the dry bones; many have been awakened to consider and inquire with a great deal of earnestness, "What they should do to be saved?" Persons of all ages and some of whom there was but little expectation, have come together to seek the Lord their God; so that within the compass of about half a year, there have been fourscore persons joined to their communion, and more are still dropping in. Could their reverend pastor have been prevailed upon so far to have gratified the public, we might have been entertained with the knowledge of many particulars, which ought not to be forgotten, while the Holy Spirit, like the "wind that bloweth where it listeth," hath been dividing to every one severally as he will, in this day of their visitation; but at present we must be content with this short and imperfect account.

In the meantime it is surprising to see what an happy alteration there is made when God is pleased to bless the dispensation of the gospel, and the institutions of his house, and confirm his word in the mouths of his servants. Now, the eyes of the blind are opened, the ears of the deaf unstopped, the dumb are taught to speak, and they that were spiritually

dead are raised unto life. To behold obstinate sinners that went on frowardly in the ways of their own heart, yielding themselves unto God, such as were careless and unconcerned about their own souls, now brought to the last distress and concern about what they shall do to escape from the wrath that is to come, and such as were fond of their several vicious courses now quitting them with shame and indignation, that they may endeavour for the future to lead their lives, not "according to the lusts of men, but the will of God. Shall it not from this time be said, What hath God wrought?" Surely it is the work of him that at first "commanded the light to shine out of darkness, and called the things that were not as though they were." Now, the work grows easy and delightful in the hand of the Lord's servants, their former sighs occasioned by their unsuccessful endeavours are changed into praises, and they almost forget their other sorrows and burdens that are upon them, for joy that people are "born unto the Lord." Now they that have happily "escaped out of the snare of the fowler," admire the wonders of free grace which remembered and "visited them in their low estate," they are brought forth into the light of life, and having their doubts and fears gradually dissipated, they go on rejoicing for the consolation. Their fellow Christians, who were in Christ before them, receive them with open arms, and many thanksgivings are offered up unto the Lord. Now things put on the same face of gladness and delight, as once they did at Samaria, when Christ was preached with success, Acts viii. 8. "And there was great joy in that city."

It was upon this occasion that a day of thanksgiving was appointed and observed by the distinguished people, when the following discourse was delivered, and is now by their pressing and repeated instances published to the world: if it may be any way serviceable to influence them to "stand fast in the Lord," or stir up any to mind the things that "belong unto their peace," there will be the less occasion to apologise for the defects and imperfections that may attend it.

But, oh! that the same good spirit from on high were poured out upon the rest of the country; for what pity is it that this single fleece only should be wet with the dew of heaven, while the rest of the ground round about remains (comparatively) dry. And may we not say with the Psalmist, "It is time for thee, Lord, to work," when iniquity gets head, and serious religion is so sadly decaying throughout the land, insomuch that there is scarce a sufficient number rising up to make good the ground of them that are dropping off the stage continually; especially when we consider also how much short they come of their good spirit, and we are almost at a loss to find Christians among Christians. It is true God is calling loudly to us by variety of providences, the means of grace are yet in our hands, and the ordinances are among us; but "where is the God of the ordinances? and where are all the wonders which our fathers told us of, when the arm of the Lord was powerfully revealed, and people more generally believed the report of the gospel." May the Lord please to revive his own work, and help us to remember, hold fast, and repent, and do our first works; may his good Spirit be poured out more plentifully upon both ministers and people, that the one may preach more plainly, boldly, and with an uncommon concern for the glory of God, and the

good of immortal souls, and the other may attend with more earnestness and care to the "things that are spoken, lest at any time they let them slip;" and may that good spirit of piety and devotion which sometimes, through the blessing of God and the influence of his grace, begins to kindle in this or that place, spread like a flame throughout the land, "to purge away our dross, and raise up a seed which shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation."

For this let every one that is godly pray unto him day and night, since with him is the residue of the Spirit; and he delights to be stirred up by the prayers of his people; let us take with us words, and cry in the language of the prophet, Isa. li. 9. "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord, awake as in the ancient days, in the generations of old." Who can tell but that as he hath begun to pour out of his good Spirit, so he may please to perfect the good work, and cause the good favour of his knowledge to spread far and wide? Let us, as they that wish well to the cause of serious and practical religion, seeing the times are drawing nearer, wait upon the Lord, till he shall appear for our help, bringing salvation, when all difficulties shall be removed, the mountains be levelled, and made a plain, and whatsoever letteth, shall be for ever taken away; when he that hath laid the foundation shall bring forth the headstone with shouting, while the standers-by are prepared with joyful acclamations to cry, Grace, Grace unto it.

E. ADAMS.

New London, Sept. 12th, 1721.

In the application of the sermon Mr Adams says, page 24. "I would now take leave to apply myself more particularly to the people in this place; a good work hath been of late wrought among you, many have been awakened, convinced, and (as we ought charitably to hope) effectually brought home to God; the neighbourhood hath rung of it, and it hath been told for a memorial of divine grace; good people everywhere have rejoiced upon the hearing of it and glorified God in you; Satan hath been alarmed and enraged (as we may well think) to see such an encroachment made upon his kingdom, to behold such large waste and spoil made of his goods: this is doubtless, the finger of God: to him the praise of it is entirely due, and you have well done to set apart this time for your public thankful acknowledgment of this and other mercies. Suffer me therefore to apply myself particularly, 1. To them who have happily been wrought upon in this day of grace and pouring out of the Spirit. 2. To them who have been passed over and suffered to remain still in their former hardness and security. 3. To all the godly and Christian people in this place. [Under this last head he says,] 1. Be more confirmed in your way by all the great things which the Lord hath been doing among you of late. I trust that you are already well rooted and established in the faith, so that nothing will easily move you from your steadfastness: yet now through the mercy of God you have an abundant confirmation of your faith: you see what great virtue and efficacy there is in Christian doctrine, that it must needs be the Word of God seeing it produceth such great and good and marvellous effects. You have a sensible and convincing proof before your eyes that there is something in religion, and have no further need of miracles to con-

firm it. When you see the doctrine of Christ triumphing remarkably over the ignorance, the mistakes, the carelessness, and the wickedness of men, you have reason to draw that conclusion which sometimes Jacob did; surely the Lord is in this place; surely, his word is good; the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them. Let nothing for the future shake your steadfastness, and be not at all moved by the confidence of foolish men (if you should be assaulted by them) to divert you from that Christian course wherein you have been educated; and take that counsel, in 1 Pet. i. 13. "Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ." [And thus he concludes] Let us all give thanks unto him whose mercy endureth for ever, who hath ridden forth prosperously upon the word of truth, and hath made so many people willing in the day of his power. May he still go on to subdue the people under him, that the hearts of the fathers may be brought down into the children, that we may still see the good of his chosen, and rejoice with the gladness of his inheritance. And, oh! that the Lord would arise and have mercy upon Zion, that the time to favour it, the set time may come, that the whole earth may be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.

5. The next instance of religious concern we meet with, is in the year 1727, after the earthquake, of which Mr Prince says, "In the night after the Lord's Day, October 29th 1727, there was a general and amazing earthquake throughout New England, and the neighbouring provinces; which with several repeated shocks afterwards in divers parts of the land, was the means of awakening many to serious thoughts of God and eternity, and of reviving religion among us; which we shall give in the words of Dr Sewall, and the Rev. Mr Prince, Webb and Cooper of Boston, in their Preface to the 3d edition of Mr Edward's narrative. Mentioning some remarkable effusions of the Spirit of Christ in other ages and parts of the world; they go on as follows:—

"Nor have we in these remote corners of the earth, where Satan had his seat from time immemorial, been left without a witness of the divine power and grace. Yea, we need look no higher than our own times, to find abundant occasion to celebrate the wonderful works of God. Thus when God arose and shook the earth, his loud call to us in that amazing providence was followed, so far as man can judge, with the still voice of his Spirit, in which he was present to awaken many and bring them to say trembling, what must we do to be saved? yea, as we hope, to turn not a few from sin to God in a thorough conversion. But when the bitterness of death was past, much the greater part of those whom God's terrors affrighted, gave sad occasion to remember those words Psalms lxxviii. 34, 36. "When he slew them, then they sought him: and they returned and inquired early after God. And they remembered that God was their rock, and the high God their Redeemer. Nevertheless, they did flatter him with their mouths, and they lied unto him with their tongues." And there has since been great reason to complain of our speedy return to our former sins, notwithstanding some hopes given of a more general reformation."

And in the account of the revival at Boston, it is farther said concerning this earthquake, "But after

all our endeavours, both our security and degeneracy seemed in general to grow, until the night after the Lord's Day, October 29th, 1727, when the glorious God arose and fearfully shook the earth through all these countries. By terrible things in righteousness he began to answer us, as the God of our salvation. On the next morning a very full assembly met at the North Church for the proper exercises on so extraordinary an occasion. At five in the evening a crowded concourse assembled at the Old Church: and multitudes unable to get in, immediately flowed to the South, and in a few minutes filled that also. At Lieutenant-Governor Dummer's motion, who was then our commander, the Thursday of the same week was kept as a day of extraordinary fasting and prayer in all the churches in Boston; not merely to intreat for sparing mercy, but also to implore the grace and spirit of God to come down and help us in a sincere repentance and returning to him. And as the houses of public worship were greatly crowded, the people were very attentive. The ministers endeavoured to set in with this extraordinary and awakening work of God in nature, and to preach his Word in the most awakening manner; to show the people the vast difference between conviction and conversion, between a forced reformation either in acts of piety, justice, charity, or sobriety, by the mere power of fear, and a genuine change of the very frame and relish of the heart by the supernatural efficacy of the Holy Spirit; to lead them on to true conversion and unfeigned faith in Christ, and to guard them against deceiving themselves. In all our congregations, many seemed to be awakened and reformed; and professing repentance of their sins and faith in Christ, entered into solemn covenant with God, and came into full communion with our several churches. In ours, within eight months after, were about eighty added to our communicants. But then comparatively few of these applied to me to discourse about their souls till they came to offer themselves to the communion, or afterwards: the most of those who came to me seemed to have passed through their convictions before their coming to converse with me about approaching to the Lord's table; though I doubt not but considerable numbers were at that time savingly converted.

6. Lastly, There was a considerable revival in the end of 1730, and the three following years, at Freehold in the province of New Jersey, under the ministry of Mr John Tennant, and his brother Mr William, who succeeded him. Of which take the following account from a letter to the Rev. Mr Prince, at Boston.

October 9th, 1744.—*R.D.S.*—"I desire to notice thankfully the late rich display of our glorious Emmanuel's grace, in subduing, by his word and spirit, multitudes of sinners to himself.—Most gladly therefore do I comply with your request.—But I must be general, having never made any memorandums in writing; yet I trust I shall be strictly true; for the Lord hates a false witness.

The settling of this place with a Gospel ministry was owing, under God, to the agency of some Scots people, that came to it: among whom there was none so painful in this blessed undertaking as one Walter Ker, who, in the year 1686, for his faithful and conscientious adherence to God in his truth, as professed by the Church of Scotland, was there apprehended, and sent into this country, under a sentence of perpetual banishment. By which it appears

that the devil and his instruments lost their aim in sending him from home; where 'tis unlikely he could ever have been so serviceable to Christ's kingdom, as he has been here. He is yet alive; and, blessed be God, he is flourishing in his old age, being in his 88th year.

But to return, the public means of grace dispensed here, were at first for a season, too much like a miscarrying womb and dry breasts; so that the major part of the congregation could not be said to have so much as a name to live. Family prayer was unpractised by all, a very few excepted; ignorance so overshadowed their minds, that the doctrine of the new birth, when clearly explained, and powerfully pressed upon them, as absolutely necessary to salvation (by that faithful preacher of God's word, Mr Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghouse, a Dutch minister, and some other English ministers, who were occasionally here) was made a common game of; so that not only the preachers but professors of that truth were called in derision new-born, and looked upon as holders forth of some new and false doctrine.

And indeed their practice was as bad as their principles, viz., loose and profane. In the year 1729, their ministers removed from them, and they were so grievously divided among themselves, that it appeared improbable they would ever agree in the settlement of another. In this miserable condition they lay; and few among them had either eyes to see, or hearts to bewail their woful wretched circumstances. Thus they seemed to be cast out as the prophet Ezekiel represents it, in the 16th chapter of his book, and the 5th verse. But the Lord, who is rich in mercy, of his unexpected and unmerited love, passed by them lying in their blood, and said unto many of them since that day, *live*: and live they shall to all eternity.

About this time my dear brother John (who is now with Christ) was licensed as a candidate for the sacred ministry: a youth whom the Author of every good gift had uncommonly furnished for that important trust. To him application was made by some of the congregation, intreating that he would supply them for a time: to which (with the leave of the Presbytery) he consented. But ere he went, he often told me, that he was heartily sorry he had engaged to go among them; for it seemed to him, that they were a people whom God hath given up for their abuse of the gospel. But the Lord's thoughts are not our thoughts; for when he had preached four or five Sabbaths in the place, (which was the whole time he tarried among them at first) the Lord so spoken, and stirring them up to search the scriptures, whether these things were so, and withal enabling him to preach to them with such uncommon freedom and earnestness; that he told me he was fully persuaded Christ Jesus had a large harvest to bring home there; so that, though they were a poor broken people, yet if they called him, he would settle among them, albeit he should be put to beg his bread by so doing. April the 15th, 1730, the congregation unanimously called him; which he accepting of, was ordained the 19th of November following, and continued with them until April 23d, 1732, and was then translated to glory.

During this short time, his labours were greatly blessed; so that the place of public worship was unusually crowded with people of all ranks; and they seemed to hear generally as for their lives; yea,

such as were wont to go to those places for their diversion, viz., to hear news or speak to their tradesmen, &c., even on the Lord's Day, as they themselves have since confessed, were taken in the gospel net; a solemn awe of God's majesty possessed many, so that they behaved themselves as at the bar while in his house. Many tears were usually shed, when he preached, and sometimes the body of the congregation was moved or affected. I can say, and let the Lord alone have the glory of it, that I have seen both minister and people wet with their tears as with a bedewing rain. It was no uncommon thing to see persons in the time of hearing, sobbing as if their hearts would break, but without any public outcry; and some have been carried out of the assembly (being overcome) as if they had been dead. Religion was then the general subject of discourse, though they did not all approve of the power of it: the Holy Bible was searched by people on both sides of the question, and knowledge surprisingly increased: the terror of God fell generally upon the inhabitants of this place; so that wickedness, as ashamed in a great measure, hid itself. Some of the jolly companions of both sexes were constrained, by their consciences, to meet together; the men by themselves, and the women by themselves, to confess privately their abominations before God, and beg pardon of them.

Before my brother's death, by reason of his bodily weakness, I preached here about six months. In which time, many came inquiring, what they should do to be saved? and some to tell what the Lord had done for their souls. But the blessing on his labours, to the conviction and conversion of souls, was more discernible some months after his death, than at any time in his life; almost in every neighbourhood, I cannot say in every house, there were sick souls, longing for and seeking after the dear Physician, Jesus Christ; several of whom I nowise doubt have since that time sincerely closed with him, and are healed: glory, glory to his holy name be given for ever and ever, Amen!

Sometime after my brother's decease, the congregation called me to labour among them stately; which I accepted, and was ordained October the 25th, 1733. Thus my Lord sent me to reap that on which I had bestowed but little labour: may this consideration be blessed to make me thankful and humble while I live.

I must further declare, to the honour of God, that he has not yet left us, although awfully provoked by our crying crimes; but ever since that more remarkable outpouring of his Spirit, has continued to bless his own ordinances, to the conviction, conversion, and consolation of precious souls: so that every year, some, more or less, have been in a judgment of charity added (savingly) to his mystical body: to his holy name be all the glory! In the meantime, I would have it observed, that two or three years last past have afforded fewer instances of this kind than formerly. However, through grace, some have been lately awakened, who are even now seeking Jesus sorrowing.

What the number is of those who have tasted the sweet fruits of the Redeemer's purchase in a saving manner, in this congregation, I cannot tell: it is my comfort that the Lord will reckon them; for he knows who are his; and indeed none but the omniscient God is equal to the difficult province of determining certainly concerning the internal states of

men. Yet I may be bold to say, that to all appearance, both old and young, males and females, have been renewed; though none so young as I have heard of in some other places. Some Negroes, I trust are made free in Christ; and more seem to be unfeignedly seeking after it. But after all that the Lord has been pleased to do among us, I am persuaded that the greater number by far, are yet in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. This makes me sometimes ready to wish, that I had in the wilderness the lodging place of a wayfaring man, that I might leave my people, and go from them; or rather that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for them!

Such as have been converted were every one of them prepared for it by a sharp law-work of conviction, in discovering to them in a heart-affecting manner, their sinfulness both by nature and practice, as well as their liableness to damnation for their original and actual transgressions. Neither could they see any way in themselves by which they could escape the divine vengeance; for that their whole life past was not only a continued act of rebellion against God, but their present endeavours to better it, such as prayers, &c. were so imperfect, that they could not endure them, and much less, they concluded, would a holy God. They all confessed the justice of God in their eternal perdition; and thus have been shut up to the blessed necessity of seeking relief by faith in Christ alone.

It would be endless to mention the evils they complained of, viz., ignorance, unbelief, hardness of heart, hatred against God, his laws, and people, worldliness, wanderings of heart in duty, pride, sensuality, sloth, &c. With what grief, shame, and self-loathing have I heard them bewail their loss of time and neglect of the great gospel salvation! Those that were communicants before their awakening, have with trembling declared that their unworthy partaking grieved them more than any thing ever they did; for hereby they had, as it were, murdered the Lord. It is almost incredible to retail the indignation that such awakened sinners expressed against themselves, on the account of their sinfulness. They looked upon themselves to be mere monsters of nature, and that none were worse, if any so bad. Others signified that they could not find their pictures out of hell, and that they were just companions for the damned, and none else. Let it be here noted, that some who have expressed themselves in the manner I have mentioned, were before taken for believers, both by themselves and others, being sober and regular in their walk.

The sorrows of the convinced, were not all alike, either in degree or countenance. Some have not thought it possible for them to be saved, if God would vindicate the honour of his justice: but these thoughts continued not long at a time, blessed be God. Others thought it was possible, but not very probable, because of their vileness. The greatest degree of hope which any had, under a conviction that issued well, was a may-be; "Peradventure or may be God will have mercy on me," said the sinner. Some in coming to Jesus have been much rent with blasphemous and other horrible temptations, which have turned their moisture into the drought of summer; who now through pure grace serve God, without such distractions, in gladness and singleness of heart. The conviction of some has been in-

stantaneous, by the Holy Spirit applying the law to the conscience, and discovering to the eye of the understanding, as it were, all their heart-deceits very speedily; by which they have been stabbed as with a sword. But the conviction of others, has been in a more progressive way. They have had discovered to them one abomination after another in life; and from thence were led to behold the fountain of all corruption in the heart; and thus they were constrained to despair of life by the law, and consequently flee to Jesus as the only door of hope, and so rest entirely on his merit for salvation.

After the aforesaid sorrowful exercises, such as were reconciled to God, have been blessed with the Spirit of adoption, enabling them to cry, Abba Father. But some have had greater degrees of consolation than others, in proportion to the clearness of the evidences of their sonship. The Lord has drawn some out of the horrible pit of distress and darkness, and brought them into the light of his countenance. He has filled their hearts with joy, and their mouths with praises; yea given them the full assurance of faith. Others have been brought to peace in believing; but have not had so great a plerophory of joy: yet they go on in a religious course trusting in the Lord. The way they have been comforted is either by the application of some particular promise of Scripture, or by a soul-affecting view of the way of salvation by Christ, as free without money and without price: they were enabled to behold the valuable mercies of the covenant of grace, freely tendered to the vilest transgressors, that were poor in their own eyes, sin-sick, weary, and wounded, together with the ability and willingness of the Lord Jesus to relieve them from all the evils they either feared or felt. With this way of salvation their souls were well pleased, and thereupon have ventured their case into his hands, expecting help from him only; who has given them both peace and rest, yea filled some of them with joy unspeakable and full of glory. I remember not of any that received their first comforts otherwise. Some few have retained their confidence in God ever since, without any considerable questionings of their state, although they tasted the comforts of it. But the most by far have questioned all, and doubted it was a delusion. This I suppose is generally owing to the remains of corruption, which blot the evidences of grace in good men, so that they can hardly read them: and particularly to the awful sin of unbelief; together with the prevalence of a legal spirit. But however distressing it is to them to feel their imperfections, it helps to persuade me that they are regenerate; else it would not be so; sin would not be their chief burden in a general way. However our Lord who comforts those that are cast down, even the wonderful counsellor teaches them, that he not only saves those who have been sinners before conversion, but even such as after it find a law in their members warring against the law of their minds, which too often causes them to do the things they would not; and he enables them to reflect upon what they have and do daily experience, and compare it with the evidences of grace in the word of God. The blessed God does likewise give them renewed tastes of his love, even after mistakes; and thus they are established in faith and hope, so that they have a prevailing persuasion of their interest in Christ; except it be in times of desertion and temptation, with which

some are more exercised than others, for reasons best known to a sovereign God.

Doubtless, sir, you will desire to know what effects this work produces on the minds and manners of its subjects? I answer, They are not only made to know, but heartily to approve of the great doctrines of the gospel, which they were before either ignorant of or averse to, (at least some of them;) so that they do harmonize sweetly in exalting free, special, and sovereign grace through the Redeemer Jesus Christ; being willing to glory only in the Lord, who has loved them and given himself for them, an offering and a sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour, I cannot express with what satisfaction I have heard some speak of the new covenant method of salvation. They have spoken with such affection and clearness, as I have thought was sufficient to convince an Atheist, that the Lord was their teacher. The alteration in some from almost gross ignorance, to such clear gospel light, and in others from such corrupt principles, as the Papists and Quakers hold, to the believing acknowledgment of the truth, none but He that made the understanding could effect. They approve of the law of God after the inward man, as holy, just, and good, and prize it above gold. They judge it their duty as well as privilege to wait on God in all the ordinances of his institution, although they expect to merit nothing thereby. A reverence for God's commanding authority, and gratitude for his love conspire to incite and constrain them to a willing, unfeigned, universal, and unfainting obedience to his laws: yet they declare that in every thing they come sadly short of what they ought to do, and bitterly bewail their defects. But, blessed be God, they are not discouraged in their endeavours to reach forward, if by any means they may apprehend that for which they are apprehended of God; and in all things they acknowledge that they ought to look to Jesus as the author and finisher of faith, whose alone it is to work all good in them, and for them, to whom be glory for ever. They are not unmolested in their way by enemies, both from and from without. Yet they profess that the comforts which they receive do more than compensate all their labour, were there no good to be expected hereafter. They have not all made alike proficiency in the Christian course; neither are they all equal in religious endeavours, nor any at all times alike lively. They are sometimes obstructed in their religious progress by coldness and deadness; but this the blessed Jesus removes at times, by the influence of his Holy Spirit; then, O then, their hearts are enlarged, and they run the sweet ways of God's commandments with alacrity and delight! They love all such as they have reason to think from their principles, experience, and practice, are truly godly, though they differ from them in sentiment in lesser things, and look on them to be the excellent of the earth. They rejoice in Zion's prosperity, glorifying God on that account, and feel a sympathy in her sorrows. They do prefer one another before themselves in love, except under temptation, which they are ready to confess and bewail when they are themselves, generally accounting that they are the meanest of the family of God, and unworthy of the blessing, yea, the most so of any living, all things considered.

In a word, the sapless formalist is become spiritual in his conversation; the proud and haughty are made humble and affable; the wanton and vile, sober and

temperate; the swearer honours that venerable name he was wont to profane, and blesses instead of cursing; the Sabbath-breaker is brought to be a strict observer of holy time; the worldling now seeks treasures in the heavens; the extortioner now deals justly; and the formerly malicious forgive injuries; the prayerless are earnest and incessant in acts of devotion; and the sneaking self-seeker endeavours the advancement of God's glory, and the salvation of immortal souls.

Through God's mercy we have been quite free from enthusiasm; our people have followed the holy law of God, the sure word of prophecy, and not the impulses of their own minds. There have not been, that I know of, among us any visions, except such as are by faith; namely, clear and affecting views of the new and living way to the Father, through his dear Son Jesus Christ, nor any revelations but what have been long since written in the sacred volume. It may not be amiss to inform you that many who have been awakened, and seemed for a time to set out for Zion, are turned back. Yea, of those who have been esteemed converts, some have made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; though glory to God there have not been many such; yet some of them who have thus awfully apostatized, were highly esteemed in the church. By this our good and gracious God has given check to too high an esteem of our own judgment concerning the spiritual states of others, (an evil which is too common among young converts) and awfully warned all that think they stand to take heed lest they fall. Many, I have cause to fear, have been hardened in their impieties and unreasonable prejudices against vital religion, by the backslidings of some professors. Woe to the world because of offences! But in the meantime, blessed be God, wisdom is, and will be, justified of her children. This, sir, is as particular an account as I can at present give of the Lord's work in this place. If my Lord will accept it as a testimony for him, it will be a greater honour than ever I deserved. I need your prayers, and earnestly desire them: O beg of God, that I may be faithful to the death, and wise to win souls. I am, with all due respects, yours in the dearest Jesus.

WILLIAM TENNENT.

Freehold, October 9th, 1744.

ATTESTATION TO THE PRECEDING ACCOUNT.

"We the subscribers, ruling-elders, and deacons of the Presbyterian congregation of Freehold, having had perfect knowledge of the circumstances of this place, some of us from the first settling of it, and others of a long time, do give our testimony to the truth in general of the above letter of our rev. pastor. May the Lord make the same of use for carrying on his glorious work begun in these lands; and make the name of the dearest Jesus glorious from the rising to the setting sun."

WALTER KER. ROBERT CUMING.
DAVID RAE. JOHN HENDERSON.
WILLIAM KER. SAMUEL KER.

*Freehold in New Jersey,
October 11th, 1744.*

SECTION II.

OF THE REMARKABLE REVIVAL AT NORTHAMPTON IN 1734, &c.—WHICH BEGAN WITH SUCH THINGS AS SABBATH-SANCTIFICATION, RELIGIOUS MEETINGS AMONG THE YOUNG PEOPLE, AND THE PREACHING OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE. THE CONCERN APPEARS IN OTHER TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF HAMPSHIRE, AND IN SEVERAL TOWNS IN CONNECTICUT.

THE next revival that followed that in Freehold was that remarkable one in Northampton, 1734, &c., which we shall relate from the following passages of Mr Edwards' *Narrative* in Prince's *Christian History*.

FROM PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, Nos. 15, 16.

Just after my grandfather's death, it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dulness in religion. Licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town: they were many of them very much addicted to night-walking, and frequenting the tavern, and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together, in conventions of both sexes, for mirth and jollity, which they called frolics: and they would often spend the greater part of the night in them, without regard to any order in the families they belonged to: and indeed family-government did too much fail in the town. It was become very customary with many of our young people to be indecent in their carriage at meeting; which doubtless would not have prevailed to such a degree, had it not been that my grandfather, through his great age, (though he retained his powers surprisingly to the last) was not so able to observe them. There had also long prevailed in the town a spirit of contention between two parties, into which they had for many years been divided, by which was maintained a jealousy one of the other, and they were prepared to oppose one another in all public affairs. But in two or three years after Mr Stoddard's death, there began to be a sensible amendment of these evils; the young people showed more of a disposition to hearken to counsel, and by degrees left off their frolicing, and grew observably more decent in their attendance on the public worship, and there were more that manifested a religious concern than there used to be.

At the latter end of the year 1733, there appeared a very unusual flexibility, and yielding to advice, in our young people. It had been too long their manner to make the morning after the Sabbath,¹ and after our public lecture, to be especially the times of their mirth and company-keeping. But a sermon was now preached on the Sabbath before the lecture, to show the evil tendency of the practice, and to persuade to reform it; and it was urged on heads of families, that it should be a thing agreed upon among them to govern their families, and keep their children at home, at these times; and withal it was more privately moved, that they should meet together the next day in their several neighbourhoods to know each other's minds, which was accordingly done, and the motion complied with throughout the town. But parents found little or no occasion for the exercise of go-

¹ It must be noted, that it has never been our manner to observe the evening that follows the Sabbath, but that which precedes it, as part of holy time.

verment in the case : the young people declared themselves convinced by what they had heard from the pulpit, and were willing of themselves to comply with the counsel that had been given ; and it was immediately, and I suppose, almost universally complied with ; and there was a thorough reformation of these disorders thenceforward, which has continued ever since.

Presently after this, there began to appear a remarkable religious concern at a little village, belonging to the congregation, called Pascommuck, where a few families were settled, at about three miles distance from the main body of the town. At this place, a number of persons seemed to be savingly wrought upon. In the April following, ANNO 1734, there happened a very sudden and awful death of a young man, in the bloom of his youth ; who being violently seized with a pleurisy, and taken immediately very delirious, died in about two days ; which (together with what was preached publicly on that occasion) much affected many young people. This was followed with another death of a young married woman, who had been considerably exercised in mind, about the salvation of her soul, before she was ill, and was in great distress, in the beginning of her illness ; but seemed to have satisfying evidences of God's saving mercy to her, before her death ; so that she died very full of comfort, in a most earnest and moving manner, warning and counselling others. This seemed much to contribute to the solemnizing of the spirits of many young persons : and there began evidently to appear more of a religious concern on people's minds. In the fall of the year, I proposed it to the young people, that they should agree among themselves to spend the evenings after lectures in social religion, and to that end divide themselves into several companies to meet in various parts of the town ; which was accordingly done, and those meetings have been since continued, and the example imitated by elder people. This was followed with the death of an elderly person, which was attended by many unusual circumstances, by which many were much moved and affected. About this time, many who looked on themselves as in a Christless condition, seemed to be awakened, with fear that God was about to withdraw from the land, and that we should be given up to heterodoxy, and corrupt principles ; and that then their opportunity for obtaining salvation would be past ; and many who were brought a little to doubt about the truth of the doctrines they had hitherto been taught, seemed to have a kind of a trembling fear with their doubts, lest they should be led into by-paths, to their eternal undoing : and they seemed with much concern and engagedness of mind, to enquire what was indeed the way in which they must come to be accepted with God. There were then some things said publicly on that occasion, concerning justification by faith alone. Although great fault was found with meddling with the controversy in the pulpit, by such a person, and at that time, and though it was ridiculed by many elsewhere ; yet it proved a word spoken in season here ; and most evidently attended with a very remarkable blessing of heaven to the souls of the people in this town. They received thence a general satisfaction with respect to the main thing in question, which they had been in trembling doubts and concern about ; and their minds were engaged the more earnestly to seek that they might come to be accepted of God, and saved in the

way of the Gospel, which had been made evident to them to be the true and only way. And then it was, in the latter part of December, that the Spirit of God began extraordinarily to set in, and wonderfully to work amongst us ; and there were, very suddenly, one after another, five or six persons, who were to all appearance savingly converted, and some of them wrought upon in a very remarkable manner.

Particularly, I was surprised with the relation of a young woman, who had been one of the greatest company-keepers in the whole town : when she came to me, I had never heard that she was become in any wise serious, but by the conversation I then had with her, it appeared to me, that what she gave an account of, was a glorious work of God's infinite power and sovereign grace ; and that God had given her a new heart, truly broken and sanctified. I could not then doubt of it, and have seen much in my acquaintance with her since to confirm it. Though the work was glorious, yet it was filled with concern about the effect it might have upon others : I was ready to conclude (though too rashly) that some would be hardened by it, in carelessness and looseness of life ; and would take occasion from it to open their mouths, in reproach of religion. But the event was the reverse, to a wonderful degree ; God made it, I suppose, the greatest occasion of awakening to others, of anything that ever came to pass in the town. I have had abundant opportunity to know the effect it had, by my private conversation with many. The news of it seemed to be almost like a flash of lightning, upon the hearts of young people, all over the town, and upon many others. Those persons amongst us, who used to be farthest from seriousness, and that I most feared would make an ill improvement of it, seemed greatly to be awakened with it ; many went to talk with her, concerning what she had met with ; and what appeared in her seemed to be to the satisfaction of all that did so.

Presently upon this, a great and earnest concern about the great things of religion and the eternal world, became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all ages ; the noise among the dry bones waxed louder and louder : all other talk but about spiritual and eternal things, was soon thrown by ; all the conversation in all companies, and upon all occasions, was upon these things only, unless so much as was necessary for the people carrying on their secular business. Other discourse than of the things of religion, would scarcely be tolerated in any company. The minds of people were wonderfully taken off from the world ; it was treated amongst us as a thing of very little consequence ; they seemed to follow their worldly business, more as a part of their duty, than from any disposition they had to it ; the temptation now seemed to lie on that hand, to neglect worldly affairs too much, and to spend too much time in the immediate exercise of religion : which thing was exceedingly misrepresented by reports that were spread in distant parts of the land, as though the people here had wholly thrown all worldly business, and betook themselves entirely to reading and praying, and such like religious exercises. But although people did not ordinarily neglect their worldly business ; yet there then was the reverse of what commonly is : religion was with all sorts the great concern, and the world was a thing only, by the by. The only thing in their view was to get the kingdom of heaven, and every one appeared pressing into it : the engagedness

of their hearts in this great concern could not be hid, it appeared in their very countenances. It then was a dreadful thing amongst us to lie out of Christ in danger every day of dropping into hell; and what persons' minds were intent upon was to escape for their lives, and to fly from the wrath to come. All would eagerly lay hold of opportunities for their souls; and were wont very often to meet together in private houses for religious purposes: and such meetings when appointed were wont greatly to be thronged.

There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. Those that were wont to be the vainest, and loosest, and those that had been most disposed to think and speak slightly of vital and experimental religion, were now generally subject to great awakenings. And the work of conversion was carried on in a most astonishing manner, and increased more and more; souls did as it were come by flocks to Jesus Christ. From day to day, for many months together, might be seen evident instances of sinners brought out of darkness into marvellous light, and delivered out of an horrible pit, and from the miry clay, and set upon a rock, with a new song of praise to God in their mouths.

This work of God, as it was carried on, and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town; so that in the spring and summer following, in the year 1735, the town seemed to be full of the presence of God: it never was so full of love, nor so full of joy, and yet so full of distress, as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house. It was a time of joy in families on the account of salvation's being brought unto them; parents rejoicing over their children as new born, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The goings of God were then seen in his sanctuary; God's day was a delight, and his tabernacles were amiable. Our public assemblies were then beautiful; the congregation was alive in God's service, every one earnestly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth; the assembly in general were from time to time in tears while the word was preached; some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with piety and concern for the souls of their neighbours. Our public praises were then greatly enlivened; God was then served in our Psalms, in some measure, in the beauty of holiness. It has been observable, that there has been scarce any part of divine worship, wherein good men amongst us have had grace so drawn forth, and their hearts so lifted up in the ways of God, as in singing his praises: our congregation excelled all that ever I knew, in the external part of the duty, before. But now they were evidently wont to sing with unusual elevation of heart and voice, which made the duty pleasant indeed.

In all companies on other days, on whatever occasions persons met together, Christ was to be heard of and seen in the midst of them. Our young people, when they met, were wont to spend the time in talking of the excellency and dying love of Jesus Christ, the gloriousness of the way of salvation, the wonderful, free, and sovereign grace of God, his glorious work in the conversion of a soul, the truth and certainty of the great things of God's word, the

sweetness of the views of his perfections, &c. And even at weddings, which formerly were merely occasions of mirth and jollity, there was now no discourse of anything but the things of religion, and no appearance of any but spiritual mirth. Those among us that had been formerly converted, were greatly enlivened and renewed with fresh and extraordinary incomes of the Spirit of God; though some much more than others, according to the measure of the gift of Christ; many that before had laboured under difficulties about their own state, had now their doubts removed by more satisfying experience, and more clear discoveries of God's love.

When this work first appeared, and was so extraordinarily carried on amongst us in the winter, others round about us seemed not to know what to make of it; and there were many that scoffed at and ridiculed it; and some compared what we called conversion, to certain distempers. But it was very observable of many, that occasionally came amongst us from abroad, with disregarded hearts, that what they saw here cured them of such a temper of mind: strangers were generally surprised to find things so much beyond what they had heard, and were wont to tell others, that the state of the town could not be conceived of by those that had not seen it. The notice that was taken of it by the people that came to town on occasion of the court that sat here in the beginning of March, was very observable. And those that came from the neighbourhood to our public lectures, were for the most part remarkably affected. Many that came to town, on one occasion or other, had their consciences smitten and awakened, and went home with wounded hearts, and with those impressions that never wore off until they had hopefully a saving issue; and those that before had serious thoughts, had their awakenings and convictions greatly increased. And there were many instances of persons that came from abroad, on visits, or on business, that had not been long here, before to all appearance, they were savingly wrought upon, and partook of that shower of divine blessing that God rained down here, and went home rejoicing; until at length the same work began evidently to appear and prevail in several other towns in the country.

In the month of March, the people in South-Hadley began to be seized with deep concern about the things of religion; which very soon became universal: and the work of God has been very wonderful there; not much, if anything, short of what it has been here, in proportion to the largeness of the place. About the same time it began to break forth in the west part of Suffield, (where it has also been very great) and it soon spread into all parts of the town. It next appeared at Sunderland, and soon overspread the town; and I believe was, for a season, not less remarkable than it was here. About the same time, it began to appear in a part of Deerfield, called Green River; and afterwards filled the town, and there has been a glorious work there. It began also to be manifest, in the south part of Hatfield, in a place called the Hill, and after that the whole town, in the second week of April, seemed to be seized, as it were at once, with concern about the things of religion; and the work of God has been great there. There has been also a very general awakening at West Springfield and Long Meadow. And in Enfield, there was for a time no small concern amongst some that before had been very loose persons. About the same time that this appeared at Enfield, Mr

Bull of Westfield informed me, that there had been a great alteration there, and that more had been done in one week there than in seven years before. Something of this work likewise appeared in the first precinct in Springfield, principally in the north and south extremes of the parish. And in Hadley old town, there gradually appeared so much of a work of God on souls, as at another time would have been thought worthy of much notice. For a short time there was also a very great and general concern, of the like nature, at Northfield. And wherever this concern appeared, it seemed not to be in vain; but in every place God brought saving blessings with him, and his word attended with his Spirit (as we have all reason to think) returned not void. It might well be said at that time in all parts of the county, "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as doves to their windows?" As what other towns heard of and found in this, was a great means of awakening them, so our hearing of such a swift and extraordinary propagation, and extent of this work, did doubtless for a time serve to uphold the work amongst us. The continual news kept alive the talk of religion, and did greatly quicken and rejoice the hearts of God's people, and much awakened those that looked on themselves as still left behind, and made them the more earnest that they also might share in the great blessing that others had obtained.

This remarkable pouring out of the Spirit of God, which thus extended from one end to the other of this county, was not confined to it, but many places in Connecticut have partook in the same mercy; as, for instance, the first parish in Windsor, under the pastoral care of Mr Marsh, was thus blessed about the same time, as we in Northampton, while we had no knowledge of each other's circumstances: there has been a very great ingathering of souls to Christ in that place. And something considerable of the same work began afterwards in East Windsor, my honoured father's parish, which has, in times past, been a place favoured with mercies of this nature above most, there having been four or five seasons of the pouring out of the Spirit to the general awakening of the people there since my father's settlement amongst them. There was also the last spring and summer a wonderful work of God carried on at Coventry, under the ministry of Mr Meacham; I had an opportunity to converse with some of Coventry people, who gave me a very remarkable account of the surprising change that appeared in the most rude and vicious persons there. The like was also very great at the same time in a part of Lebanon, called the Crank, where Mr Wheelock, a young gentleman is lately settled: and there has been much of the same at Durham, under the ministry of Mr Chauncy; and, to appearance, no small ingathering of souls there. And likewise amongst many of the young people in the first precinct in Stratford, under the ministry of Mr Gould; where the work was much promoted by the remarkable conversion of a young woman that had been a great company-keeper as it was here. Something of this work appeared in several other towns in those parts, as I was informed when I was there, the last fall. And we have since been acquainted with something very remarkable of this nature at another parish in Stratford, called Ripton, under the pastoral care of Mr Mills. And there was a considerable revival of religion last summer at New-Haven old town, as I was once and again informed by Mr Noyes, the mi-

nister there, and by others: and, by a letter which I very lately received from Mr Noyes, and also by information we have had otherwise, this flourishing of religion still continues, and has lately much increased: Mr Noyes writes, that many this summer have been added to the Church, and particularly mentions several young persons that belong to the principal families of that town. There has been a degree of the same work at a part of Guilford; and very considerable at Mansfield, under the ministry of Mr Eleazer Williams; and an unusual religious concern at Tolland; and something of it at Hebron and Bolton. There was also no small effusion of the Spirit of God in the north parish in Preston, in the eastern part of Connecticut, which I was informed of, and saw something of it, when I was the last autumn at the house, and in the congregation of Mr Lord, the minister there, who, with Mr Owen of Groton, came up hither in May the last year, on purpose to see the work of God here; and, having heard various and contradictory accounts of it, were careful when they were here to inform and satisfy themselves; and to that end particularly converse with many of our people; which they declared to be entirely to their satisfaction, and that the one half had not been told them, nor could be told them. Mr Lord told me, that when he got home, he informed his congregation of what he had seen, and that they were greatly affected with it, and that it proved the beginning of the same work among them, which prevailed till there was a general awakening, and many instances of persons, who seemed to be remarkably converted. I also have lately heard that there has been something of the same work at Woodbury.

This seems to have been a very extraordinary dispensation of providence: God has in many respects gone out of, and much beyond his usual and ordinary way. The work in this town, and some others about us, has been extraordinary on account of the universality of it, affecting all sorts, sober and vicious, high and low, rich and poor, wise and unwise; it reached the most considerable families and persons, to all appearance, as much as others. In former stirrings of this nature, the bulk of the young people have been greatly affected; but old men, and little children have been so now. Many of the last have, of their own accord, formed themselves into religious societies, in different parts of the town: a loose careless person could scarcely find a companion in the whole neighbourhood; and if there was any one that seemed to remain senseless or unconcerned, it would be spoken of as a strange thing.

This dispensation has also appeared very extraordinary in the numbers of those on whom we have reason to hope it has had a saving effect: we have about six hundred and twenty communicants, which include almost all our adult persons. The church was very large before; but persons never thronged into it, as they did in the late extraordinary time: our sacraments are eight weeks asunder, and I received into our communion about an hundred before one sacrament, and four-score of them at one time, whose appearance, when they presented themselves together to make an open explicit profession of Christianity, was very affecting to the congregation: I took in near sixty before the next sacrament day: but it must be noted, that it is not the custom here, as it is in many other churches in this country to make a credible relation of their inward experi-

ences, the ground of admission to the Lord's Supper. I am far from pretending to be able to determine how many have lately been the subjects of such mercy; but if I may be allowed to declare anything that appears to me probable in a thing of this nature, I hope that more than three hundred souls were savingly brought home to Christ, in this town, in the space of half-a-year, (how many more I cannot say) and about the same number of males as females. Those of our young people, that are on other accounts most considerable, are mostly, as I hope, truly pious, and leading persons in ways of religion. Those that were formerly looser young persons, are generally, to all appearance, become true lovers of God and Christ, and spiritual in their disposition. And I hope that by far the greater part of persons in this town, above sixteen years of age, are such as have the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ; and so by what I heard I suppose it is in some other places, particularly at Sunderland and South Hadley.

This has also appeared to be a very extraordinary dispensation, in that the Spirit of God has so much extended not only his awakening, but regenerating influences, both to elderly persons, and also those that are very young. It has been a thing heretofore rarely to be heard of, that any were converted past middle age. But now we have the same ground to think, that many such have in this time been changed, as that others have been so in more early years. I suppose there were upwards of fifty persons in this town above forty years of age, and more than twenty of them above fifty, and about ten of them above sixty, and two of them above seventy years of age.

It has heretofore been looked on as a strange thing, when any have seemed to be savingly wrought upon, and remarkably changed in their childhood; but now, I suppose, near thirty were, to appearance, so wrought upon between ten and fourteen years of age; and two between nine and ten, and one of about four years of age, and because I suppose this last will be most difficultly believed, I will hereafter give a particular account of it. The influences of God's Spirit have also been very remarkable on children in some other places, particularly at Sunderland and South Hadley, and the West part of Suffield. There are several families in this town that are hopefully pious; yea, there are several numerous families, in which, I think, we have reason to hope that all the children are truly godly, and most of them lately become so: and there are very few houses in the whole town, into which salvation has not lately come, in one or more instances. There are several negroes, that from what was seen in them then, and what is discernible in them since, appear to have been truly born again in the late remarkable season.

God has also seemed to have gone out of his usual way, in the quickness of his work, and the swift progress his Spirit has made in his operations on the hearts of many: and it is wonderful that persons should be so suddenly, and yet so greatly changed: many have been taken from a loose and careless way of living, and seized with strong convictions of their guilt and misery, and in a very little time old things have passed away, and all things have become new with them. God's work has also appeared very extraordinary, in the degrees of the influences of his Spirit, both in the degree of saving light, and love,

and joy, that many have experienced. It has also been very extraordinary in the extent of it, and its being so swiftly propagated from town to town. In former times of the pouring out of the Spirit of God on this town, though in some of them it was very remarkable, yet it reached no further than this town. The neighbouring towns all around continued unmoved.

The work of God's Spirit seemed to be at its greatest height in this town, in the former part of the spring, in March and April; at which time God's work, in the conversion of souls, was carried on amongst us in so wonderful a manner, that so far as I, by looking back, can judge from the particular acquaintance I have had with souls in this work, it appears to me probable, to have been at the rate, at least, of four persons in a day, or near thirty in a week, take one with another, for five or six weeks together: when God in so remarkable a manner took the work into his own hands, there was as much done in a day or two, as at ordinary times, with all endeavours that men can use, and with such a blessing as we commonly have, is done in a year."

This is the Rev. Mr Edwards' general account of the wonderful revival of religion, not only at Northampton, but also in other towns, both of the county of Hampshire, and of Connecticut colony, in the years 1734, 1735, and 1736. To which we shall subjoin the following attestation; and for particular instances of the powerful influence of the divine Spirit, refer those, who desire to read them, to that remarkable narrative.

To the Rev. Benjamin Colman, D.D., Pastor of a Church in Boston.

Westfield, October 11, 1738.—"Sir, in your letter of August 19, you inform us that the Rev. Dr Watts and Dr Guyse desire that some other ministers, who were eye and ear-witnesses to some of those numerous conversions in the other towns about Northampton, would attest unto what the Rev. Mr Edwards has written of them. We take this opportunity to assure you, that the account Mr Edwards has given in his narrative of our several towns or parishes is true; and that much more of the like nature might have been added with respect to some of them.—We are, Reverend Sir, your brethren and servants,

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, pastor of Hatfield,
EBENEZER DEVOTION, of Suffield,
STEPHEN WILLIAMS, of Long-Meadow,
PETER REYNOLDS, of Enfield,
NHEMIAH BULL, of Westfield,
SAMUEL HOPKINS, of W. Springfield."

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PERSECUTED PROTESTANTS AT SALZBURG IN GERMAN Y 1731, 1732.—GREAT NUMBERS OF THEM FORSAKE THEIR HOUSES, LANDS, AND RELATIONS, THAT THEY MIGHT ENJOY THE GOSPEL.

A general account of them from MR WILLISON'S TESTIMONY, page 99.

In or about the year 1732, &c., the Lord was pleased to pour out his Spirit upon the people of Saltzburg, who were living in Popish darkness, in a

most uncommon manner; so that above twenty thousand of them, merely by reading the Bible, which they made a shift to get in their own language, were determined to throw off Popery, and embrace the reformed religion; yea, and to become so very zealous for the truth and gospel of Jesus Christ, as to be willing to suffer the loss of all things in the world, and actually to forsake their houses, lands, goods, and relations, that they might enjoy the pure preaching of the gospel. And oh with what earnestness and tears in their eyes did they beseech Protestant ministers to preach to them, in the places where they (when banished from their native country) came in different bodies! for it pleased the Lord to stir up Protestant princes and states to receive them, and provide for them in many different places.

A more particular account from the PAPERS PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY IN LONDON FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.—From Letter I., dated at Kauffbeyern.

On the — day of December, 1731, late at night, when the city gates were shut, about eight hundred Protestant exiles of Saltzburg, of both sexes, arrived here, under the guidance of a Bavarian messenger. They had been driven out of their native country for the sake of religion, and forced to leave their all behind them: and a report was spread, that they had expressly desired to be conducted hither; but upon inquiry, they solemnly protested that they had not known whither they were to go, and that all they desired was to be admitted into some Protestant town, for the spiritual comfort of their souls. After the arrival of these poor people, (who were very meanly clothed, and were for the most part labouring people and servants, and had brought a few children with them) they patiently waited without the city gates for admission; (which they had earnestly solicited by about forty of their deputies, who arrived just before the gates were shut) singing with great devotion Luther's Hymn: "God is our refuge in distress," &c. But orders were soon given for their reception; and some of them had lodgings assigned them in public Protestant inns, whilst a great number were readily received into private houses, not without many tears. And thus they were as hospitably entertained, as the smallness of the town would admit of, and provided both with spiritual and temporal food, until the 30th of December.

Their behaviour among us, both in word and deed, was such as became true Christians. They were modest, humble, peaceable, contented with, and thankful for whatever was given them; and expressed the greatest delight in praying, singing of psalms, and reading good books.

As they had been expelled their country on a sudden, and not permitted to furnish themselves with necessaries for their journey, our Protestant fellow-citizens have testified their charity to them, not only by furnishing them with useful books, but likewise with better clothing for this cold season, and with food, and some money. Several of them have likewise been taken into service in the town; some of their children put out to apprenticeships and to school; and their sick and weak provided for in the hospital. But when the Roman Catholic members of our magistracy had complained in form of the stay of these poor people, and other circumstances

had intervened, which rendered their further entertainment here very difficult; (especially since nineteen thousand more were to make their pilgrimage through these parts) we came, after mature deliberation, to this unanimous resolution, viz. :—That all those that could not be provided for here, should be sent through three different roads, to Memmingen, Augsburg, and Kempten, under the conduct of some of our Protestant citizens, the better to facilitate their passage, and to prevent all manner of disorders. On the day of their departure, after they had heard the morning sermon, and had taken necessary refreshment, they repaired to our Trinity church at noon, where they heard a farewell discourse, with many tears, and an hearty affection to the word of God; and concluded all with the hymn, "God is our refuge in distress;" which was sung only by themselves. After this, the deputies led them, two by two, between the mayor and aldermen, on one side of the church door, and the ministers on the other: and being dismissed by the citizens with innumerable blessings, they took their several roads, towards the cities above mentioned, like so many flocks of sheep, with great patience and humility.

From LETTER II., dated Augsburg.

On the 30th of December, 1731, the Protestant magistracy at Augsburg, having had notice given them just before morning service, by the magistracy and ministry at Kauffbeyern, that eight hundred exiles of Saltzburg were arrived at Kauffbeyern, and that a certain number of them intended to march thither, earnestly desiring, for the sake of Christ, that they would receive them: the same was immediately communicated by the ministers of this city, to the congregation at the cathedral church of St Anne. And when they were ordered into their assigned quarters, they immediately lifted up their hands to heaven, and gave thanks to God, in the best manner they were able.

On New-year's-day, after morning service, the Protestant senate ordered the two senior rectors of the Augustin confession to preach to these poor exiles in two different places without the city, they not being yet admitted into it, and this was done accordingly, at three in the afternoon, in the presence of a great multitude of people, by Mr Urlsperger, in the hospital, and by Mr Weidner, in Mr Schawers's garden, in the following manner: the service began with singing the first eight verses of the hymn, "Commit thy ways and goings;" then followed a prayer suited to the circumstances of the exiles; and then a discourse upon the name of Jesus, mentioned in the gospel for the day, with a particular application on this extraordinary occasion, to show how this holy name ought to influence the conduct, both of the Augsburgers and the exiles. The next day, being the 2d of January, the whole company of these exiles met again according to order in the hospital, where the same rector, who had exhorted them the day before, endeavoured to edify them with another discourse upon the history of the Ethiopian Eunuch, Acts viii. He thence shewed them, what delight God takes in those that seek after the true religion; what that religion is; by what means we may learn it, and be confirmed in it; and how great a change it produces in the mind; concluding with a particular application to the exiles: and it is not

to be expressed, what effect this discourse had upon the auditory; with what devotion and attention these pilgrims received it; and what plenty of tears it drew from their eyes, as well as from those of the other part of the audience. Nay, many of the Papists themselves, who were present both within and without doors, were so wrought upon by almighty God, that they not only discovered their concern in their countenances, but actually offered to embrace the Protestant religion. Particular care was taken not to use the least expression which might be offensive to the Roman Catholics, neither were they once mentioned, it being more proper at this time, only to press the truth of the gospel home to every one's conscience. And one very affecting circumstance was this, that whenever the rector went with the Protestant burgomaster to the hospital, which is about half a mile out of town, they found several hundreds of people before the place, who, as well as those within the hospital, were singing hymns of praise and thanksgiving. After this second discourse, several good books, with a considerable sum of money, were distributed among the exiles: and as every one was desirous to have one of those people home with him, many had not the patience to wait till they should have the liberty to take them into their service; but carried some of them into the city in coaches, and others in disguise, before they were permitted to pass through the gates.

They are generally of good courage; and, notwithstanding all the misery they had gone through, of a cheerful temper. There appears so much honesty and fidelity in their very countenances, that one may almost affirm, they are without guile. They are, for the most part, of a strong and robust constitution, and from twenty to thirty-six years of age; some few only are from forty to sixty.

On the 3d of January, and following days, our Protestants began to take them into their services, and by the 8th, one hundred and sixty were provided for: some merchants took two, or more; other tradesmen one, or more, for their servants: and some working people, who had no children, took in some Saltzburg girls of about sixteen years of age, and entertained them as their own. Those who were taken by masters in low circumstances, were clothed at the expense of two considerable families; and the others, at that of their several masters. The Protestant orphan-house alone, confiding in God, took in thirty; and soon after experienced his paternal providence, which inclined the hearts of several people to contribute a weekly sum towards their support. And the rest are lodged up and down, till they either can get into services, or remove next spring into other places. As to the collection made for them, the same has been (notwithstanding the many great expenses of these times) very considerable, amounting to about six thousand florins, which was given with all the cheerfulness imaginable; but it was not then distributed, because the greater part of them were provided for already. And concerning this collection, we cannot but observe, that all the children of our Protestant orphan-house, who had saved any pence, or farthings, readily contributed towards it; and one of them, in particular, gave his all, which made up two florins: so that we may with truth assert, that all degrees of people amongst us, have strove to out-do one another in this charity.

These people behave themselves not only very thankfully, contentedly, meekly, and patiently; but

when they have an occasion of mentioning their afflictions, they do it without the least bitterness or murmuring against their former superiors; and they incessantly pray, with many tears, for their relations left behind them; as not knowing what sufferings they may have yet to undergo.—And thus much from the city of Augsburg.

As to those that were sent from Kauffbeyern to Memmingen, we have not had such a particular account as from Augsburg: but thus much we can affirm, that they have been there received as brethren and sisters, and carefully provided for. The greatest part of those who are yet come, are, as has been observed, poor labouring people and servants; but those that are to follow, are some of them of better condition, and have some substance; and some are still in prison where they content themselves with bread and water, and with praying, and singing psalms or hymns.

The exiles, who went to Ulm, have likewise found the way prepared by God for their maintenance. Their number consisted of two hundred and sixty persons, among whom were about twenty women. At their arrival, they were conducted (amidst a great concourse of people) from the Danube gate to the town-house, singing all the way the two hymns which begin thus; "God is our refuge in distress," and, "He that confides in his Creator." And hereby we see that passage of David, *Psalm viii. 2.* "Out of the mouths of babes, &c. thou hast perfected praise," literally fulfilled; for many thousands of people were excited by the exiles to join with them in praising God. They were immediately ordered out of the cold into a warm room, every one being desirous to give them some refreshment: and after the magistrate had taken a sufficient account of them, they were quartered in the several inns of the town, which were hardly large enough to contain the great concourse of other Protestants, who flocked thither; who all joined with one accord in praises and thanksgivings to God, and continued their ejaculations till late at night; and would to God this were more frequently practised by all persons, and at all times. The next day, the rector Frick preached a sermon upon these words, "The Lord spake to Abraham," &c. *Gen. xii. 1, 2, 3,* and as this discourse was chiefly applied in all its parts to those Saltzburgers, it is impossible to express with what attention they heard the word of God. They stood like people who have had no food for a great while, and are therefore waiting with greater eagerness to receive some, to satisfy their hunger. After sermon, one-half of them were examined by Dr Frick, rector, the other half by Professor Allgower, about the fundamental truths of the Protestant religion; of which some of them could give a pretty clear and satisfactory account; but of their knowledge, which we find in every particular conformable to the doctrine of the gospel, more shall be said hereafter.

Being averse to nothing more than idleness, and ready to undertake the hardest labour, many have already found a subsistence, as we hope the rest very shortly will. "For the word of the Lord is true, and all his works are faithful; and he has promised that they that seek him, shall want no manner of thing that is good," *Psalm xxxiv. 10.*

Many of them are descended of Protestant parents, who having been connived at for many years, brought the Bible and other good books privately into the country, and read them to others in secret; and this

has had such a blessed effect upon them, that they were not only confirmed in the truth themselves, but many others have likewise, through the divine assistance, been converted. Particular care is now taken to instruct these people regularly, in every city where they reside.

But what is the real cause of their being expelled the country? From their *Confession of Faith* it is evident, that no erroneous, heretical, or seditious doctrine, has been the cause of it; and that consequently the accusations about the Holy Trinity, and that of not suffering their children to be baptized, with which they have been aspersed, are groundless. Much less are they persecuted as murderers, thieves, or workers of iniquity, or such as meddle with other people's affairs, or deny to give the magistrate his due: they are cleared from all such enormities, by the passport which every man received from the Archbishop of Salzburg himself: and for this reason, orders have been given, even in some Roman Catholic countries, particularly in Bavaria, to provide for them as innocent people, and to furnish them with some little travelling expenses for their support. So that we may justly say of these men, as Pilate did of our blessed Lord, that, (as touching such crimes as are punishable by the magistrate) "we find no fault in them." In short, no other cause can be alleged, but their confession of the Protestant religion, which is not tolerated in the territory of Salzburg. And that this is the true cause, is manifest, not only from the many kinds of sufferings these poor people have endured, (all which were designed to make them quit the Protestant religion) but also from the public acts of the Imperial diet.

At first, all pains were taken to dissuade them from the Protestant religion, by arguments from worldly interest; and when that would not do, their books, which they had been many years collecting, were seized in several places; and after they were deprived of the word of God, their enemies proceeded to more violent means, to make them change their minds. Many were apprehended, particularly those who were suspected to be their leaders, and sent in fetters, dressed, in derision, with white caps, which hung down to their breasts, into the deepest dungeons of Salzburg; and others have been sent away, their relations not knowing whither. And when this would not do, the Papists threatened them with beheading, drowning, the gallies, and the like; and to all this, these poor people made only the following reply, "In God's name, in God's name." And, at last, when it was found that they could not be brought by any of these violent means, to love their lives and fortunes more than God and his truth; then they were on a sudden ordered to leave the country; and these orders were immediately executed with all imaginable rigour: some were taken from the field, others were dragged naked out of their beds; all in general had a sudden summons to depart, and none, or very few, were permitted so much as to sell their goods, or to take any thing necessary with them; that many have been obliged to leave their wives and their substance behind them, and to go away deprived of all they had in the world. This, and much more, appears by the complaints that have been laid before the Evangelic body at Ratisbon, and by the Imperial mandates issued thereupon; and what increased their calamity was this, that they were forced to begin their journey in the depth of winter, when the cold is most severe. The first eight hun-

dred spent five whole weeks in their journey, and that in the most bitter cold and most stormy weather; and were a fortnight in wandering over mountains and hills, not knowing whither they went. This fatigued and emaciated them so much, that they were almost starved, having been in want of bread for three days together. This is the case of these poor exiles, whose number, as we hear from Augsburg, (where above six hundred are arrived already) will be considerably augmented by those that are yet to come.

From LETTER III. dated at Augsburg.

Whereas, January 25th, 1732, there arrived in our neighbourhood five hundred more exiles of Salzburg, besides their women and children; one of our Protestant aldermen was immediately sent to meet them at a village called Hausstetten, read their authentic passports, and registered them, and then provided a good dinner for the whole company; after which, they were divided into parties, so that an hundred in one place, eighty in another, sixty in a third place, and fifty in a fourth, might be quartered for this first day without the city; and when they were safely arrived in their lodgings, they sung hymns, and prayed with great devotion and affection of heart. There were with them three waggons full of women, new-born children, sick and old people, who were taken into the hospital. It was a signal mercy, that they did not all fall sick, and perish with cold; considering they came in a severe frost, being poor, and many of them very bare: and indeed some did fall sick, by the many hardships they endured; amongst whom an old man is since dead, who being asked, whether he was not sorry for having left his native country? answered, No: but I die with joy, and hope of a better life.

Certainly God hath some particular design in this stupendous work, which is brought about not by the band of man, but of God himself; that in such a small track of land as Salzburg, which is surrounded everywhere with Popish countries, such a great multitude of people should take up a resolution, rather to forsake their native country, their friends, and their substance, than to live any longer in darkness, contrary to God and his word. As soon as the city gates were opened on Saturday, a great number of Protestants went with all manner of provisions unto the poor exiles. The Rev. Mr Urlsperger, rector of the ministry, visited them the same evening in all their quarters, strengthened them, and comforted them very much.

Wednesday morning, all the exiles marched in good order into Shooter's-field, singing as they went along Luther's Hymn: "Our God is a strong tower," &c, accompanied with many thousands of Protestants and Papists. Here the citizens had liberty to pick out such as they liked for their service, to the number of three hundred persons. As for those that were sick, or had sick children, they remained in their quarters; but ten men who had recovered their health in the hospital, and were desirous to serve the farmers in the Protestant villages, joined themselves to those that were to go away: but before they went, the Rev. Mr Hildebrand, early in the morning, made a pious discourse to them, upon the cxxvi. Psalm. Afterwards, the gospel was again preached unto these poor people in the open fields, in several

places, by the two senior rectors of the ministry, Mr Ursperger and Mr Weidner, and six other ministers, who having fervently exhorted them to be steadfast in the true faith, and sincere godliness, committed them unto the grace of God, in the presence of a great multitude of people, high and low, Protestants, Papists, Jews, and others. Such a remarkable publication of the gospel, and attended with such sensible impressions, hath not been known at Augsburg since the time that the Augustin Confession was first presented to the emperor Charles V. in the year 1530, in this place. A great bitterness of mind had shewn itself at first among the Papists; but having observed nothing amiss, and hearing the exiles exhorted unto patience and steadfastness, some went away ashamed, and others with a secret inclination to turn to the truth of the gospel; insomuch that there appears a great disposition among the Popish inhabitants, to embrace the Protestant faith.

As they went along, they, with hearts full of thankfulness, blessed once more all their kind benefactors, and sung their hymn. "An exile in distress I am," &c. Many thousand spectators returned blessings and thanks for the awakenings the Lord was pleased to give them by their means. Mr Ursperger went somewhat beyond the territory of Augsburg; and as the first troop passed by him, he took his leave, and blessed them once more: and returning homewards, he met the second troop, and committing them also to the grace of God, he distributed some books, as Arndt's *True Christianity*, &c. amongst them; and so hastening to Shooter's-field, he found the last ready to march, and made a farewell discourse unto them; every one of whom offering his hand to him and his colleague, they set forward in the name of the Lord.

These people are very sincere and religious; they are content with mean diet and clothes, and a great deal of hard labour, which they perform diligently: and, as they are very attentive in hearing the word of God, it is not to be doubted but his blessing will attend it. In their journey, the Papists in some places insulted them, and threw dirt at them, which they bore with great resignation, and returned only with blessings on their enemies. But they were received at Nordlingen and Haaburgh with great cheerfulness; insomuch, that even the Jews at Haaburgh offered them lodgings.

And here we may again observe, that several Jews have been sensibly affected with the persecution of these people: a Jew at Batzheim, not far from Ulm, seeing two hundred of them together, and hearing the cause of their wandering about, stood astonished for some time, and at last broke out into this exclamation; "Sure God designs to do some great work. [See the account of their sufferings, and the farther account.]

CHAPTER IV.

OF A RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF STUDENTS AT OXFORD, WHICH BEGAN ABOUT THE END OF 1729—THEIR CAREFUL IMPROVEMENT OF TIME IN WORKS OF PIETY AND CHARITY.—THEIR REAL AND SUCCESS IN PREACHING THE GOSPEL.

Introduction from Mr WILLISON'S TESTIMONY.

AT that time, the Lord was pleased to raise up and qualify a number of students at the college of

Oxford, in our neighbour nation of England, to be instruments of much good, although not altogether purged from the corruptions of that land. They joined in a religious society, wherein they agreed upon certain methods and rules for spending their time in fasting, praying, communicating, visiting the sick and the prisoners, instructing the ignorant, &c. and hence they were called methodists. And being afterwards ordained to the ministry, they preached with great warmth, chusing subjects very much neglected in that church, such as the doctrines of justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ, of original sin, of the necessity of regeneration, &c. They used also a good deal of freedom in speaking against the loose and negligent clergy, for which they were at length denied the use of churches; whereupon they went and preached in the fields and houses, collecting money for erecting schools, hospitals, and other pious uses, travelling to many places, and preaching every day, and several times in one day, having many thousands to hear them in London, Bristol, Gloucester, through Wales, and very many places in England. Many of their hearers were brought under great impressions, shedding tears, and crying out, "What shall we do to be saved?" and great changes were made upon very profligate persons, and upon several who went to scoff and ridicule them. Also many of the clergy were quickened to their work by them.

SECTION I.

From MR JOHN WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST JOURNAL.—LETTER CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE OF THE SOCIETY IN OXFORD.

IT was in pursuance of an advice given by bishop Taylor, in his *Rules for Holy Living and Dying*, that about fifteen years ago, (1723) I began to take a more exact account than I had done before, of the manner wherein I spent my time, writing down how I had employed every hour. This I continued to do, wherever I was, till the time of my leaving England. The variety of scenes which I then passed through, induced me to transcribe from time to time, the more material parts of my diary, adding here and there such little reflections as occurred to my mind. Of this journal thus occasionally compiled, the following is a short extract: it not being my design to relate all those particulars, which I wrote for my own use only; and which would answer no valuable end to others, however important they were to me. Indeed I had no design or desire to trouble the world with any of my little affairs, as cannot but appear to every impartial mind, from my having been so long as one that heareth not, notwithstanding the loud and frequent calls I have had, to answer for myself. Neither should I have done it now; had not captain William's affidavit, published as soon as he had left England, laid an obligation upon me, to do what in me lies, in obedience to that command of God, let not the good which is in you be evil-spoken of. With this view I do at length give an answer, to every man that asketh me a reason of the hope which is in me, that in all these things I have a conscience void of offence, towards God and towards man. I have prefixed hereto a letter wrote several years since, containing a plain account of the rise of that little society in Oxford, which has been so variously represented. Part of this was

published in 1738, but without my consent or knowledge. It now stands as it was wrote, without any addition, diminution, or amendment; it being my only concern herein, nakedly to declare the thing as it is. Perhaps my employments of another kind may not allow me to give any further answer to them who say all manner of evil of me falsely, and seem to think that they do God service. Suffice it, that both they and I shall shortly give an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.

"Oson, October 18th, 1730.—Sir, the occasion of my giving you this trouble is of a very extraordinary nature. On Sunday last I was informed (as no doubt you will be ere long) that my brother and I had killed your son; that the rigorous fasting which he had imposed upon himself, by our advice, had increased his illness, and hastened his death. Now though, considering it in myself, it is a very small thing with me to be judged by man's judgment: yet as the being thought guilty of so mischievous an imprudence might make me less able to do the work I came into the world for, I am obliged to clear myself of it, by observing to you, as I have done to others, that your son left off fasting about a year and a half since, and that it is not yet half a year since I began to practice it.

"I must not let this opportunity slip of doing my part towards giving you a juster notion of some other particulars relating both to him and myself, which have been industriously misrepresented to you. In March last he received a letter from you, which being not able to read, he desired me to read to him; several of the expressions whereof I perfectly remember, and shall do, until I too am called hence. I then determined, that if God was pleased to take away your son before me, I would justify him and myself, which I now do with all plainness and simplicity, as both my character and cause requires. In one practice for which you blamed your son, I am only concerned as a friend, not as a partner. That therefore I shall consider first; your own account of it was in effect this, 'He frequently went into poor people's houses in the villages about Holt, called their children together, and instructed them in their duty to God, their neighbour, and themselves. He likewise explained to them the necessity of private as well as public prayer, and provided them with such forms as were best suited to their several capacities; and being well apprised how much the success of his endeavours depended on their good-will towards him, to win upon their affections, he sometimes distributed among them a little of that money, which he had saved from gaming, and the other fashionable expenses of the place.' This is the first charge against him; upon which all that I shall observe is, that I will refer it to your own judgment, whether it be fitter to have a place in the catalogue of his faults, or of those virtues, for which he is now numbered among the sons of God. If all the persons concerned in 'that ridiculous society, whose follies you have so often heard repeated,' could but give such a proof of their deserving the glorious title which was once bestowed upon them, they would be contented that their lives too should be counted madness, and their end thought to be without honour. But the truth is, their title to holiness stands upon much less stable foundations; as you will easily perceive when you know the ground of this wonderful outcry, which it seems England is not wide enough to contain.

"In November, 1729, at which time I came to reside at Oxford, your son, my brother, myself, and one more, agreed to spend three or four evenings in a week together. Our design was to read over the classics, which we had before read in private, on common nights, and on Sunday some book in divinity. In the summer following Mr M. told me he had called at the gaol, to see a man who was condemned for killing his wife; and that, from the talk he had with one of the debtors, he verily believed it would do much good, if any one would be at the pains of now and then speaking with them. This he so frequently repeated, that on August 24th, 1730, my brother and I walked with him to the castle. We were so well satisfied with our conversation there, that we agreed to go thither once or twice a-week; which we had not done long, before he desired me to go with him to see a poor woman in the town, who was sick. In this employment too when we came to reflect upon it, we believed it would be worth while to spend an hour or two in the week, provided the minister of the parish, in which any such person was, was not against it. But that we might not depend wholly on our own judgments, I wrote an account to my father of our whole design; withal begging that he, who had lived seventy years in the world, and seen as much of it as most private men have ever done, would advise us whether we had yet gone too far, and whether we should now stand still, or go forward.

"Part of his answer, dated September 21st, 1730, was this:—'And now as to your own designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *valle probo*; and that I have the highest reason to bless God, that he has given me two sons together at Oxford, to whom he has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them. They have but one more enemy to combat with, the flesh; which if they take care to subdue by fasting and prayer, there will be no more for them to do but proceed steadily in the same course, and expect the crown which fadeth not away. You have reason to bless God, as I do, that you have so fast a friend as Mr M—, who, I see, in the most difficult service is ready to break the ice for you. You do not know of how much good that poor wretch who killed his wife has been the providential occasion. I think I must adopt Mr M— to be my son, together with you and your brother Charles; and when I have such a terrior to prosecute that war, wherein I am now *miles emeritus*, I shall not be ashamed, when they speak with their enemies in the gate.

"'I am afraid lest the main objection you make against your going on in the business with the prisoners, may secretly proceed from flesh and blood. For who can harm you if you are followers of that which is so good, and which will be one of the marks by which the Shepherd of Israel will know his sheep at the last day? Though if it were possible for you to suffer a little in the cause, you would have a confessor's reward. You own none but such as are out of their senses would be prejudiced against your acting in this manner; but say, These are they that need a physician. But what if they will not accept of one who will be welcome to the poor prisoners? Go on then, in God's name, in the path to which your Saviour has directed you, and that track wherein your father has gone before you! for when I was an under-graduate at Oxford, I visited those in the castle

there, and reflect on it with great satisfaction to this day. Walk as prudently as you can, though not fearfully, and my heart and prayers are with you. Your first regular steps is to consult with him (if any such there be) who has a jurisdiction over the prisoners; and the next is, to obtain the direction and approbation of your bishop. This is Monday morning, at which time I shall never forget you. If it be possible, I should be glad to see you all three here in the fine end of the Summer: but if I cannot have that satisfaction, I am sure I can reach you every day, though you were beyond the Indies. Accordingly, to Him who is everywhere, I now heartily commit you, as being your most affectionate and joyful Father.'

"In pursuance of these directions, I immediately went to Mr Gerard, the bishop of Oxford's chaplain, who was likewise the person that took care of the prisoners when any were condemned to die; (at other times they were left to their own care.) I proposed to him our design of serving them as far as we could, and my own intention to preach there once a month, if the bishop approved of it. He much commended our design, and said he would answer for the bishop's approbation, to whom he would take the first opportunity of mentioning it. It was not long before he informed me he had done so, and that his lordship not only gave his permission, but was greatly pleased with the undertaking, and hoped it would have the desired success. Soon after a gentleman of Merton College, who was one of our little company, which now consisted of five persons, acquainted us, that he had been much rallied the day before for being a member of the holy club; and that it was become a common topic of mirth at his College, where they had found out several of our customs, to which we were ourselves utter strangers. Upon this I consulted my father again, in whose answers were these words:—

"December 1.—This day I received both yours; and this evening in the course of our reading, I thought I found an answer that would be more proper than any I myself could dictate; though since it will not be easily translated, I send it in the original: 2d Cor. vii. 4. "*Polla mi kauchesis hyper hymon pepleromi tei paraklesei, hyperperisseuomia tei charai.*" What would you be? Would you be angels? I question whether a mortal can arrive to a greater degree of perfection than steadily to do good, and for that very reason patiently and meekly to suffer evil. For my part, on the present view of your actions and designs, my daily prayers are, that God would keep you humble; and then I am sure that if you continue to suffer for righteousness sake, though it be but in a lower degree, the Spirit of God and of Glory shall in some good measure rest upon you. Be never weary of well-doing: never look back, for you know the prize and the crown are before you: though I can scarce think so meanly of you, as that you would be discouraged with the crackling of thorns under a pot. Be not high-minded, but fear: preserve an equal temper of mind under whatever treatment you meet with from a not very just or well-natured world. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourselves for these unfashionable duties, (as there is no such thing as works of supererogation) the more all good and wise men will value you, if they see your actions are of a piece; or, which is infinitely more, He by whom actions and intentions are

weighed, will both accept, esteem, and reward you.

"Upon this encouragement we still continued to sit together as usual; and to confirm one another as well as we could in our resolutions, to communicate as often as we had opportunity (which is here once a week); and do what service we could to our acquaintance, the prisoners, and two or three poor families in the town. But the outcry daily increasing, that we might show what ground there was for it, we proposed to our friends, or opponents, as we had opportunity, these or the like questions.

"I. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions, to imitate Him as much as they can, "who went about doing good?" Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, "While we have time let us do good to all men?" Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now? Whether we can be happy at all hereafter, unless we have, according to our power, "fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited those that are sick, and in prison," and made all these actions subservient to a higher purpose, even the saving of souls from death? Whether it be not our bounden duty always to remember that he did more for us than we can do for him; who assures us, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me?"

"II. Whether upon these considerations we may not try to do good to our acquaintance? Particularly, whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of being Christians? Whether of the consequent necessity of being scholars? Whether of the necessity of method and industry in order to either learning or virtue? Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by communicating as often as they can? whether we may not mention to them the authors whom we conceive to have wrote best on those subjects? whether we may not assist them as we are able from time to time, to form resolutions upon what they read in those authors, and to execute them with steadiness and perseverance?

"III. Whether, upon the considerations above-mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are hungry, naked, or sick? In particular, whether if we know any necessitous family, we may not give them a little food, clothes, or physic, as they want? Whether we may not give them, if they can read, a Bible, Common Prayer Book, or Whole Duty of Man? Whether we may not now and then enquire how they have used them; explain what they do not understand, and enforce what they do? Whether we may not enforce upon them more especially the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the church and sacrament? Whether we may not contribute what little we are able toward having their children clothed and taught to read! Whether we may not take care that they be taught their Catechism, and short prayers for morning and evening?

"IV. Lastly, Whether, upon the considerations above-mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are in prison? In particular, whether we may not release such well-disposed persons as remain in prison for small sums? Whether we may not lend smaller sums to those that are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with? Whether we may not give to them who appear to want it most, a little money, or clothes, or physic? Whether we may not supply as many as are serious;

enough to read, with a Bible, and Whole Duty of Man? Whether we may not, as we have opportunity, explain and enforce these upon them, especially with respect to public and private prayer, and the blessed sacrament?

"I do not remember that we met with any person who answered any of these questions in the negative, or who even doubted, whether it were not lawful to apply to this use that time and money, which we should else have spent in other diversions; but several we met with who increased our little stock of money for the prisoners and the poor, by subscribing something quarterly to it; so that the more persons we proposed our designs to, the more were we confirmed in the belief of their innocency, and the more determined to pursue them in spite of the ridicule, which increased fast upon us during the winter. However, in spring, I thought it would not be improper to desire farther instructions from those who were wiser and better than ourselves; and accordingly (on May 18, 1731) I wrote a particular account of all our proceedings to a clergyman of known wisdom and integrity. After having informed him of all the branches of our design as clearly and simply as I could, I next acquainted him with the success it had met with in the following words:—'Almost as soon as we had made our first attempts in this way, some of the men of wit in Christ-Church entered the lists against us, and between mirth and anger made a pretty many reflections upon the sacramentarians, as they were pleased to call us. Soon after their allies at Merton changed our title, and did us the honour of styling us *The Holy Club*. But most of them being persons of well-known characters, they had not the good fortune to gain any proselytes from the sacrament, until a gentleman, eminent for learning, and well-esteemed for piety, joining them, told his nephew, that if he dared to go to the weekly communion any longer, he would immediately turn him out of doors. That argument, indeed, had no success; the young gentleman communicated next week; upon which his uncle having again tried to convince him that he was in the wrong way, by shaking him by the throat to no purpose, changed his method, and by mildness prevailed upon him to absent from it the Sunday following, as he has done five Sundays in six ever since. This much delighted our "gay opponents," who increased their number apace, especially when shortly after one of the seniors of the college having been with the doctor, upon his return from him, sent for two young gentlemen severally, who had communicated weekly for some time; and was so successful in his exhortations, that, for the future, they promised to do it only three times a-year. About this time there was a meeting (as one who was present at it informed your son) of several of the officers and seniors of the college, wherein it was consulted what would be the speediest way to stop the progress of enthusiasm in it. The result we know not, only it was soon publicly reported that Dr ——— and the censors were going to blow up *the Godly Club*. This was now our common title, though we were sometimes dignified with that of the *Enthusiasts*, or the *Reformed Club*."

"Part of the answer I received was as follows:—'Good Sir,—A pretty while after the date yours came to my hand. I waived my answer until I had an opportunity of consulting your father, who upon all accounts is a more proper judge of the affair than I am. But I could never find a fit occa-

sion for it. As to my own sense of the matter, I confess, I cannot but heartily approve that serious and religious turn of mind that prompts you and your associates to those pious and charitable offices; and can have no notion of that man's religion or concern for the honour of the university, that opposes you as far as your design respects the college. I should be loth to send a son of mine to any seminary, where his conversing with virtuous young men, whose professed design of meeting together at proper times was to assist each other in forming good resolutions, and encouraging one another to execute them with constancy and steadiness, was inconsistent with any received maxims or rules of life among the members. As to the other branch of your design, as the town is divided into parishes, each of which has its proper incumbent, and as there is probably an ecclesiastic who has the spiritual charge of the prisoners, prudence may direct you to consult them: for though I dare not say you would be too officious, should you of your own mere motion seek out the persons that want your instructions and charitable contributions, yet, should you have the concurrence of their proper pastor, your good offices would be more regular, and less liable to censure.'

"Your son was now at Holt; however, we continued to meet at our usual times, though our little affairs went on but heavily without him. But at our return from Lincolnshire, in September last, we had the pleasure of seeing him again; when, though he could not be so active with us as formerly, yet we were exceeding glad to spend what time we could in talking and reading with him. It was a little before this time my brother and I were at London, when going into a bookseller's shop (Mr Rivington's, in St Paul's churchyard) after some other conversation he asked us whether we lived in town; and upon our answering, "No, at Oxford:" Then, gentlemen, said he, let me earnestly recommend to your acquaintance a friend I have there, Mr Clayton of Brazen-Nose. Of this, having small leisure for contracting new acquaintance, we took no notice for the present. But in the spring following (April 20,) Mr Clayton meeting me in the street, and giving Mr Rivington's service, I desired his company to my room, and then commenced our acquaintance. At the first opportunity I acquainted him with our whole design, which he immediately and heartily closed with; and not long after, Mr M—— having then left Oxford, we fixed two evenings in a week to meet on, partly to talk upon that subject, and partly to read something in practical divinity.

"The two points whereunto, by the blessing of God and your son's help, we had before attained, we endeavoured to hold fast: I mean, the doing what good we can, and in order thereunto communicating as often as we have opportunity. To these, by the advice of Mr Clayton, we have added a third, the observing the fasts of the Church; the general neglect of which we can by no means apprehend to be a lawful excuse for neglecting them. And in the resolution to adhere to these, and all things else which we are convinced God requires at our hands, we trust we shall preserve, until he calls us to give an account of our stewardship. As for the names of Methodists, supererogation-men, and so on, with which some of our neighbours are pleased to compliment us, we do not conceive ourselves to be under any obligation to regard them, much less to take them for arguments. To the law and to the testi-

mony we appeal, whereby we ought to be judged. If by these it can be proved we are in an error, we will immediately and gladly retract it: if not, we have not so learned Christ, as to renounce any part of his service, though men should say all manner of evil against us, with more judgment, and a little truth as hitherto. We do, indeed, use all the lawful means we know, to prevent the good which is in us from being evil-spoken of; but if the neglect of known duties be the one condition of securing our reputation, why fare it well:—We know whom we have believed, and what we thus lay out he will pay us again. Your son already stands before the judgment seat of him who judges righteous judgment; at the brightness of whose presence the clouds remove; his eyes are open, and he sees clearly whether it was “Blind zeal and a thorough mistake of true religion, that hurried him on in the error of his way,” or whether he acted like a faithful and wise servant, who, from a just sense that his time was short, made haste to finish his work before his Lord’s coming, that when laid in the balance he might not be found wanting.

“I have now largely and plainly laid before you the real ground of all the strange outcry you have heard; and am not without hope that by this fairer representation of it than you probably ever received before, both you and the clergyman you formerly mentioned may have a more favourable opinion of a good cause, though under an ill name. Whether you have or no, I shall ever acknowledge my best services to be due to yourself and your family, both for the generous assistance you have given my father, and for the invaluable advantages your son has (under God) bestowed on, Sir, your,” &c.

1735.

HE SETS OUT FOR GEORGIA.

Tuesday, October 15. Mr Benjamin Ingham, of Queen’s College, Oxford, Mr Charles Delmotte, son of a merchant in London, who had offered himself some days before, my brother, Charles Wesley, and myself took boat for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia. In the afternoon we found the Simmons off Gravesend, and immediately went on board. Wednesday and Thursday we spent with one or two of our friends; partly on board, and partly on shore, in exhorting one another to “shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race set before us.”

1736.

HE PREACHES AT SAVANNAH.—CONVERSES WITH THE INDIANS.

Sunday, March 7. I entered upon my ministry at Savannah, by preaching on the Epistle for the day, being the 13th of the first of Corinthians. In the second lesson, Luke 18th, was our Lord’s prediction of the treatment which he himself (and consequently his followers) was to meet with from the world; and his gracious promise to those who are content, *Nudi nudum Christum sequi*: “Verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house, or friends, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God’s sake, which shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come, everlasting life.” Yet notwithstanding these plain declarations of our Lord, notwithstanding my own repeated experience, notwithstanding the experience

of the sincere followers of Christ, whom I have ever talked with, read or heard of; nay, and the reason of all the thing, evincing to a demonstration, that all who love not the light must hate him, who is continually labouring, to pour it in upon them: I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of people crowding into the church, the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces; I could scarce refrain from giving the lie to experience, and reason, and scripture, all together. I could hardly believe that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive, serious people, would hereafter trample under foot that word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that spake it. O who can believe what their heart abhors? Jesus, Master, have mercy on us! Let us love thy cross! Then shall we believe, “If we suffer with thee, we shall also reign with thee!”

Not finding as yet any door open, for the pursuing our main design, we considered, in what manner we might be most useful to the little flock at Savannah. And we agreed, 1st, To advise the more serious among them, to form themselves into a sort of little society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to reprove, instruct, and exhort one another. 2. To select out of these a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other, which might be forwarded, partly by our conversing singly with each, and partly by inviting them all together to our house; and this accordingly we determined to do every Sunday in the afternoon.

Wednesday, June 30. I hoped a door was opened, for going up immediately to the Choctaws, the least polished, i. e. the least corrupted of all the Indian nations. But upon my informing Mr Oglethorpe of our design, he objected, not only the danger of being intercepted, or killed by the French there; but much more, the inexpediency of leaving Savannah destitute of a minister. These objections I related to our brethren in the evening, who were all of opinion, “We ought not to go yet.”

Thursday, July 1. The Indians had an audience, and another on Saturday, when Chicali, their head man, dined with Mr Oglethorpe. After dinner, I asked the grey-headed old man, “What he thought he was made for?” He said, “He that is above knows what he made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much. And yet white men build great houses, as if they were to live for ever. In a little time white men will be dust as well as I.” I told him, “If red men will learn the good book, they may know as much as white men. But neither we nor you can understand that book, unless we are taught by him that is above; and he will not teach, unless you avoid what you already know is not good.” He answered, “I believe that: he will not teach us while our hearts are not white. And our men do what they know is not good. They kill their own children. And our women do what they know is not good. They kill the child before it is born. Therefore he that is above, does not send us the good book.”

1787.

RELIGIOUS DISCOURSES AT A VISITATION.—NEGROES.—YOUNG PEOPLE.—MR WESLEY RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

Friday, April 22. It being the time of their annual visitation, I had the pleasure of meeting with the

clergy of South Carolina; among whom in the afternoon there was such a conversation for several hours on "Christ our righteousness," as I had not heard at any visitation in England, or hardly on any other occasion.

Saturday 23. Mentioning to Mr Thompson, minister of St Bartholomew's, near Ponpon, my being disappointed of a passage home by water, he offered me one of his horses, if I would go by land, which I gladly accepted of. He went with me twenty miles, and sent his servant to guide me, the other twenty to his house. Finding a young negro there, who seemed more sensible than the rest, I asked her how long she had been in Carolina? She said two or three years; but that she was born in Barbadoes, and had lived there in a minister's family from a child. I asked, Whether she went to church there? She said, Yes, every Sunday,—to carry my mistress's children. I asked what she had learned at church? She said, Nothing: I heard a deal; but did not understand it." But what did your master teach you at home? Nothing. Nor your mistress? No. I asked, "But don't you know, that your hands and feet, and this you call your body, will turn to dust in a little time?" She answered, Yes. But there is something in you that will not turn to dust, and this is what they call your soul. Indeed, you cannot see your soul, though it is within you, as you cannot see the wind, though it is all about you. But if you had not a soul in you, you could no more see, or hear, or feel, than this table can. What do you think will become of your soul, when your body turns to dust? "I don't know." Why, it will go out of your body, and go up there, above the sky, and live always. God lives there. Do you know who God is? No. You cannot see him any more than you can see your own soul. It is he that made you and me, and all men and women, and all beasts and birds, and all the world. It is he that makes the sun shine, and rain fall, and corn and fruits to grow out of the ground. He makes all these for us. But what do you think he made us, what did he make you and me for? "I can't tell." He made you to live with himself above the sky. And so you will in a little time,—if you are good, when your body dies, your soul will go up, and want nothing, and have whatever you can desire. No one will beat or hurt you there. You will never be sick. You will never be sorry any more, nor afraid of any thing. I can't tell you, I don't know how happy you will be; for you will be with God. The attention with which this poor creature listened to instruction is inexpressible. The next day she remembered all, readily answered every question; and said, "She would ask him that made her to show her how to be good."

Sunday 24. I preached the first at Ponpon Chapel, on the 13th chapter of the twice Epistle to the Corinthians. O how will even these men of Carolina, who come eight, ten, or twelve miles to hear the gospel, rise in judgment against those who hear it not, when it is preached at their own doors!

Wednesday 27. I came to Mr Belinger's plantation at Chulifinny, where the rain kept me till Friday. Here I met with an half Indian, (one that had an Indian mother, and a Spanish father) and several negroes, who were very desirous of instruction. One of them said, "When I was at Ashley Ferry, I went to church every Sunday. But here we are buried in the woods. Though if there was

any church within five or six miles, I am so lame, I can't walk, but I would crawl thither." Mr Belinger sent a negro lad with me to Purrysburg, or rather to the poor remains of it. O how hath God stretched over this place "the lines of confusion, and the stones of emptiness!" Alas for those whose lives were here vilely cast away. This lad too I found both very desirous and very capable of instruction. And perhaps one of the easiest and shortest ways, to instruct the American negroes in Christianity, would be the first to inquire after and find out, some of the most serious of the planters. Then having inquired of them, which of their slaves were best inclined, and understood English, to go to them from plantation to plantation, staying as long as appeared necessary to each. Three or four gentlemen in Carolina I have been with, that would be sincerely glad of such an assistant; who might pursue his work with no more hindrances than must everywhere attend the preaching of the gospel.

May 29. Being Whitsunday, four of our scholars, after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were at their earnest and repeated desire, admitted to the Lord's table. I trust their zeal hath stirred up many to remember their Creator in the days of their youth, and to redeem the time, even in the midst of an evil and adulterous generation. Indeed about this time, we observed the Spirit of God to move upon the minds of many of the children. They began more carefully to attend to the things that were spoken both at home and at church, and a remarkable seriousness appeared in their whole behaviour and conversation.

October the 7th, I consulted my friends, whether God did not call me, to return to England? the reason for which I left it had now no force; there being no possibility as yet of instructing the Indians. And as to Savannah, having never engaged myself, either by word or letter, to stay there a day longer than I should judge convenient, nor even taken charge of the people any otherwise, than as in my passage to the Heathens, I looked upon myself to be fully discharged therefrom, by the vacating of that design. Besides, there was a probability of doing more service to that unhappy people, in England, than I could do in Georgia, by representing without fear or favour, to the trustees, the real state the colony was in.

Friday, December 2. I left Georgia, after having preached the gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able) one year and nearly nine months.

1733.

HE VISITS HERNHUTH IN GERMANY—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH THERE, AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1733—HE RETURNS TO ENGLAND—PREACHES FREQUENTLY—NORTHAMPTON NARRATIVE.

Wednesday, June 7. I determined, if God should permit, to retire for a short time into Germany, I had fully proposed before I left Georgia so to do, if it should please God to bring me back to Europe. I hoped the conversing with those holy men¹, who were themselves living witnesses of the full power of faith, and yet able to bear with those that are weak, would be a means, under God, of so

¹ This was the opinion Mr Wesley had formed of them, from those he had already conversed with in the ship in his passage to America.

establishing my soul, that I might go on from faith to faith, and from strength to strength.

Tuesday, August 1. I came to Hernhuth, about thirty English miles from Dresden. It lies in Upper Lusatia, on the border of Bohemia, and contains about an hundred houses, built on a rising ground.

On Friday and Saturday (and so every day in the following week) I had much conversation with the most experienced of the brethren, concerning the great work which God had wrought in their souls, purifying them by faith: and with Martin Dober, and the other teachers and elders of the church, concerning the discipline used therein.

The sermon which Christian David preached, concerning the ground of our faith, made such an impression upon me, that when I went home, I could not but write down the substance of it, part of which follows:—

“The word of reconciliation which the Apostles preached, as the foundation of all they taught, was, that we are reconciled to God, not by our own works, nor by our own righteousness, but wholly and solely by the blood of Christ. But you will say, must I not grieve and mourn for my sins? must I not humble myself before God? is not this just and right? and must I not first do this before I can expect God to be reconciled to me? I answer, it is just and right. You must be humbled before God. You must have a broken and contrite heart. But then observe, this is not your own work. Do you grieve that you are a sinner? This is the work of the Holy Ghost. Are you contrite? are you humbled before God? do you indeed mourn, and is your heart broken within you? All this worketh the self-same Spirit. Observe again, this is not the foundation. It is not this by which you are justified. This is not the righteousness, this is no part of the righteousness by which you are reconciled unto God. You grieve for your sins. You are deeply humble. Your heart is broken. Well. But all this is nothing to your justification. Understand this well. To think you must be more contrite, more humble, more grieved, more sensible of the weight of sin, before you can be justified; is, to lay your contrition, your grief, your humiliation for the foundation of your being justified; at least for a part of the foundation. The foundation is, not your contrition (though that is not your own) not your righteousness, nothing of your own: nothing that is wrought in you by the Holy Ghost; but it is something without you, viz., the righteousness and the blood of Christ. For this is the word, “To him that believeth on God that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.” See ye not, that the foundation is nothing in us? There is no connection between God and the ungodly. There is no tie to unite them. They are altogether separate from each other. They have nothing in common. There is nothing less or more in the ungodly, to join them to God. Works, righteousness, contrition? No. Ungodliness only. This then do, if you will lay a right foundation. Go straight to Christ with all your ungodliness. Tell him, thou whose eyes are as a flame of fire searching my heart, seest that I am ungodly. I plead nothing else. I do not say, I am humble or contrite; but I am ungodly. Therefore bring me to him that justifieth the ungodly. Let thy blood be the propitiation for me. For there is nothing in me but ungodliness. Here is a mystery. Here the wise men of the world are lost, are taken in their own craftiness.

This the learned of the world cannot comprehend. This is the word of reconciliation which we preach. This is the foundation which never can be moved. By faith we are built upon this foundation: and this faith also is the gift of God. It is his free gift, which he now and ever giveth to every one that is willing to receive it. And when they have received this gift of God, then their hearts will melt for sorrow that they have offended him. But this gift of God lives in the heart, not in the head. The faith of the head, learned from men or books, [if alone] is nothing worth. It brings neither remission of sins, nor peace with God. Labour then to believe with your whole heart. So shall you have redemption through the blood of Christ. So shall you be cleansed from all sin. So shall ye go on from strength to strength, being renewed day by day in righteousness and all true holiness.”

Here Mr Wesley inserts an Extract of the Constitution of the Church of the Moravian Brethren at Hernhuth, laid before the Theological Order at Wirttemberg, in the Year 1738. [Part of which follows.]

1. THEY have a senior, or eldest, who is to assist the church by his counsel and prayers. Of him it is required, that he be well experienced in the things of God, and witnessed to by all for holiness of conversation. 2. They have deacons, or helpers, who are to take care that outward things be done decently and in order; and to see that every member of the church grows in grace, and walks suitably to his holy calling. 3. The pastor, or teacher, is to be an overseer of the whole flock, and every person therein; to baptize the children; diligently to form their minds, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord: when he finds in them a sincere love of the cross, then to receive them into the church: to administer the supper of the Lord: to join in marriage those who are already married to Christ: to reprove, admonish, quicken, comfort, as need requires: to declare the whole counsel of God: taking heed at all times to speak as the oracles of God, and agreeably to the analogy of faith: to bury those who have died in the Lord, and to keep that safe which is committed to his charge, even the pure doctrine and apostolical discipline which we have received from our forefathers. 4. We have also another sort of deacons, who take care that nothing be wanting to the orphan-house, the poor, the sick, and the strangers. Others again there are, who are peculiarly to take care of the sick; and others of the poor. And two of these are intrusted with the public stock, and keep accounts of all that is received or expended. 5. There are women who perform each of the above-mentioned offices among those of their own sex: for none of the men converse with them, beside the eldest, the teacher, and one, or sometimes two of the deacons. 6. Towards magistrates, whether of a superior or inferior rank, we bear the greatest reverence. We cheerfully submit to their laws; and even when many of us have been spoiled of their goods, driven out of their houses, and every way oppressed by them, yet they resisted them not, neither opening their mouths, nor lifting up their hand against them. In all things which do not immediately concern the inward spiritual kingdom of Christ, we simply, and without contradicting, obey the higher powers. But, with regard to conscience, the liberty of this we cannot suffer to be any way limited or infringed. And to this head we refer whatever directly and in itself

tends to hinder the salvation of souls : or, whatsoever things Christ and his holy Apostles (who we know meddled not with outward worldly things) took charge of; and performed, as necessary for the constituting and well-ordering of his church. In these things we acknowledge no head but Christ; and are determined, God being our helper, to give up not only our goods (as we did before) but life itself, rather than this liberty which God hath given us. 7. As it becometh all Christians not to be slothful in business but diligently to attend the works of their calling; there are persons chosen by the church, to superintend all those who are employed in outward business. And by this means also, many things are prevented which might otherwise be an occasion of offence. 8. We have also censors and monitors. In those experience and perspicacity; in these wisdom and modesty are chiefly required. The censors signify what they observe (and they observe the smallest things) either to the deacons or monitors. Some monitors there are, whom all know to be such; others who are secretly appointed; and who, if need require, may freely admonish in the love of Christ, even the rulers of the church. 9. The church is so divided, that first the husbands, then the wives, then the widows, then the maids, then the young men, then the boys, then the girls, and lastly, the little children, are in so many distinct classes: each of which is daily visited, the married men by a married man, the wives by a wife, and so of the rest.¹ These larger are also (now) divided into near ninety smaller classes or bands, over each of which one presides who is of the greatest experience. All these leaders meet the senior every week, and lay open to him and to the Lord, whatsoever hinders or furthers the work of God, in the souls committed to their charge. 10. In the year 1727, four and twenty men, and as many women agreed, that each of them would spend an hour in every day, in praying to God for his blessing on his people; and, for this purpose both the men and women chose a place, where any of their own sex who were in distress might be present with them. The same number of unmarried women, of unmarried men, of boys, and of girls, were afterwards, at their desire, added to them; who pour out their souls before God, not only for their own brethren, but also for other churches and persons, that have desired to be mentioned in their prayers. And this has never ceased day or night, since its first beginning. 11. And as the members of the church are divided, according to their respective states and sexes; so they are also, with regard to their proficiency in the knowledge of God. Some are dead, some quickened by the Spirit of God: of these, some again are untractable, some diligent, some zealous, burning with their first love; some babes, and some young men. Those who are still dead, are visited every day. And of the babes in Christ especial care is taken also, that they may be daily inspected and assisted to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus. 12. In the Orphan-house, about seventy children are brought up, separate according to their sex. Beside which, several experienced persons are appointed to consult with the parents, touching the education of the other children. In teaching them Christianity, we make use of Luther's Catechism, and study the amending their wills as well as understanding; finding by experience, that

¹ This work all the married brethren and sisters, as well as the unmarried, perform in their turn.

when their will is moved, they often learn more in a few hours, than otherwise in many months. Our little children we instruct chiefly by hymns; whereby we find the most important truths most successfully insinuated into their minds. 13. We highly reverence marriage, but neither our young men nor women enter into it till they assuredly know they are married to Christ. When any know it is the will of God, that they should change their state, both the man and woman are placed for a time with some married persons, who instruct them how to behave, so that their married life may be pleasing to God. Then their design is laid before the whole church, and after about fourteen days, they are solemnly joined, though not otherwise habited, than they are at other times. If they make any entertainment (which is not always) they invite only a few intimate friends, by whose faithful admonitions they may be the better prepared to bear their cross, and fight the good fight of faith. If any woman is with child, not only especial mention is made of her in the public prayers, but she is also exhorted in private, wholly to give herself up into the hands of her faithful Creator. As soon as a child is born, prayer is made for it, and if it may be, it is baptized in the presence of the whole church. Before it is weaned, it is brought into the assembly on the Lord's days. * * * 15. Once or twice a month, either at Bertholdsdorf, or if it may be, at Hernhuth, all the church receives the Lord's supper. It cannot be expressed how greatly the power of God is then present among us. The seniors first receive; then the rest in order, without any regard had to worldly dignity, in this, any more than in any other of the solemn offices of religion. After receiving, all the men (and so the women) meet together, to renew their covenant with God, to seek his face, and exhort one another to the patience of hope and the labour of love. * * 17. At eight in the morning, and in the evening we meet to pray to and praise God, and to read and hear the holy scriptures: the time we usually spend in sleep, is from eleven at night till four in the morning. So that allowing three hours a day for taking the food both of our bodies and souls, there remain sixteen for work. And this space those who are in health spend therein, with all diligence and faithfulness. 18. Two men keep watch every night in the streets, as do two women, in the women's apartment; that they may pour out their souls for those that sleep; and by their hymns raise the hearts of any who are awake to God. 19. For the further stirring up the gift which is in us, sometimes we have public, sometimes private love-feasts; at which we take a moderate refreshment, with gladness and singleness of heart, and the voice of praise and thanksgiving. 20. If any man among us, having been often admonished, and long forborn, persists in walking unworthy of his holy calling, he is no longer admitted to the Lord's supper. If he still continues in his fault, bating to be reformed, the last step is, publicly, and often in the midst of many prayers and tears, to cast him out of our congregation. But great is our joy, if he then see the error of his ways, so that we may receive him among us again. 21. Most of our brethren and sisters, have in some part of their life, experienced holy mourning and sorrow of heart; and have afterwards been assured, that there was no more condemnation for them, being passed from death unto life. They are therefore far from fearing

to die, or desiring to live on earth ; knowing that to them to die is gain, and being confident that they are the care of him, whose are the issues of life and death. Wherefore they depart as out of one chamber into another. And after the soul has left its habitation, their remains are deposited in the earth, appointed for that purpose. And the survivors are greatly comforted, and rejoice over them, with a joy the world knoweth not of.

That other friends of religion as well as Mr Wesley, thought favourably of these people at the first, and judged their ministrations in some instances to be subservient to the success of the gospel, will appear from the two following passages :—

1. From MR WILLISON'S TESTIMONY, 1744.

"Near to the same time (viz. of the Saltzburgers) or about the year 1735 or 1736, the Lord poured out his Spirit on many in Moravia, another country in Germany, to enlighten them in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and inspire them with extraordinary zeal to propagate it to others; in so much, that count Zinzendorf, bishop of the Moravian church, hath sent forth his missionaries to preach the gospel, not only in Germany and in other parts of Europe, but in many places of the Heathen world, where they call the Indians, the Negroes, Hottentots and Greenlanders, to the knowledge of a crucified Christ; and we are told of the great success of their ministry : and the count himself travels and preaches in very many different and remote places; though it is matter of regret to hear that those zealous preachers of Christ, are tainted with several errors; and so indeed were several of our reformers at the first. May the Lord purge them from all error whatsoever."

2. From MR ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY, February, 1744.

From two Letters of some Negroes in the American Island of St Thomas, belonging to the king of Denmark, who were brought to the communion of the Gospel of our blessed Lord and Saviour, and baptized, by the ministry of some Moravian brethren.

From Letter first, from the whole Congregation to the King of Denmark.

"Most gracious King, we are now in hope your royal majesty will give order, that the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ may be still propagated among us. We stand hitherto fast after the good pleasure of God, whereas we are very much oppressed of all. They come to beat and cut us when we learn something about our Saviour; they burn our books, and reject our baptism, they miscall the brethren for beasts, saying a Negro ought not to be baptized, and a baptized Negro be like a piece of burnt wood in hell. For three months ago they have brought our brethren, especially Mr Martin (whom the Lord hath blessed to us all, and who of twenty brethren that died, alone is left) and his brethren into the castle, and have a mind to drive them out of the land. They all pretend your majesty's order, saying you have prohibited the Negroes to come to the knowledge of the Saviour, and that you would soon drive Mr Martin from us. But we don't be-

lieve that, and have therefore sent two brethren to you, in order to get notice thereabout, viz., Jens Basing and Andries, deacons of the congregation of Negroes, praying you will give us leave to come to know the Saviour, and to stay with the congregation of the brethren, because we will go along with them to the Saviour. We will be obedient to our masters in all things, and only direct our souls towards heaven to the Lord Jesus; for we stole before from our masters, we ran away to Porto Rico, have been lazy, and have cheated our masters; but now it is quite otherwise with us, as our masters themselves know very well. Many Negroes (before) have suffered, with the utmost courage, their hands and feet to be cut off for their misbehaviours and crimes. Now we will fain lay down our life for the Saviour's sake and his church, if our masters will kill us as they say. The Lord bless our most gracious king a thousand times. Written at St. Thomas, Feb. 15, 1739, in name of above six hundred and fifty Negroes, disciples of Jesus Christ, which Mr Martin teacheth, especially them whom he hath baptized.

"PETER.	MUNGO.
ABRAHAM.	ANDRIES.
MADLENA.	REBECCA.
MATTATINE.	ANNA-MARIA."

From Letter second, from a Negro Woman to the Queen of Denmark.

"In Popo I worshipped one lord Mau after the manner of my ancestors. I neither knew nor loved him. Now I hear that it is the Lord Jesus who giveth me salvation: him my soul loveth, and now when I have a mind to worship and love him with all my heart, the blanks [thus they call the white people or pretended Christians] will not permit it. Formerly we stole away from our masters, ran away from them to Porto Rico to the Spaniards: for these and other wickednesses we got our deserved stripes, but now we fain will do it no more, and yet we are so badly used of the blanks. Whereas the blanks will not love our Lord Jesus, yet they may do so, but me and two hundred and fifty Negro women they shall not hinder it. Remember, most gracious queen, the sighs of the poor Negro women, whose souls I bind on your motherly heart. I am ready, for the sake of Jesus, to let them cast my head under belly, and suffer all things for his names sake. ANNA VAN POPO."

[But, alas! how promising soever the first zeal of the Moravians was, whatever good any of their missionaries have been made the instruments of, and whatever may still be said in favours of many of their people, as distinguished from their leaders, notwithstanding of all this, it is certain that very dreadful errors and corruptions have broke out among them. Against which both Mr Wesley and Mr Whitfield, as well as several others, have given a public testimony,—Mr Wesley, so early as 1744, in his Fourth Journal, and Mr Whitfield in his Expostulatory Letter. See also the Account of Andrew Frey, who was for some time a member of their community. May the Lord yet enlighten and purify them, by his Holy Spirit, for Christ's sake, and make them observe his blessed Word as the only rule. And may He prevent their doing farther hurt to the glorious cause, which they seem, in some of the above instances, to have been zealous to promote. O that

they would rightly consider that Scripture, Matth. xviii. 7. "It must needs be that offences come: but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." The Lord grant them repentance, that they may not lie under such condemnation.]

Sunday, September 17. I began again to declare in my own country the glad tidings of salvation, preaching three times, and afterwards expounding the Holy Scriptures to a large company in the Minories. On Monday, I rejoiced to meet with our little society, which now consisted of thirty-two persons. The next day I went to the condemned felons in Newgate, and offered them free salvation. In the evening I went to a society in Bear-Yard, and preached repentance and remission of sins. The next evening at a society in Aldersgate-street. Some contradicted at first, but not long; so that nothing but love appeared at our parting.

On Monday, 9th, I set out for Oxford. In walking, I read the truly surprising narrative of the conversions lately wrought in and about the town of Northampton, in New England. Surely this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

1739.

FIELD PREACHING.—MANY WOUNDED IN SPIRIT.—NEWGATE.—WARNING AGAINST RELYING ON BODILY EFFECTS.—NATURE OF THE DOCTRINES PREACHED.—PRAYER HEARD.—GROSS SINNERS REFORMED.—IGNORANCE IN SOME PARTS OF WALES.—LETTER OF APPROBATION FROM ONE FORMERLY PREJUDICED.—KINGSWOOD.

THURSDAY, March 29. I left London, and in the evening expounded to a small company at Basingstoke. Saturday 31.—In the evening I reached Bristol, and met with Mr Whitefield there. I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields, of which he set me an example on Sunday: having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been in a Church.

Bristol, April 1. In the evening (Mr Whitefield being gone) I begun expounding our Lord's Sermon on the Mount (one pretty remarkable precedent of field preaching, I suppose there were churches at that time also) to a little society which was accustomed to meet once or twice a week in Nicholas Street.

Monday 2. At four in the afternoon, I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city, to about three thousand people. The Scripture on which I spoke was this, (is it possible, any one should be ignorant, that it is fulfilled in every true minister of Christ?) "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind: to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

Tuesday 17. At five in the afternoon, I was at a little society in the Back-lane. The room in which we were was propped beneath; but the weight of people made the floor give way, so that in the beginning of the expounding the post which propped it fell down with a great noise. But the floor sunk no further, so that after a little surprise at first they

quietly attended to the things that were spoken. Thence I went to Baldwin Street, and expounded as it came in course the 4th chap. of the Acts. We then called upon God, to confirm his word. Immediately one that stood by (to our no small surprise) cried out aloud, with the utmost vehemence, even as in the agonies of death. But we continued in prayer, till a new song was put in her mouth, a thanksgiving unto our God. Soon after, two other persons (well known in this place, as labouring to live in all good conscience towards all men) were seized with strong pain, and constrained to roar for the disquietness of their hearts. But it was not long before they likewise burst forth into praise to God their Saviour. The last who called upon God as out of the belly of hell, was I—E—, a stranger in Bristol. And in a short space he also was overwhelmed with joy and love, knowing that God had healed his backslidings.

Saturday 21. At Weaver's-hall a young man was suddenly seized with a violent trembling all over; and, in a few minutes, the sorrows of his heart being enlarged, sunk down to the ground. But we ceased not calling upon God, till he raised him up full of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Thursday 25. While I was preaching at Newgate on these words, "He that believeth hath everlasting life," I was insensibly led, without any previous design, to declare strongly and explicitly, that God willeth all men to be thus saved: and to pray that "if this were not the truth of God, he would not suffer the blind to go out of the way; but if it were, he would bear witness to his word." Immediately one and another and another sunk to the earth: they dropped on every side as thunderstruck. One of them cried aloud. We besought God in her behalf, and he turned her heaviness into joy. A second being in the same agony, we called upon God for her also; and he spoke peace unto her soul. In the evening I was again pressed in spirit to declare, that Christ gave himself a ransom for all. And almost before we called upon him, to set to his seal, he answered; one was so wounded by the sword of the Spirit, that you would have imagined she could not live a moment. But immediately his abundant kindness was shown, and she loudly sang of his righteousness.

Monday 29. We understood that many were offended at the cries of those on whom the power of God came: among whom was a physician, who was much afraid, there might be fraud or imposture in the case. To-day one whom he had known many years, was the first (while I was preaching in Newgate) who broke out into strong cries and tears. He could hardly believe his own eyes and ears. He went and stood close to her, and observed every symptom, until great drops of sweat ran down her face, and all her bones shook. He then knew not what to think, being clearly convinced, it was not fraud, nor yet any natural disorder. But when both her soul and body were healed in a moment he acknowledged the finger of God.

Tuesday, May 1. Many were offended again, and indeed, much more than before. For at Baldwin Street my voice could scarce be heard, amidst the groanings of some, and the cries of others, calling aloud to him that is mighty to save. I desired all that were sincere of heart, to beseech with me the Prince exalted for us, that he would proclaim deliverance to the captives. And he soon shewed that

he heard our voice. Many of those who had been long in darkness, saw the dawn of a great light: and ten persons (I afterwards found) then began to say in faith, "My Lord and my God!"

Tuesday 15. As I was expounding in the Back-lane, on the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, many who had before been righteous in their own eyes, abhorred themselves as in dust and ashes. But two, who seemed to be more deeply convinced than the rest, did not long sorrow as men without hope; but found in that hour, that they had an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; as did three others in Gloucester-lane the evening before, and three at Baldwin Street this evening. About ten, two who, after having seen a great light, had again [falsely] reasoned themselves into darkness, came to us, heavy-laden. We cried to God, and they were again filled with peace and joy in believing.

Wednesday 16. While I was declaring at Baptist Mills, "He was wounded for our transgressions," a middle-aged man began violently beating his breast, and crying to Him by whose stripes we are healed. During our prayer, God put a new song in his mouth. Some mocked, others owned the hand of God; particularly a woman of Baptist Mills, who was now convinced of her own want of an advocate with God, and went home full of anguish, but was in a few hours filled with joy, knowing he had blotted out all her transgressions.

During this whole time, I was almost continually asked, either by those who purposely came to Bristol, to inquire concerning this strange work, or by my old or new correspondents, "How can these things be?" And innumerable cautions were given me (generally grounded on gross misrepresentations of things) "Not to regard visions or dreams, or to fancy people had remission of sins, because of their cries or tears, or bare outward professions." To one who had many times wrote to me on this head, my answer was, in part, as follows:—"The question between us turns chiefly, if not wholly, on matter of fact. You deny that God does now work these effects: at least, that he works them in this manner. I affirm both; because I have heard these things with my own ears, and seen them with my eyes. I have seen (as far as a thing of this kind can be seen) very many persons changed in a moment, from the spirit of fear, horror, despair, to the spirit of love, joy and peace; and from sinful desire till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. These are matters of fact, whereof I have been, and almost daily am, an eye or ear witness. What I have to say, touching visions or dreams is this: I know several persons in whom this great change was wrought, in a dream, or during a strong representation to the eye of their mind, of Christ either on the cross or in glory. This is the fact; let any judge of it as they please. And that such a change was then wrought, appears (not from their shedding tears only, or falling into fits, or crying out: these are not the fruits, as you seem to suppose, whereby I judge) but from the whole tenor of their life, until then many ways wicked; from that time holy, just, and good. I will shew you him that was a lion until then, and is now a lamb; him that was a drunkard, and is now exemplarily sober: the whore-monger that was, who now abhors the very garment spotted by the flesh. If it be not so, I am found a false witness before God.

[As to the effects on their bodies, which accompanied the concern that was upon their minds; many ascribed these to other causes, saying], "The people fainted away, only because of the heat and closeness of the rooms." And others were sure, "It was all a cheat: they might help it if they would. Else why were these things only in their private societies? Why were they not done in the face of the sun?" To-day, Monday 21. [This objection was removed.] For while I was enforcing these words, "Be still and know that I am God," he began to make bare his arm, not in a close room, neither in private, but in the open air, and before more than two thousand witnesses. One and another, and another, was struck to the earth, exceedingly trembling at the presence of his power. Others cried, with a loud and bitter cry, "What must we do to be saved?" And in less than an hour, seven persons, wholly unknown to me till that time, were rejoicing and singing, and with all their might giving thanks to the God of their salvation. In the evening, I was interrupted at Nicholas Street, almost as soon as I began to speak, by the cries of one who was pricked at the heart, and strongly groaned for pardon and peace. Yet I went on to declare what God had already done, in proof of that important truth, "that he is not willing any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." Another person dropped down, close to one who was a strong assertor of the contrary doctrine. While he stood astonished at the sight, a little boy near him was seized in the same manner. A young man who stood behind, fixed his eyes on him, and sunk down himself as one dead. Meanwhile many others began to cry out to the Saviour, and he would come and help them. We continued in prayer; and, before ten, the greater part found rest to their souls. I was called from supper to one who feeling in herself such a conviction as she never had known before, had run out of the society in all haste, that she might not expose herself. But the hand of God followed her still, so that after going a few steps, she was forced to be carried home, and when she was there, grew worse and worse. She was in a violent agony when we came. We called upon God, and her soul found rest. About twelve I was greatly importuned to go and visit one person more. She had only one struggle after I came, and was then filled with peace and joy. I think twenty-nine, in all, had their heaviness turned into joy this day.]

Monday, 28. I began preaching at Weaver's Hall, at eleven in the forenoon; where two persons were enabled to cry out in faith, "My Lord and my God!" As were seven, during the sermon in the afternoon, before several thousand witnesses; and ten in the evening at Baldwin Street; of whom two were children.

Tuesday, 29. I was unknowingly engaged in conversation with a famous infidel, a confinner of the unfaithful in these parts. He appeared a little surprised, and said, "He would pray to God to shew him the true way of worshipping him."

Friday, June 22. I called on one who did run well, till he was hindered by some of those called French Prophets. "Woe unto the prophets, saith the Lord, who prophecy in my name, and I have not sent them." At Weaver's Hall, I endeavoured to point them out, and earnestly exhorted all that followed after holiness, to avoid, as fire, all who do not speak according to the law and the testimony. In

the afternoon I preached at the Fish-ponds, but had no life or spirit in me; and was much in doubt, whether God would not lay me aside, and send other labourers into his harvest. I came to the society full of this thought; and began, in much weakness, to explain, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God." I told them, "They were not to judge of the spirit, whereby any one spoke, either by appearances, or by common report, or by their own inward feelings. No, nor by any dreams, visions or revelations, supposed to be made to their souls, any more than by their tears, or any involuntary effects wrought upon their bodies." I warned them, all these were in themselves, of a doubtful, disputable nature: they might be from God: and they might not; and were therefore not simply to be relied on (any more than simply to be condemned) but to be tried by a further rule, to be brought to the only certain test, the law and the testimony." While I was speaking, one before me dropt down as dead, and presently a second and a third. Five others sunk down in half an hour, most of whom were in violent agonies. "The pains as of hell came about them; the snares of death overtook them." In their trouble we called upon the Lord, and he gave us an answer of peace. One indeed continued an hour in strong pain; and one or two more for three days. But the rest were greatly comforted in that hour, and went away rejoicing and praising God.

Saturday, 23. I spoke severally with those who had been so troubled the night before. Some of them I found, were only convinced of sin; others had indeed found rest to their souls. This evening another was seized with strong pangs. But in a short time her soul also was delivered.

Saturday, 30. At Weaver's Hall, seven or eight persons were constrained to roar aloud, while the sword of the Spirit was dividing asunder their souls and spirits, and joints and marrow. But they were all relieved upon prayer, and sang praises unto our God, and unto the Lamb that liveth for ever and ever.

I gave a particular account, from time to time, of the manner wherein God here carried on his work to those whom I believed to desire the increase of his kingdom, with whom I had an opportunity of corresponding. Part of the answer, which I received (some time after) from one of these, I cannot but here subjoin.—"I desire to bless the Lord, for the good and great news your letter bears, about the Lord's turning many souls from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and that such a great and effectual door is opened among you, as the many adversaries cannot shut. O may 'He that hath the keys of the house of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth,' set the door of faith more and more open among you, until his house be filled, and till he gather together the outcasts of Israel. And may that prayer for the adversaries be heard, 'Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek thy name, O Lord.'" As to the outward manner you speak of, wherein most of them were affected, who were cut to the heart by the sword of the Spirit, no wonder that this was at first surprising to you, since they are indeed so very rare, that have been thus pricked and wounded. Yet some of the instances you give, seem to be exemplified, in the outward manner wherein Paul and the jailor were at first affected; as also Peter's hearers, Acts ii. The last instance you gave, of

some struggling as in the agonies of death, and in such a manner as that four or five strong men can hardly restrain a weak woman from hurting herself or others; this is to me somewhat more inexplicable: if it do not resemble the child spoke of, Mark ix. 26. and Luke ix. 42. of whom it is said, that "while he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down and tare him." Or what influence sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon the body I pretend not to explain. But I make no question Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to hinder the good work in the persons who are thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to disparage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction.—However, the merciful issue of these conflicts in the conversion of the persons thus affected, is the main thing. When they are brought, by the saving arm of God, to receive Christ Jesus, to have joy and peace in believing, and then to walk in him, and give evidence that the work is a saving work at length; whether more quickly or gradually accomplished, there is great matter of praise.—All the outward appearances of people being affected among us, may be reduced to these two sorts; one is, hearing with a close, silent attention, with gravity and greediness, discovered by fixed looks, weeping eyes, and sorrowful or joyful countenances; another sort is, when they lift up their voice aloud, some more depressedly, and others more highly; and, at times, the whole multitude in a flood of tears, all as it were crying out at once, until their voice be ready to drown the minister's that he can scarce be heard for the weeping noise that surrounds him.—The influence on some of these, like a land-flood, dries up; we hear of no change wrought. But in others, it appears in the fruits of righteousness, and a tract of a holy conversation. May the Lord strengthen you to go on in his work! And in praying for the coming of his kingdom with you and us; and I hope you shall not be forgotten among us, in our joint applications to the throne of grace. I am, reverend dear Sir, your very affectionate Brother and Servant in Christ,

RALPH ERSKINE.

Sunday, July 1. At Haunnam, and at Rose-Green, I explained the latter part of the vii. of Luke; that verse especially, "When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both." A young woman sunk down at Rose-Green, in a violent agony both of body and mind; as did five or six persons in the evening at the New-Room, at whose cries many were greatly offended. The same offence was given in the morning by one at Weaver's Hall, and by eight or nine others, at Gloucester-lane in the evening. The first that was deeply touched was L—W—, whose mother had been not a little displeased a day or two before, when she was told how her daughter had exposed herself before all the congregation; the mother herself was the next who dropped down; but went home with her daughter, full of joy, as did most of those that had been in pain.

Saturday, 7. I had an opportunity to talk with Mr Whitefield of those outward signs, which had so often accompanied the inward work of God. I found his objections were chiefly grounded on gross misrepresentations of matter of fact. But the next day he had an opportunity of informing himself better. For no sooner had he begun (in the application of his sermon) to invite all sinners to believe in Christ,

than four persons sunk down close to him, almost in the same moment. One of them lay without either sense or motion. A second trembled exceedingly. The third had strong convulsions all over his body, but made no noise, unless by groans. The fourth, equally convulsed, called upon God, with strong cries and tears. From this time, I trust, we shall all suffer God to carry on his own work in the way that pleaseth him.

Thursday 13. I went to a gentleman who is much troubled with what they call lowness of spirits. Many such I have been with before; but, in several of them, it was no bodily distemper. They wanted something, they knew not what, and were therefore heavy, uneasy, and dissatisfied with every thing. The plain truth is, they wanted God, they wanted Christ, they wanted faith. And God convinced them of their want, in a way their physicians no more understood than themselves. Accordingly nothing availed till the Great Physician came; for, in spite of all natural means, he who made them for himself, would not suffer them to rest, till they rested in him.

Monday, August 27. For two hours I took up my cross, in arguing with a zealous man, and labouring to convince him, "That I was not an enemy to the church of England." He allowed, "I taught no other doctrines than those of the Church; but could not forgive my teaching them out of the church-walls." He allowed too (which none indeed can deny, who has either any regard to truth or sense of shame) that "by this teaching, many souls, who till that time were perishing for lack of knowledge, have been, and are brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." But he added, "No one can tell what may be hereafter; and therefore, I say, these things ought not to be suffered." Indeed the report now current in Bristol was "That I was a Papist, if not a Jesuit." Some added, "That I was born and bred at Rome:" which many cordially believed. O when will ye understand, that the preaching justification by faith alone, the allowing no meritorious cause of justification, but the death and the righteousness of Christ, and no conditional or instrumental cause, but faith, is overturning Popery from the foundation? When will ye understand, that the most destructive of all those errors, which Rome, the mother of abominations hath brought forth (compared to which transubstantiation and an hundred more, are trifles light as air) is, "That we are justified by works," (or to express the same thing a little more decently) by faith and works. Now, do I preach THIS? I did for ten years; I was (fundamentally) a Papist and knew it not. But I do now testify to all (and it is the very point for asserting which I have to this day been called in question) that "no good works can be done before justification, none which have not in them the nature of sin."

Monday, September 3. I talked largely with my mother, who told me, that until a short time since, she had scarce heard such a thing mentioned, as the having forgiveness of sins now, or God's Spirit bearing witness with our spirit: much less did she imagine, that this was the common privilege of all true believers. "Therefore (said she) I never durst ask for it myself. But two or three weeks ago, while my son Hal was pronouncing those words, in delivering the cup to me, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee;' the words struck through my heart, and I knew God

for Christ's sake had forgiven me all my sins." I asked, whether her father (Dr Anneely) had not the same faith? and, whether she had not heard him preach it to others? she answered, "He had it himself, and declared a little before his death, that for more than forty years, he had no darkness, no fear, no doubt at all, of his being accepted in the beloved. But that, nevertheless, she did not remember to have heard him preach, no not once, explicitly upon it: whence she supposed he also looked upon it as the peculiar blessing of a few, not as promised to all the people of God."

Thursday, 13. A serious clergyman desired to know, in what points we differed from the Church of England? I answered, "To the best of my knowledge, in none: the doctrines we preach, are the doctrines of the church of England: indeed the fundamental doctrines of the church, clearly laid down, both in her prayers, articles, and homilies." He asked, in what points then do you differ from the other clergy of the Church of England? I answered, "In none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the Church; but from that part of the clergy who dissent from the Church (though they own it not) I differ in the points following: First, They speak of justification, either as the same thing with sanctification, or as something consequent upon it. I believe justification to be wholly distinct from sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it. Secondly, They speak of our own holiness or good works, as the cause of our justification; or, that for the sake of which, on account of which we are justified before God. I believe, neither our own holiness nor good works, are any part of the cause of our justification; but that the death and righteousness of Christ, are the whole and sole cause of it; or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God. Thirdly, They speak of good works, as a condition of justification, necessarily previous to it. I believe no good work can be previous to justification, nor consequently a condition of it: but that we are justified, (being until that hour ungodly, and therefore incapable of doing any good work) by faith alone, faith without works, faith (though producing all, yet) including no good work. Fourthly, They speak of sanctification (or holiness) as if it were an outward thing, as if it consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in these two points, 1. The doing no harm, 2. The doing good (as it is called) *i. e.* the using the means of grace and helping our neighbour. I believe it to be an inward thing, namely, "The life of God in the soul of man; a participation of the divine nature; the mind that was in Christ; or the renewal of our heart, after the image of him that created us." Lastly, They speak of the new birth as an outward thing, as if it were no more than baptism; or, at most, a change from outward wickedness to outward goodness; from vicious to (what is called) a virtuous life. I believe it to be an inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness; an entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil, (wherein we are born) to the image of God: a change from the love of the creature to the love of the Creator, from earthly and sensual, to heavenly and holy affections: in a word, a change from the tempers of the spirits of darkness, to those of the angels of God in Heaven.

Tuesday, 18. A young woman came to us at Islington, in such an agony as I have seldom seen.

Her sorrow and fear were too big for utterance; so that, after a few words, her strength, as well as her heart failing, she sunk down to the ground. Only her sighs and groans showed she was yet alive. We cried unto God in her behalf. We claimed the promises made to the weary and heavy-laden: and He did not cast out our prayer. At Mr B——'s, at six, I was enabled earnestly to call all the weary and heavy laden: and at Mr C——'s, at eight, when many roared aloud; some of whom utterly refused to be comforted, until they should feel their souls at rest in the blood of the Lamb, and have his love shed abroad in their hearts.

Friday, 28. I met with a fresh proof, that "whatsoever ye shall ask, believing, ye shall receive." A middle-aged woman desired me to return thanks for her to God, who, as many witnesses then present testified, was a day or two before really distracted, and as such tied down in her bed. But upon prayer made for her, she was instantly relieved, and restored to a sound mind.

Wednesday, October 10. Finding many to be in heaviness, whom I had left full of peace and joy, I exhorted them, at Baptist-Mills, to "look unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith." We poured out our complaint before Him in the evening, and found that He was again with us of a truth.

Thursday, 11. We were comforted by the coming in of one, who was a notorious drunkard, and common swearer. But he is washed, and old things are passed away. "Such power belongeth unto God." In the evening, our Lord rose on many who were wounded, "with healing in His wings:" and others, who until then were careless and at ease, felt the two-edged sword that cometh out of his mouth.

Saturday, 20. I returned to Bristol. I have seen no part of England so pleasant, for sixty or seventy miles together, as those parts of Wales I have been in. And most of the inhabitants are indeed ripe for the Gospel. I mean (if the expression appear strange) they are earnestly desirous of being instructed in it; and as utterly ignorant of it they are as any Creek or Cherokee Indian. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ. Many of them can say both the Lord's Prayer and the Belief; nay, and some all the Catechism; but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (nine in ten of those with whom I conversed) either of Gospel salvation, or of that faith whereby alone we can be saved, than Chicali or Tomo Chachi. Now, what spirit is he of, who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge, than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harris, or an itinerant preacher?

About this time, I received a letter from the author of those reflections, which I mentioned July 31. An extract of which I have subjoined:—"Rev. Sir, As I wrote the rules and considerations, [in No. 25, of *Country Common Sense*] with an eye to Mr Whitefield, yourself, and your opposers, from a sincere desire to do some service to Christianity, according to the imperfect notions I had at that time of the real merits of the cause: I, at the same time, resolved to take any opportunity that should offer for my better information. On this principle it was that I made one of your audience, October 23, at Bradford. And because I thought I could form the best judgment of you and your doctrines from your sermon, I resolved to hear that first; which was the

reason that, although by accident, I was at the same house, and walked two miles with you, to the place you preached at, I spoke little or nothing to you. I must confess, Sir, that the discourse you made that day, wherein you pressed your hearers in the closest manner, and with the authority of a true minister of the Gospel, not to stop at faith only, but to add to it all virtues, and to show forth their faith, by every kind of good works, convinced me of the great wrong done you by a public report, common in peoples' mouths, that you preach faith without works. For that is the only ground of prejudice which any true Christian can have; and is the sense in which your adversaries would take the words when they censure them. For that we are justified by faith only, is the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of his Apostles, and the doctrine of the Church of England. I am ashamed that, after having lived twenty-nine years since my baptism into this faith, I should speak of it in the lame, unfaithful, I may say, false manner I have done in the paper above-mentioned! What mere darkness is man, when truth hideth her face from him! Man is by nature a sinner, the child of the devil, under God's wrath, in a state of damnation. The Son of God took pity on this our misery: He made himself man, He made himself sin for us; that is, He hath borne the punishment of our sin, the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes we are healed. To receive this boundless mercy, this inestimable benefit, we must have faith in our benefactor, and through him in God. But then, true faith is not a lifeless principle, as your adversaries seem to understand it. They and you mean quite another thing by faith. They mean, a bare believing that Jesus is the Christ. You mean a living, growing, purifying principle, which is the root both of inward and outward holiness; both of purity and good works; without which no man can have faith, at least, no other than a dead faith. This faith, Sir, you explained in your sermon at Bradford, Sunday, October 28, to near ten thousand people, who all stood to hear you, with awful silence and great attention. I have since reflected how much good the clergy might do, if, instead of shunning, they would come to hear and converse with you, and in their churches and parishes would farther enforce those catholic doctrines which you preach, and which, I am glad to see, have such a surprising good effect on great numbers of souls. I think, indeed, too many clergymen are culpable, in that they do not inform themselves better of Mr W——d, yourself, and your doctrines, from your own mouths. I am persuaded, if they did this with a Christian spirit, the differences between you would soon be at an end. Nay, I think, those whose flocks resort so much to hear you, ought to do it, out of their pastoral duty to them; that if you preach good doctrine, they may edify them, on the impressions so visibly made by your sermons; or, if evil, they may reclaim them from error.—I shall conclude this letter with putting you in mind, in all sermons, writings, and practice, nakedly to follow the naked Jesus: I mean, to preach the pure doctrine of the Gospel without respect of persons or things. Many preachers, many reformers, many missionaries, have fallen by not observing this; by not having continually in mind, "Whoever shall break the least of these commandments, and teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of Heaven."

Tuesday, November 27. I writ Mr D. (according

to his request) a short account of what had been done in Kingswood, and of our present undertaking there. The account was as follows:—"Few persons have lived long in the west of England, who have not heard of the Colliers of Kingswood, a people famous from the beginning hitherto, for neither fearing God, nor regarding man; so ignorant of the things of God that they seemed but one remove from the beasts that perish; and therefore utterly without desire of instruction, as well as without the means of it. Many last winter used tauntingly to say of Mr Whitefield, if he will convert Heathens, why does not he go to the Colliers of Kingswood? In spring he did so. When he was called away, others went into the highways and hedges, to compel them to come in. And, by the grace of God, their labour was not in vain. The scene is already changed. Kingswood does not now, as a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naturally lead thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamour and bitterness, of wrath and envyings. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of people are mild, gentle, and easy to be entreated. They do not cry, neither strive, and hardly is their voice heard in the streets; or indeed in their own Wood, unless when they are at their usual evening-diversion, singing praise unto God their Saviour. That their children too might know the things which make for their peace, it was some time since proposed to build a house in Kingswood; and after many foreseen and unforeseen difficulties, in June last the foundation was laid. The ground made choice of was, in the middle of the wood, between the London and Bath roads, not far from that called Two-Mile Hill, about three measured miles from Bristol. Here a large room was begun for the school, having four small rooms at either end, for the schoolmasters (and perhaps, if it should please God, some poor children) to lodge in. Two persons are ready to teach, so soon as the house is fit to receive them, the shell of which is nearly finished: so that it is hoped the whole will be completed in spring or early in the summer.

Wednesday, November 28. We left Tiverton, and the next day reached Bristol. On Friday many of us joined in prayer, for one that was grievously tormented. She raged more and more for about two hours, and then our Lord gave her rest. Five were in the same agony in the evening. I ordered them to be removed to the door, that their cries might neither drown my voice, nor interrupt the attention of the congregation. But after sermon, they were brought into the room again, where a few of us continued in prayer to God (being very unwilling to go till we had an answer of peace) till nine the next morning. Before that time, three of them sang praise to God. And the others were eased, though not set at liberty.

Tuesday, December 4. I was violently attacked by some, who were exceeding angry at those who cried out so, being sure (they said) "It was all a cheat, and that any one might help crying out, if he would." J. Bl. was one of those who were sure of this. About eight the next morning, while he was alone in his chamber, at private prayer, so horrible a dread overwhelmed him, that he began crying out with all his might. All the family was alarmed. Several of them came running up to his chamber; but he cried out so much the more, till his breath

was utterly spent. God then rebuked the adversary; and he is now less wise in his own conceit.

1740.

SOME REMARKABLE INSTANCES OF THE POWER OF THE WORD,
AND OF PRAYER.

Wednesday, March 5. We came to Bristol. Here convictions sink deeper and deeper. Love and joy are more calm, even, and steady. Wednesday, 12. I found a little time (having been much importuned) to spend with the soldier in Bridewell, who was under sentence of death. This I continued to do once a day; whereby there was also an opportunity of declaring the Gospel of peace to several that were confined in the same place.

Saturday, 29. I think it was about this time that the soldier was executed. For some time I had visited him every day. But afterwards I was informed, that the commanding officer had given strict orders, "Neither Mr Wesley, nor any of his people should be admitted; for they were all atheists." But did that man die like an atheist? Let my last end be like his!

Thursday, April 3. I went to the room, weak and faint. The scripture that came in course was, "After the way that you call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers." I know not whether God hath been so with us, from the beginning hitherto. He proclaimed, as it were, a general deliverance to the captives. The chains fell off; they arose and followed him. The cries of desire, joy, and love, were on every side. Fear, sorrow, and doubt fled away. Verily, thou hast "sent a gracious rain upon thine inheritance, and refreshed it when it was weary."

Friday, April 4. I was much comforted by Mr T——'s sermon at All-Saints, which was according to the truth of the Gospel; as well as by the affectionate seriousness wherewith he delivered the holy bread to a very large congregation. May the good Lord fill him with all the life of love, and with all spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus.

Wednesday, May 7. I prayed with a poor helpless sinner, who had been all his lifetime subject to bondage. But our Lord now proclaimed deliverance to the captive, and he rejoiced with joy unspeakable. All the next day his mouth was filled with praise, and on Friday he fell asleep.

Friday, August 22. I was desired to pray with an old hardened sinner, supposed to be at the point of death. He knew not me, nor ever had heard me preach. I spoke much, but he opened not his mouth. But no sooner did I name, "the Saviour of sinners," than he burst out, "The Saviour of sinners indeed! I know it. For he has saved me. He told me so on Sunday morning. And he said, I should not die yet, till I had heard his children preach his gospel, and had told my old companions in sin, that he is ready to save them too."

1741.

CONVERSION OF AN ATHEIST.—COMFORTABLE DEATH OF AN
EMINENT CHRISTIAN.

Tuesday, April 7. I dined with one who had been a professed atheist, for upwards of twenty years. But coming some months since to make sport with the word of God, it cut him to the heart.

And he could have no rest day nor night, till the God whom he had denied spoke peace to his soul.

Friday, July 31. Hearing that one of our sisters (Jane Muncy) was ill, I went to see her. She was one of the first women-bands at Fetter-Lane: and when the controversy concerning the means of grace began, stood in the gap, and contended earnestly for the ordinances once delivered to the saints. Nor could all the sophistry of those who are of all men living the wisest in their generation, induce her either to deny the faith she had received, or to use less plainness of speech, or to be less zealous in recommending, and careful in practising good works. Inasmuch that many times, when she had been employed in the labour of love till eight or nine in the evening, she then sat down and wrought with her hands till twelve or one in the morning; not that she wanted any thing herself, but that she might have to give to others for necessary uses. From the time that she was made leader of one or two bands, she was more eminently a pattern to the flock; in self-denial of every kind, in openness of behaviour, in simplicity, and godly sincerity, in stedfast faith, in constant attendance on all the public and all the private ordinances of God. And as she had laboured more than they all, so God now called her forth to suffer. She was seized at first with a violent fever, in the beginning of which they removed her to another house. Here she had work to do which she knew not of. The master of the house was one who cared for none of these things. But he observed her, and was convinced. So that he then began to understand and lay to heart the things that bring a man peace at the last. In a few days the fever abated, or settled, as it seemed, into an inward impotence; so that she could not breathe without violent pain, which increased day and night. When I came in, she stretched out her hand and said, "Art thou come? praised be the name of my Lord for this." I asked, "Do you faint, now you are chastened of him?" she said, "O no, no, no. I faint not. I murmur not. I rejoice evermore." I said, "God will make all your bed in your sickness." She cried out, "He does, he does. I have nothing to desire. He is ever with me, and I have nothing to do but to praise him." In the same state of mind, though weaker in body, she continued till Tuesday following; when several of those who had been in her band being present, she fixed her eyes upon them and prayed, "that God would keep them from the evil one." In the afternoon when I came, all her words were prayer and praise. The same spirit she breathed, when Mr Maxfield called the next day. And soon after she slept in peace.

1742.

ACCOUNT OF SARAH WHISKIN.—JOHN WOOLLEY.—A BOY OF THIRTEEN.—OF JOHN NELSON.—GREAT CONCERN AT EPWORTH.—OF DAVID TAYLOR.—DEATH OF MRS WESLEY.—THE SOCIETY AT BRISTOL.—THE WORK AT NEWCASTLE.—OF THOSE WHO CRIED OUT.

Wednesday, January 27. I buried the body of Sarah Whiskin, a young woman late of Cambridge: a short account of whom (a part of it) follows, in the words of one that was with her. "The first time she went, intending to hear Mr — was January 3, but he was then ill. She went again, Tuesday 5. — From that time she seemed quite taken up with the things above, and could willingly have been al-

ways hearing, or praying, or singing hymns. Wednesday 13. She was sent for into the country: at which news she cried violently, being afraid to go. lest she should again be conformable to the world. With tears in her eyes she asked me, "What shall I do? I am in a great strait." And being advised to commit her cause to God, and pray that his will might be done, not her own, she said, "She would defer her journey three days, to wait upon God, that he might show his will concerning her." The next day she was taken ill of a fever. But, being something better on Friday, she sent and took a place in Cambridge coach for the Tuesday following. Sunday 17. She was ill again, and desired me to write a note, that she might be prayed for. I asked what I should write. She answered, "You know what I want, a lively faith." But being better on Monday, 18, she got up to prepare for her journey; though still desiring God to put a stop to it, if it was not according to his will. As soon as she rose from prayer, she fainted away. From this hour she was almost continually praying to God that he would reveal himself to her soul. On Tuesday 19, being in tears, she was asked, "What was the matter?" she answered, "The devil is very busy with me." One asking, "Who condemns you?" she pointed to her heart and said, "This: and God is greater than my heart." On Thursday, after Mr Richards had prayed with her, she was more cheerful, and said, "She could not doubt but God would fulfil the desire which he had given her." Friday 22. One of her sisters coming out of the country to see her, she said, "If I had come to see you (perhaps) evil would have befallen me. But I am snatched out of the hands of the devil. Though God has not yet revealed himself unto me, yet I believe, were I to die this night, before to-morrow I should be in Heaven." Her sister saying, "I hope God will restore you to health," she replied, "Let him do what seemeth him good." Saturday 23. She said, "I saw my mother and brother and sister in my sleep, and they all received a blessing." I asked if she thought that she should die? and whether she believed the Lord would receive her soul? looking very earnestly, she said, "I have not seen the Lord yet. But I believe I shall see him and live. Although these are bold words for a sinner to say,—are they not?" Sunday 24, I asked her, "How have you rested?" She answered, "Very well. Though I have had no sleep; and I wanted none: for I have had the Lord with me. O let us not be ashamed of him, but proclaim him upon the house-top. And I know, whatever I ask in the name of Jesus, according to his will, I shall have." Soon after, she called hastily to me, and said "I fear I have deceived myself. I thought the amen was sealed in my heart; but I fear it is not. Go down and pray for me, and let him not go, until he has given my heart's desire." Soon after she broke out into singing, and said, "I was soon delivered of my fears. I was only afraid of a flattering hope: but if it had been so, I would not have let him go." Her sister that was come to see her was much upon her mind. "You," said she, "are in pain for her. But I have faith for this little child. God has a favour unto her." In the afternoon she desired me to write a bill for her. I asked, what shall I write? She said, return thanks to God for what he has done for me, and pray that he would manifest himself to my relations also. Go to the preaching. Leave but

one with me." Soon after we were gone, she rose up, called to the person that was with her and said, "Now it is done. I am assured my sins are forgiven." The person answering "Death is a little thing to them that die in the Lord:" she replied with vehemence, "A little thing! it is nothing." The person then desiring she would pray for her, she answered, "I do: I pray for all. I pray for all I know, and for them I do not know. And the Lord will hear the prayer of faith." At our return, her sister kneeling by the bedside she said, "Are you not comforted, my dear, for me?" Her speech then failing, she made signs for her to be by her, and kissed her and smiled upon her. She then lay about an hour without speaking or stirring; until about three o'clock on Monday morning, she cried out, "My Lord and my God!" fetched a double sigh, and died.

Saturday, February, 20. I preached at Weaver's Hall. It was a glorious time. Several dropped to the ground as if struck by lightning. Some cried out in bitterness of soul: I knew not where to end, being constrained to begin anew, again and again. In this acceptable time we begged of God to restore our brethren, who are departed from us for a season; and to teach us all, to follow after the things that make for peace, and the things whereby one may edify another.

Sunday 21. In the evening I explained the exceeding great and precious promises which are given us: a strong confirmation whereof I read, in a plain artless account of a child whose body then lay before us. The substance of this (a part of it) was as follows: "John Woolley was for some time in your school; but was turned out for his ill behaviour; soon after he ran away from his parents, lurking about for several days and nights together, and hiding himself in holes and corners, that his mother might not find him. During this time he suffered both hunger and cold. Once he was three whole days without sustenance, sometimes weeping and praying by myself, and sometimes playing with other loose boys. One night he came to the New Room. Mr — was then speaking of disobedience to parents.

He was quite confounded, and thought there never was in the world, so wicked a child as himself. He went home, and never ran away any more. His mother saw the change in his whole behaviour, but knew not the cause. He would often get up stairs by himself to prayer, and often go alone into the fields, having done with all his idle companions. And now the devil began to set upon him with all his might, continually tempting him to self-murder. Sometimes he was vehemently puffed to hang himself, sometimes to leap into the river. But this only made him the more earnest in prayer: in which after he had been one day wrestling with God, he was so filled with joy and the love of God, that he scarce knew where he was, and with such love to all mankind, that he could have laid himself on the ground, for his worst enemies to trample upon. From this time his father and mother were surprised at him, he was so diligent to help them in all things. When they went to the preaching, he was careful to give their supper to the other children: and when he had put them to bed, hurried away to the room, to light his father or mother home. Meantime, he lost no opportunity of hearing the preaching himself, or of doing any good he could, either at home or in any place where he was. One day walking in the fields, he

fell into talk with a farmer, who spoke very slightly of religion. John told him, he ought not to talk so; and enlarged upon that word of the Apostle, (which he begged him to consider deeply) "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord." The man was amazed; caught the child in his arms, and knew not how to part with him. His father and mother once hearing him speak pretty loud in the next room, listened to hear what he said. He was praying thus:—"Lord, I do not expect to be heard for my much speaking. Thou knowest the secrets of my heart. Thou knowest all my wants." He then descended to particulars. Afterwards he prayed very earnestly for his parents, and for his brothers and sisters by name: then for Mr John and Charles Wesley, then for all the other ministers he could remember by name, and for all that were, or desired to be, true ministers of Christ. In the beginning of his illness, his mother asked him if he wanted anything? he answered, "Nothing but Christ, and I am as sure of him, as if I had him already." He said, "O mother, if all the world believed in Christ, what a happy world would it be? and they may. I was the worst of sinners, and he died for me."

On Wednesday he said to his mother, "I am in very great trouble for my father. He has always taken an honest care of his family. But he does not know God: if he dies in the state he is in now, he cannot be saved. If God should give him the true faith, and then take him to himself, do not you fear: do not you be troubled. God has promised to be a father to the fatherless and a husband to the widow. And I hope we shall sing hallelujahs in heaven together." To his eldest sister he said, "do not puff yourself up with pride. When you receive your wages, which is not much, lay it out in plain necessities. And if you are inclined to be merry, do not sing songs. Do you sing psalms and hymns. Remember your Creator in the days of your youth. When you are at work, you may lift up your heart to God. And be sure never to rise or go to bed, without asking his blessing." He added, "I shall die. But do not cry for me. Why should you cry for me? Consider what a joyful thing it is, to have a brother go to heaven. I am not a man. I am but a boy. But is it not in the Bible, 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength?' I know where I am going. I would not be without this knowledge for a thousand worlds. For though I am not in heaven yet, I am as sure of it, as if I was." He said to his mother, "That school was the saving of my soul: for there I began to seek the Lord. But how is it, that a person no sooner begins to seek the Lord, but Satan straight stirs up all his instruments against him? When he was in agony of pain he cried out, 'O Saviour, give me patience. Thou hast given me patience. But give me more. Give me thy love, and pain is nothing. I have deserved all this, and a thousand times more. For there is no sin but I have been guilty of.' A while after he said, 'O my mother, how is this? If a man does not his work, the masters in the world will not pay him his wages. But it is not so with God. He gives me good wages: and yet I am sure I have done nothing to gain them. O it is a free gift.'"

On Thursday morning his mother asked him, how he did? He said, "I have had much struggling to-night. But my saviour is so loving to me, I do not mind it: it is no more than nothing to me."

Then he said, "I desire to be buried from the room, and I desire Mr Wesley would preach a sermon over me, on those words of David (unless he thinks any other to be more fit) "Before I was afflicted I went astray: but now I have kept thy word." I asked him, how do you find yourself now? he said, "In great pain, but full of love." I asked, but does not the love of God overcome pain? He answered, "Yes; pain is nothing to me. I did sing praises to the Lord in the midst of my greatest pain. And I could not help it." I asked him if he was willing to die? He replied, "O yes; with all my heart." I said, but if life and death were set before you, what would you choose then? he answered, "To die and be with Christ. I long to be out of this wicked world." On Thursday night he slept much sweeter than he had done for some time before. In the morning he begged to see Mr John Wesley. When Mr Wesley came, and after some other questions, asked him what he should pray for? He said, "That God would give him a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within him." When prayer was ended, he seemed much enlivened, and said, "I thought I should have died to-day. But I must not be in haste. I am content to stay. I will tarry the Lord's leisure." On Sunday he spoke exceedingly little. On Monday his speech began to falter. On Tuesday it was gone; but he was fully in his senses, almost continually lifting up his eyes to heaven. On Wednesday his speech was restored. The next morning he spent in continual prayer, often repeating the Lord's prayer, and earnestly commending his soul into the hands of God. He then called for his little brother and sister to kiss them; and for his mother, whom he desired to kiss him. Then (between nine and ten) he said, "Now let me kiss you:" which he did, and immediately fell asleep. He lived some months above thirteen years.

Tuesday, May 25. I set out early in the morning with John Taylor, (since settled in London) and Wednesday 26, at eight or nine o'clock, reached Bristol, six miles beyond Wakefield. John Nelson had wrote to me some time before; but at that time I had little thought of seeing him. Hearing he was at home, I sent for him to our inn; whence he immediately carried me to his house; and gave me an account of the strange manner wherein he had been led on, from the time of our parting at London. He had returned home in the year 1740. His relations and acquaintance soon began to enquire, "What he thought of this new faith?" And whether he believed there was any such thing as a man's knowing that his sins were forgiven? John told them point blank, That this new faith, as they called it, was the old faith of the gospel: and that he himself was sure his sins were forgiven. This was soon noised abroad; more and more came to enquire, concerning these strange things. Some put him upon the proof of the great truths, which such inquiries naturally led him to mention. And thus he was brought unawares to quote, explain, compare, and enforce several parts of scripture. This he did at first, sitting in his house, until the company increased, so that the house could not contain them. Then he stood at the door, which he was commonly obliged to do, in the evening, as soon as he came from work. God immediately set his seal to what was spoken; and several believed, and therefore declared, that God was merciful also, to their unrighteousness, and had forgiven all their sins.

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Tuesday, June 8. At Epworth I largely enforced that great truth (so little understood in what is called a Christian country) "Unto him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness." I went to the place where the little society met, which was sufficiently thronged both within and without. Here I found some from Hainton (a town twenty miles off,) who informed us that God had begun a good work there also, and constrained several to cry out, in the bitterness of their soul, "What must I do to be saved?"

Friday, 11. I visited the sick, and those who desired, but were not able to come to me. At six, I preached at Overthorp, near Haxey, a little village about two miles from Epworth, on that comfortable scripture, "When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both." I preached at Epworth, about eight, on Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of the dry bones. And great indeed was the shaking among them. Lamentation and great mourning were heard; God bowing their hearts, so that on every side, as with one accord, they lifted up their voice and wept aloud. Surely he who sent his Spirit to breath upon them, will hear their cry, and will help them.

Saturday, 12. I preached on the righteousness of the law, and the righteousness of faith. While I was speaking, several dropped down as dead: and, among the rest, such a cry was heard, of sinners groaning for the righteousness of faith, as almost drowned my voice. But many of these soon lifted up their heads with joy, and broke out into thanksgiving: being assured, they now had the desire of their soul, the forgiveness of their sins.—I observed a gentleman there, who was remarkable for not pretending to be of any religion at all. I was informed he had not been at public worship of any kind for upwards of thirty years. Seeing him stand as motionless as a statue, I asked him abruptly, "Sir, are you a sinner?" He replied with a deep and broken voice, "Sinner enough," and continued staring upwards, until his wife and a servant or two, who were all in tears, put him into his chaise, and carried him home.

Sunday, 13. At seven, I preached at Haxey, on "What must I do to be saved?" Thence I went to Wroote, of which (as well as Epworth) my father was rector for several years. Mr Whitelamb offering me the church, I preached in the morning on "Ask and it shall be given you." In the afternoon, on the difference between the righteousness of the law, and the righteousness of faith. But the church could not contain the people; many of whom came from far. At six, I preached for the last time in Epworth churchyard (being to leave the town the next morning) to a vast multitude on the beginning of our Lord's sermon on the mount. I continued among them for near three hours: and yet we scarce knew how to part. O let none think his labour of love is lost, because the fruit does not immediately appear. Near forty years did my father labour here. But he saw little fruit of all his labour. I took some pains among this people too; and my strength also seemed spent in vain. But now the fruit appeared. There were scarce any in the town on whom either my father or I had taken any pains formerly, but the seed sown so long since now sprung up.

Monday 14. Having a great desire to see David Taylor, whom God had made an instrument of good

to many souls, I rode to Sheffield : but not finding him there, I was minded to go forth immediately. However the importunity of the people constrained me to stay, and preach both in the evening and the morning. Tuesday, 15. He came. I found he had occasionally exhorted multitudes of people in various parts. But after that he had taken no thought about them. So that the greater part were fallen asleep again. In the evening, I preached on the inward kingdom of God : in the morning, Wednesday, 16, on the spirit of fear, and the spirit of adoption. It was now first I felt that God was [graciously] here also; though still more at Barley-hall (five miles from Sheffield) where I preached in the afternoon. Many were here melted down, and filled with love toward him whom God hath exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour.

Thursday, 17. I began preaching about five, on the righteousness of faith; but I had not half finished my discourse, when I was constrained to break off in the midst: our hearts were so filled with a sense of the love of God, and our mouths with prayer and thanksgiving. When we were somewhat satisfied herewith, I went on to call sinners to the salvation ready to be revealed.—The same blessing from God we found in the evening, whilst I was showing how he justifies the ungodly. Among the hearers was one, who some time before had been deeply convinced of her ungodliness; inasmuch, that she cried out, day and night, "Lord, save, or I perish." All the neighbours agreeing that she was stark mad, her husband put her into a physician's hands, who blooded her largely, gave her a strong vomit, and laid on several blisters. But all this proving without success, she was in a short time judged to be incurable. He thought, however, he would speak to one person more, who had done much good in the neighbourhood. When Mrs Johnson came, she soon saw the nature of the disease, having herself gone through the same. She ordered all the medicines to be thrown away, and exhorted the patient to look unto Jesus; which this evening she was enabled to do by faith. And He healed the broken in heart.

I left Bristol in the evening of Sunday, July 18, and on Tuesday came to London. I found my mother on the borders of eternity; but she had no doubt or fear; nor any desire, but (as soon as God should call) to depart and to be with Christ.

Friday, 30. About three in the afternoon, I found her change was near. I sat down on the bed-side. She was in her last conflict, unable to speak, but I believe quite sensible. Her look was calm and serene, and her eyes fixed upward, while we commended her soul to God. From three to four, the silver cord was loosing, and the wheel breaking at the cistern : and then, without any struggle, or sigh, or groan, the soul was set at liberty. We stood round the bed, and fulfilled her last request, uttered a little before she lost her speech, "Children, as soon as I am released, sing a psalm of praise to God."

Sunday, August 1. About five in the afternoon, I committed to the earth the body of my mother, to sleep with her fathers. The portion of Scripture from which I afterwards spoke was, "I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it; from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened," &c. It was one of the most solemn

assemblies I ever saw, or expect to see on this side eternity.

We set up a plain stone for the head of her grave, inscribed with the following words: "Here lies the body of Mrs Susannah Wesley, the youngest and last surviving daughter of Dr Samuel Ameseley."

"In sure and steadfast hope to rise
And claim her mansion in the skies,
A Christian here her flesh laid down,
The cross exchanging for a crown.
True daughter of affliction she,
Inured to pain and misery,
Mourn'd a long night of griefs and fears,
A legal night of seventy years.
The Father then reveal'd his Son,
Him in the broken bread made known.
She knew and felt her sins forgiven,
And found the earnest of her heaven." &c.

I cannot but further observe, that even she (as well as her father and grandfather, her husband, and her three sons) had been, in her measure and degree, a preacher of righteousness. This I learned from a letter, wrote long since to my father; part of which I have here subjoined.

February 6, 1711-12. "As I am mistress of a large family; though the superior charge of the souls contained in it lies upon you,—yet in your absence, I cannot but look upon every soul you leave under my care, as a talent committed to me under a trust, by the great Lord of all the families both of heaven and earth. And if I am unfaithful to him or you, in neglecting to improve these talents, how shall I answer unto him, when he shall command me to render an account of my stewardship? As these and other such like thoughts made me at first take a more than ordinary care of the souls of my children and servants, so, knowing our religion requires a strict observation of the Lord's-day, and not thinking that we fully answered the end of the institution, by going to church, unless we filled up the intermediate spaces of time by other acts of piety and devotion: I thought it my duty to spend some part of the day, in reading to and instructing my family.

Soon after you went to London last, I lighted on the account of the Danish Missionaries. I was, I think, never more affected with any thing. I could not forbear spending good part of that evening, in praising and adoring the divine goodness, for inspiring them with such ardent zeal for his glory. For several days I could think or speak of little else. At last it came into my mind, though I am not a man, nor a minister, yet if my heart were sincerely devoted to God, and I was inspired with a true zeal for his glory, I might do somewhat more than I do. I thought I might pray more for them, and might speak to those with whom I converse with more warmth of affection." &c.

Sunday, September 12. I was desired to preach in an open place, commonly called the Great Gardens, lying between Whitechapel and Coverley-fields, where I found a vast multitude gathered together. Taking knowledge that a great part of them were little acquainted with the things of God, I called upon them in the words of our Lord, "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." Many of the people laboured much to disturb those who were of a better mind. They then threw whole showers of stones, one of which struck me just between the eyes. But when I had wiped away the blood, I went on testifying with a loud voice, that God hath given to them that believe, "not the spirit of fear, but of power and love, and of a sound mind." And by the

spirit which now appeared throughout the whole congregation, I plainly saw what a blessing it is, when it is given us, even in the lowest degree, to suffer for his name's sake.

Monday, 13. I preached about nine at Windsor, and the next evening came to Bristol. I spent the remainder of this, and the following week, in examining those of the society: speaking severally to each, that I might more perfectly know the state of their souls to Godward.

Thursday, 23. In the evening, almost as soon as I began to pray in the society, a voice of lamentation and bitter mourning was heard, from the whole congregation. But in a while, loud thanksgivings were mixed therewith, which in a short space spread over all: so that nothing was to be heard on every side, but "Praise to God and to the Lamb for ever and ever."

Friday, 24. I had notes from nineteen persons, desiring to return God thanks. Some of them follow:—"John Merriman, a blind man, desires to return thanks to Almighty God, for the discovery of his love to him, an old sinner." "Edith W— desires to return thanks, for great and unspeakable mercies, which the Lord was pleased to reveal to her heart. And I desire that the praise of the Lord may ever be in my heart." "Ann Simmonds desires to return hearty thanks to God for the great mercies she received last night. For she has a full assurance of her redemption in the blood of Christ." "Mary K— desires to return thanks to God for giving her a fresh sense of forgiveness." "Mary F— desires to return thanks, for that the Lord hath made her triumph over sin, earth, and hell." "Mary W— desires to return thanks to Almighty God for a fresh sense of forgiveness." "Sir, I desire to return humble thanks to Almighty God for the comfortable assurance of his pardoning love. E. C—." Many others took an opportunity of speaking to me, and declaring what God had done for their souls.

NEWCASTLE, Thursday, November 18. The grace of God flows here with a wider stream than it did at first either in Bristol or Kingswood. But it does not sink so deep as it did there. Few are thoroughly convinced of sin, and scarce any can witness that the Lamb of God has taken away their sins. Sunday, 21. After preaching in the room at five, I began preaching about eight at the hospital. It rained all the time; but that did not disturb either me or my congregation, while I explained, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins." Tuesday, 23. There seemed in the evening to be a deeper work in many souls than I had observed before. Many trembled exceedingly; six or seven (both men and women) dropped down as dead. Some cried unto God out of the deep: others would have cried; but their voice was lost. And some have found that the Lord is "gracious and merciful, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin."

Thursday, 25. In the evening God was pleased to wound many more who were quiet and at ease. And I could not but observe that the very best people, so called, were as deeply convinced as open sinners. Several of these were now constrained to roar aloud for the disquietness of their hearts: and these generally not young (as in most other places), but either middle-aged or well stricken in years. I never saw a work of God in any other place, so

evenly and gradually carried on. It continually rises step by step. Not so much seems to be done at any one time, as hath frequently been at Bristol or London; but something at every time. It is the same with particular souls. I saw none in that triumph of faith, which has been so common in other places. But the believers go on calm and steady. Let God do as seemeth him good.

Thursday, December 30. I carefully examined those who had lately cried out in the congregation. Some of these, I found, could give no account at all how or wherefore they had done so; only, that of a sudden they dropped down they knew not how; and what they afterwards said or did they knew not: others could just remember they were in fear; but could not tell what they were in fear of. Several said they were afraid of the devil; and this was all they knew. But a few gave a more intelligible account of the piercing sense they then had of their sins, both inward and outward, which were set in array against them round about; of the dread they were in of the wrath of God and the punishment they had deserved, into which they seemed to be just falling, without any way to escape. One of them told me, "I was as if I was just falling down from the highest place I had ever seen. I thought the devil was pushing me off, and that God had forsaken me." Another said, "I felt the very fire of hell already kindled in my breast; and my body was in much pain, as if I had been in a burning fiery furnace." What wisdom is that which rebuketh these, "that they should hold their peace?" Nay, let such an one cry after Jesus of Nazareth till he saith, "Thy faith hath made thee whole!"

What encouragement have we to speak for God! At our inn we met an old man, who seemed, by his conversation, never to have thought whether he had any soul or no. Before we set out, I spoke a few words concerning his cursing and idle conversation. The man appeared quite broken in pieces. The tears started into his eyes. And he acknowledged his own guilt and the goodness of God.

1743.

HE PREACHES AT PLACEY.—THE ISLES OF SCILLY.—TREMETHAN-DOWNS.—GRIMSBY.—THE SPEN.

APRIL 1. There is a little village called Placey, about ten measured miles north of Newcastle. It is inhabited by colliers only, and such as had been always in the first rank for savage ignorance and wickedness of every kind. Their grand assembly used to be on the Lord's-day, on which men, women, and children met together, to dance, fight, curse and swear, and play at chuck, ball, span-farthing, or whatever came next to hand. I felt great compassion for these poor creatures from the time I heard of them first; and the more because all men seemed to despair of them. Between seven and eight I set out with John Heally, my guide. The north wind being unusually high, drove the sleet full in our face. When we came to Placey we could very hardly stand. As soon as we were a little recovered, I went into the Square, and declared Him who "was bruised for our sins and wounded for our iniquities." The poor sinners were quickly gathered together, and gave earnest heed to the things which were spoken. And so they did in the afternoon again, in spite of the wind and

snow, when I besought them to receive him for their King, "to repent and believe the Gospel." On Monday and Tuesday I preached there again, the congregation continually increasing. And as most of these had never in their lives pretended to any religion of any kind, they were the more ready to cry to God, as mere sinners, for the free redemption which is in Jesus.

Monday, September 12. I preached at one on Trezuthan-downs, and in the evening at St Ives. The dread of God fell upon us while I was speaking, so that I could hardly utter a word; but most of all in prayer, wherein I was so carried out as scarce ever before in my life.

I had had for some time a great desire to go and publish the love of God our Saviour, if it were but for one day in the isles of Scilly. And I had occasionally mentioned it to several. This evening three of our brethren came and offered to carry me thither. So the next morning, John Nelson, Mr Shepherd, and I, with three men and a pilot, sailed from St Ives. About half-past one we landed on St Mary's, the chief of the inhabited islands. We immediately waited upon the Governor with the usual present, viz., a newspaper. I desired him likewise to accept of an Earnest Appeal. The minister not being willing I should preach in the church, I preached at six in the streets, to almost all the town, and many soldiers, sailors, and workmen, on "Why will ye die, O house of Israel?" It was a blessed time, so that I scarce knew how to conclude. After sermon I gave them some little books and hymns, which they eagerly received.

At Trezuthan-downs, September 20. I preached to two or three thousand people, on "The highway of the Lord, the way to holiness." We reached Gwynap a little before six, and found the plain covered from end to end. It was supposed there were ten thousand people, to whom I preached Christ our "Wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." I could not conclude until it was so dark we could scarcely see one another. And there was on all sides the deepest attention, none speaking or scarce looking aside. Sure here, though in a temple not made with hands, was God worshipped in the beauty of holiness! One of those who were present was Mr P— once a violent adversary. Before sermon began he whispered one of his acquaintance, "Captain, stand by me, don't stir from me." He soon burst out into a flood of tears, and quickly after sunk down. His friend caught him, and prevented his falling to the ground. O may the friend of sinners lift him up!

Saturday, October 22. In the evening, the house at Grimsby not being able to contain one fourth of the congregation, I stood in the street and exhorted every prodigal to "arise and go to his Father." One or two endeavoured to interrupt; but they were soon stilled by their own companions. The next day, Tuesday, 25, one in the town promised us the use of a large room. But he was prevailed upon to retract his promise before the hour of preaching came. I then designed going to the Cross; but the rain prevented; so that we were a little at a loss, until we were offered a very convenient place, by a woman which was a sinner. I there declared Him (about one o'clock) whom God hath exalted to give repentance and remission of sins. However, the prodigal held out till the evening, when I enlarged upon her sins and faith, who washed our Lord's

feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. She was then utterly broken in pieces (as, indeed, was well nigh the whole congregation) and came after me to my lodging, crying out, "O Sir! 'What must I do to be saved?'" Being now informed of her case, I said, "Escape for your life. Return instantly to your husband." She said, "But how can it be? Which way can I go? He is above an hundred miles off. I have just received a letter from him; he is at Newcastle-upon-Tyne." I told her, "I am going for Newcastle in the morning. You may go with me. William Blow shall take you behind him." And so he did. Glory be to the friend of sinners! He hath plucked one more brand out of the fire. Thou poor sinner, thou hast received a prophet in the name of a Prophet; and thou art found of Him that sent him.

During the whole journey to Newcastle, I scarce observed her to laugh or even smile once. Nor did she ever complain of anything, or appear moved in the least with those trying circumstances which many times occurred in our way. A steady seriousness or sadness rather appeared in her whole behaviour and conversation, as became one that felt the burden of sin, and was groaning after salvation. In the same spirit, by all I could observe or learn, she continued during her stay at Newcastle. Not long after, her husband removed from thence, and wrote to her to follow him. She set out in a ship bound for Hull. A storm met them by the way. The ship sprung a leak. But though it was near the shore, on which many people flocked together, yet the sea ran so exceeding high, that it was impossible to make any help. Mrs S. was seen standing on the deck, as the ship gradually sunk; and afterwards hanging by her hands on the ropes, till the masts likewise disappeared. Even then, for some moments, they could observe her floating upon the waves, till her clothes, which buoyed her up, being thoroughly wet, she sunk—I trust, into the ocean of God's mercy.

Sunday, November 13, and the following days, I preached and regulated the societies at Painsbar, Tanfield, Horsely, and Placey. Thursday 17. I preached at the Spen on "Christ Jesus our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." I have seldom seen an audience so greatly moved, since the time of my first preaching at Bristol. Men, women, and children wept, and groaned, and trembled exceedingly. Many could not contain themselves in these bounds, but cried with a loud and bitter cry. It was the same at the meeting of the society; and likewise, in the morning, while I was shewing the happiness of those "whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sin is covered," I afterwards spoke with twelve or fourteen of them severally, and found good ground to believe, that God had given them to "taste of the good word, and of the powers of the world to come."

1744.

LETTERS FROM THE SOLDIERS AT LISLE AND GHENT.—GROSS SINNERS AT ST JUST REFORMED.—COMFORTABLE DEATH.—PERSECUTION.—MORE LETTERS FROM THE SOLDIERS ABROAD.

WEDNESDAY, February 1. About this time the soldiers abroad began to meet together, as we learned from the following letter, (part of which is:)

GHENT, February 2, 1744.—"Sir, I make bold to send you these lines. Feb. 18, 1743. We began

our march for Germany. I was then much cast down, and my heart was ready to break. But the day we marched to Maestricht, I found the love of God shed abroad in my heart, that I thought my very soul was dissolved into tears. But this lasted not above three weeks, and then I was in heaviness again: till, on April 24. I was walking in the fields, God broke my hard heart in pieces. And yet I was not delivered from the fear of death. I went to my quarters very sick and weak, in great pain of soul and body. By the morning I was so weak I could scarce go. But this proved a sweet night to my soul. For now I knew, there was no condemnation for me, believing in Christ Jesus. June 16. The day we engaged the French at Dettingen, as the battle began, I said, "Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded." Joy overflowed my soul, and I told my comrades, "If I fall this day, I shall rest in the everlasting arms of Christ." Now I felt I could be contented to be cast into the sea, for the sake of my dear brethren, so their eyes might be opened, and they might see, before it was too late, the things that belong unto their peace. When we came to winter quarters, there were but three of us joined together. But now, by the blessing of God, we are increased to twelve. And we have reason to believe the hand of the Lord is with us. I desire, for the sake of HIM whom we follow after, that you would send us some instructions, how to proceed in our little society.—God has blessed even my words to some of their souls. All praise, and glory, and honour, be unto HIM, and to the LAMB, for ever and ever! From your affectionate Brother, J. H."

ST IVES, April 4. Both this morning and evening the congregation was as large as the house could well contain. In the society, God darted into all (I believe, hardly one excepted) the melting flame of love: so that their heads were as water, and their eyes as a fountain of tears. Friday 6. I spoke with the members of the society severally, and observed with great satisfaction, that persecution had driven only three or four away, and exceedingly strengthened the rest. The wind and rain beat hard upon us, as we walked from Morve to St Just; however some hundreds were there, to whom I declared, "If you have nothing to pay, God will frankly forgive you all." It is remarkable that those of St Just, were the chief of the whole country, for hurling, fighting, drinking, and all manner of wickedness. But many of the lions are become lambs, are continually praising God, and calling their old companions in sin, to come and magnify the Lord together.

Monday, June 11. I left Newcastle, and in the afternoon met John Nelson at Durham, with Thomas Beard: another quiet and wise and peaceable man, who had lately been torn from his trade and wife and children, and sent away as a soldier: that is, banished from all that was near and dear to him, and constrained to dwell among lions, for no other crime either committed or pretended, than that of calling sinners to repentance. But his soul was in nothing terrified by his adversaries. Yet the body, after a while, sunk under its burden. He was then lodged in the hospital of Newcastle, where he still praised God continually. His fever increasing, he was let blood. His arm festered, mortified, and was cut off: two or three days after which God signed his discharge, and called him up to his eternal home.

Thursday, September 6. I committed to the dust

the remains of Elizabeth Marah, a young woman who had received a sense of the pardoning of Love to God about four years before her death, and had never left her first love. She had scarce known health or ease from that hour. But she never murmured or repined at anything. I saw her many times after she was confined to her bed; and found her always cheerful, praising God though longing to depart and to be with Christ. I could not learn that her mind was ever clouded, no, not a moment, from the beginning of her illness. But a few days before she died, she told me, "I am concerned I spoke a hasty word to-day. One told me, you shall recover within ten days. And I said, I do not want to recover." I could only speak a few words at her grave. But when I returned to the Foundry, God made his word as a flame of fire, I spoke from that passage in the Revelation, "And one of the elders said unto me, what are these that are arrayed in white robes; and whence came they?" And I said, Sir, thou knowest. And he said unto me, these are they which came out of great tribulation, and they washed their garments, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." A young man, servant to Mrs C. of Nexington, went home deeply affected. The next day he was taken ill, and every day grew worse; so that when I came to the house on Monday the 10th, (though I knew nothing of him, or of his illness before) he was just gasping for breath. It was a melancholy sight. Death stared him in the face, and he knew not God. He could but just say, "For God's sake, pray for me." John Nelson coming in, we asked life for our brother, in full confidence of the promise. All this day as his illness so his terrors increased. But the next day, God gave him life from the dead. He told me, "Now I am not afraid to die: for I know God loves me. I did not use to love you or your people: but now I love you as my own soul. I love you all: I know you are the people of God; and I am just going to him." He continued praising God as often as he could speak, and when he could not, his eyes were fixed upwards. Between one and two on Wednesday morning he cried out, "I have lost my God! where is he?" But he soon recovered himself and said, "Now I have found him: and I shall lose him no more." About seven I prayed with him, and praised God on his behalf, and not long after he fell asleep.

Sunday 16. I buried one who had soon finished her course, going to God in the full assurance of faith, when she was little more than four years old. In her last sickness (having been deeply serious in her behaviour for several months before) she spent all the intervals of her convulsions, in speaking of, or to God. And when she perceived her strength to be near exhausted, she desired all the family to come near, and prayed for them all, one by one; then for her ministers, for the church, and for all the world. A short time after, recovering from a fit, she lifted up her eyes, said, "Thy kingdom come," and died.

Sunday, November 4. Poor Richard I. who in spite of his former conviction, was now determined to renounce us and join the Quakers, ventured however once more to the Lord's table. He had no sooner received, than he dropped down, and cried with a loud voice, "I have sinned; I have sinned against God." At that instant, many were pierced to the heart. I could hardly speak for some time. Several mourners were filled with strong consolation. And all said, "Surely God is in this place?"

About this time I received a letter, dated from the camp at Lisle. Part of it ran as follows. "May 1. We marched to the camp, near Brussels. There a few of us joined into a society, being sensible where two or three are gathered together in his name, there is our Lord in the midst of them. Our place of meeting was a small wood near the camp. We remained in this camp eight days, and then removed to a place called Arsk. Here I began to speak openly, at a small distance from the camp, just in the middle of the English army. And here it pleased God to give me some evidences, that my labour was not in vain. We sung an hymn, which drew about two hundred soldiers together, and they all behaved decently. After I had prayed, I began to exhort them, and though it rained very hard, yet very few went away. Many acknowledged the truth; in particular a young man, John Greenwood, by name; who has kept with me ever since, and whom God has lately been pleased to give me for a fellow-labourer. Our society is now increased to upwards of two hundred, and the hearers are frequently more than a thousand; although many say, I am mad; and others have endeavoured to incense the field-marshal against us. I have been sent for, and examined several times. But, blessed be God, he has always delivered me. Many of the officers have come to hear for themselves, often nine or ten at a time. I endeavoured to lose no opportunity. During our abode in the camp at Arsk, I have preached thirty-five times in seven days. One of those times a soldier who was present, called aloud to his comrades, to come away, and not hear that fool any longer. But it pleased God, to send the word spoken to his heart: so that he roared out in the bitterness of his soul, for a considerable time: and then he who never fails those that seek him, turned his heaviness into joy. He is now never so happy as when he is proclaiming the loving-kindness of God his Saviour. I was a little shocked at my first entrance on this great work, because I was alone, having none to help me. But the Lord helped me, and soon raised up William Clements, and in June, John Evans, belonging to the train, to my assistance. Since we have been in this camp, we have built two small tabernacles, in which we meet at eight in the morning, at three in the afternoon, and seven at night: and commonly two whole nights in each week. Since I began to write this, we are come to our winter quarters: so that our society is now parted. We are some in Bruges, some in Ghent. But it has pleased the Lord, to leave neither without a teacher. For John Greenwood and I are in this city. And B. Clements and Evans are in Ghent. So that we trust our Lord will carry on his work in both places. We that are in Bruges have hired a small place, in which we meet. And our dear Lord is in the midst of us. Many times the tears run down every face, and joy reigns in every heart. I shall conclude with a full assurance of your prayers, with a longing desire to see you. O when will the joyful meeting be? perhaps not on this side death. If not, my Master's will be done. Your unworthy Brother in the Lord, J. H."

Monday, December 3. I answered another letter I had received from Flanders; an extract of which is here subjoined.

"GHENT, November 12, O. S. 1744.—Rev. Sir, We made bold to trouble you with this, to acquaint you with some of the Lord's dealings with us here.

We have hired two rooms, one small one, wherein a few of us meet every day at one o'clock; and another large one for public service, where we meet twice a day, at nine in the morning, and four in the afternoon: and the hand of the omnipotent God is with us, to the pulling down of the strongholds of Satan. The seventh instant, when we were met together in the evening, as I was at prayer, one that was kneeling by me, cried out (like a woman in travail) "My Redeemer! my Redeemer!" which continued about ten minutes. When he was asked, "What was the matter," he said, "He had found that which he had often heard of, that is, an heaven upon earth:" and some others had much ado to forbear crying out in the same manner. Dear Sir, I am a stranger to you in the flesh. I know not if I have seen you above once, when I saw you preaching on Kennington Common. And then I hated you, as much as now (by the grace of God) I love you. The Lord pursued me with convictions from my infancy, and I often made abundance of good resolutions. But finding as often, that I could not keep them (as being made wholly in my own strength) I at length left off all striving and gave myself over to all manner of lewdness and profaneness. So I continued for some years, till the battle of Dettingen. The balls then came very thick about me, and my comrades fell on every side. Yet I was preserved unhurt. A few days after this, the Lord was pleased to visit me again. The pains of hell get hold upon me, the snares of death encompassed me. I durst no longer commit any outward sin, and I prayed God to be merciful to my soul. Now I was at a loss for books. But God took care for this also. One day as I was at work, I found an old Bible in one of the train-waggons. To read this, I soon forsook my old companions; all but one, who was still a thorn in my flesh. But not long after he sickened and died. My Bible was now my only companion, and I believed myself a very good Christian, till we came to winter-quarters, where I met with John Haine. But I was soon sick of his company. For he robbed me of my treasures; he stole away my gods, telling me, "I and my works were going to hell together." This was strange doctrine to me, who being wholly ignorant of the righteousness of Christ, sought only to establish my own righteousness. And being naturally of a stubborn temper, my poor brother was so perplexed with me, that sometimes he was resolved (as he afterwards told me) to forbid my coming to him any more. When the Lord had at length opened my eyes, and shewn me that "by grace we are saved through faith," I began immediately to declare it to others, though I had not as yet experienced it myself. But October 23, as William Clements was at prayer, I felt on a sudden a great alteration in my soul. My eyes overflowed with tears of love. I knew I was through Christ reconciled to God; which inflamed my soul with fervent love to him, whom I now saw to be my complete Redeemer. O the tender care of Almighty God, in bringing up his children! How are we bound to love so indulgent a Father, and to fall down in wonder and adoration of his great and glorious name for his tender mercies!—Dear Sir, I beg you will pray for him who is not worthy to be a door-keeper to the least of my Master's servants. JOHN EVANS."

He continued both to preach and to live the gospel, till the battle of Fontenoy. One of his companions

saw him there, laid across a cannon, (both his legs having been taken off by a chain-shot) praising God and exhorting all that were round about him ; which he did till his spirit returned to God.

1745.

AWAKENING IN CORNWALL.—COMFORTABLE DEATHS.—PUBLIC AFFAIRS.—LETTERS FROM THE SOLDIERS ABROAD.—MORE SERIOUSNESS THAN ORDINARY IN ENGLAND.

FRIDAY, April 19. William Fenwick rode with me to L——d, the minister of which had told him again and again, "Be sure to bring Mr Wesley with you when he comes. It is for my soul : for the good of my poor soul." When we were alone, he told me, "Sir, I have read your writings : but I could not believe them till very lately. Now I know your doctrine is true. God himself has shown it to me. A few days since I was in a great agony of soul, praying to God to forgive my sins. And there was such a light about me as I cannot express ; and I knew that God had heard my prayer. And my heart was filled with the love of God ; and ever since I pray and praise him all day long." I asked, If he had told this to any one else ? He said, "I began to tell it one I thought a very good Christian ; but he seemed to think I was distracted. So I spoke no more. And, indeed, I don't know any that would hear me." I told him, "You will meet with many such trials as this, and with many others which you are not yet aware of." He answered, "I know that I cannot bear them of myself. I have no strength, unless I watch and pray always. But I do pray always. And what are trials to me ? I am not in the world. I live in eternity. I cannot turn any way but I see God. He is with me continually, and on every side."

Monday, July 15. Mr Bennet met us at Trewint, and told us, Francis Walker had been driven thence, and had since been an instrument of great good, wherever he had been. Indeed I never remember so great an awakening in Cornwall, wrought in so short a time, among young and old, rich and poor, from Trewint quite to the sea-side.

I had now leisure to look over the letters I had received this summer : some extracts of which are here subjoined.

"Bristol, June 6th, 1745.—I have delivered another of my charge to the Lord. On Saturday night Molly Thomas was taken home. She was always constant in the use of all the means, and behaved well, both at home and abroad. After she was taken ill, she was distressed indeed, between the pain of her body, and the anguish of her soul. But where is all pain gone, when Jesus comes,—when she manifests himself to the heart ? In that hour she cried out, "Christ is mine ! I know my sins are forgiven me." Then she sung praise to HIM that loved her, and bought her with his own blood. The fear of death was gone, and she longed to leave her father, her mother, and all her friends. She said, "I am almost at the top of the ladder. Now I see the towers before me, and a large company coming up behind me. I shall soon go. It is but for Christ to speak the word, and I am gone. I only wait for that word, 'Rise up my love, and come away.' When they thought her strength was gone, she broke out again,

"Christ hath the foundation laid,
And Christ shall build me up ;

Surely I shall soon be made
Partaker of my hope.
Author of my faith he is ;
He its finisher shall be ;
Perfect love shall seal me his
To all eternity."

So she fell asleep. O Lord, my God, glory be to thee for all things. I feel such desires in my soul after God, that my strength goes away. I feel there is not a moment's time to spare ; and yet how many do I lose ? Lord Jesus, give me to be more and more diligent and watchful in all things. It is no matter to me, how I was an hour ago. Is my soul now waiting upon God ? O that I may in all things, and through all things, and see nothing but Christ. O that when he comes, he may find me watching ! S. C."

Wednesday, September 18. About five came to Newcastle, in an acceptable time. We found the generality of the inhabitants in the utmost consternation ; news being just arrived, that the morning before, at two o'clock, the Pretender had entered Edinburgh. A great concourse of people were with us in the evening, to whom I expounded the third chapter of Jonah ; insisting particularly on that verse, "Who can tell, if God will return, and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not ?" Friday 20. I had desired all our brethren, to join with us this day, in seeking God by fasting and prayer. About one we met, and poured out our souls before him. And we believed he would send an answer of peace.

Sunday, November 3. I preached about half an hour after eight, to a larger congregation than any before, on "The kingdom of God is at hand : repent ye and believe the gospel." And were it only for the sake of this hour, I should not have thought much of staying here longer than I intended. Between one and two in the afternoon, I went to the camp once more. Abundance of people now flocked together, horse and foot, rich and poor, to whom I declared, "There is no difference, for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." I observed many Germans standing disconsolate at the skirts of the congregation : to these I was constrained (though I had discontinued it so long) to speak a few words in their own language. Immediately they gathered up close together, and drank in every word.

Friday 22. The alarm daily increasing, concerning the rebels on one hand, and the French on the other, we perceived the wisdom and goodness of HIM, who hath his way in the whirlwind. The generality of people were a little inclined to think. And many began to own the hand of God. Monday 25. I retired to Newington, in order to finish the *Farther Appeal* ; the state of the public affairs loudly demanding, that whatever was done, should be done quickly. Thursday 28. I wrote *A Word to a Drunkard*. Friday 29. I spent an hour with Mr La——, who had been a deist for many years, till it pleased God, by the *Earnest Appeal*, to bring him to a better mind.

About this time I received another letter from abroad, the substance of which follows :

"Leare, near Antwerp, Oct. 21, 1745.—Since I wrote to you last, I have gone through great trials. It was not the least, that I have lost my dear brother Clements for a season, being shot through both the arms. To try me farther, C. Evans and Bishop were both killed in the battle, as was C.

Greenwood soon after. Two more who did speak boldly in the name of Jesus, are fallen into the world again. So I am left alone. April 30. The Lord was pleased to try our little flock, to show them his mighty power. Some days before, one of them standing at his tent-door, broke out into raptures of joy, [thinking] his departure was at hand, and was so filled with the love of God, that he danced before his comrades. In the battle, before he died, he openly declared, "I am going to rest from my labours in the bosom of Jesus." I believe nothing like this was ever heard of before, in the midst of so wicked an army as ours. Some were crying out in their wounds, "I am going to my beloved," others, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly;" and many that were not wounded, crying to their Lord, to take them to himself. There was such boldness in the battle among this little despised flock, that it made the officers, as well as common soldiers, amazed. And they acknowledge it to this day. As to my own part, I stood the fire of the enemy for above seven hours. Then my horse was shot under me, and I was exposed both to the enemy and our own horse. But that did not discourage me at all; for I knew the God of Jacob was with me. I had a long way to go, the balls flying on every side: and thousands lay bleeding, groaning, dying, and dead on each hand. Surely I was in the fiery furnace, but it never singed one hair of my head. The hotter it grew, the more strength was given me. I was full of joy and love, as much as I could well bear. Going on, I met one of our brethren, with a little dish in his hand, seeking for water. He smiled, and said, He had got a sore wound in his leg: I asked, "Have you gotten Christ in your heart?" He answered, "I have, and I have had him all the day. Blessed be God that I ever saw your face." Lord, what am I that I should be counted worthy to set my hand to the gospel-plough? Lord, humble me, and lay me in the dust! J.H.

Wednesday, December 18. Being the day of the national fast, we met in the morning. I preached on Joel ii. 12. &c. At nine our service in West-Street began. At five I preached at the Foundry again, on "The Lord sitteth above the water-floods." Abundance of people were at West-Street chapel, and at the Foundry both morning and evening; as also (we understood) at every place of public worship, throughout London and Westminster. And such a solemnity and seriousness every where appeared as had not lately been seen in England. We had within a short time given away some thousands of little tracts among the common people. And the Lord Mayor had ordered a large quantity of papers, dissuading from cursing and swearing, to be printed and distributed to the train-bands. And this day, an earnest exhortation to serious repentance, was given at every church door in or near London, to every person that came out, and one left at the house of every householder who was absent from church. I doubt not but God gave a blessing therewith. And perhaps then the sentence of desolation was recalled. It was on this very day, that the Duke's army was so remarkably preserved, in the midst of the ambuscades at Clifton-moor. The rebels fired many volleys upon the king's troops, from the hedges and walls, behind which they lay. And yet, from first to last, only ten or twelve men fell, the shot flying over their heads.

[See also several remarkable particulars in the

year 1746, in pages 123, 125, 133, 151, 156, 158, of Mr WESLEY'S Journal.]

CONCLUSION.

LETTER FROM DR DODDRIDGE TO MR WESLEY.—A PASSAGE FROM MR WESLEY'S ANSWER TO MR CHURCH'S SECOND LETTER.—NATURE OF THE MAIN DOCTRINES PERACHED.—THE FRUIT.

From the SIXTH JOURNAL.

Wednesday, July 2, 1746. I received the following letter from that amiable man, who is now with God:—

"Northampton, June 29, 1746.—Rev. and dear Sir, I am truly glad, that the long letter I last sent you was agreeable to you. I bless God, that my prejudices against the writers of the establishment were so early removed and conquered. And I greatly rejoice when I see in those, whom upon other accounts, I must highly esteem as the excellent of the earth, that their prejudices against their brethren of any denomination are likewise subsided, and that we are coming nearer to the harmony in which I hope we shall ever be one in Christ Jesus. I have always esteemed it to be the truest act of friendship, to use our mutual endeavours to render the characters of each other as blameless, and as valuable as possible. And I have never felt a more affectionate sense of my obligations, than when those worthy persons who have honoured me with their affection and correspondence, have freely told me what they thought amiss, in my temper and conduct. This, therefore, dear Sir, is an office which you might reasonably expect from me, if I had for some time enjoyed an intimate knowledge of you. But it has always been a maxim with me, Not to believe any flying story, to the prejudice of those, whom I had apparent reason from what I knew of them to esteem. And consequently, as I should never make this a foundation, you must be contented to wait longer, before you will be likely to receive that office of fraternal love which you ask from,

"Rev. and dear Sir, your obliged and affectionate Brother and Servant, P. DODDRIDGE."

From Mr WESLEY'S ANSWER TO Mr CHURCH'S SECOND LETTER, page 65.

From the year 1725 to 1729, I preached much, but saw no fruit of my labour. Indeed it could not be that I should; for I neither laid the foundation of repentance, nor of believing the gospel: taking it for granted, that all to whom I preached, were believers; and that many of them needed no repentance. 2. From the year 1729 to 1734, laying a deeper foundation of repentance, I saw a little fruit. But it was only a little; and no wonder. For I did not preach faith in the blood of the covenant. 3. From 1734 to 1738, speaking more of faith in Christ, I saw more fruit of my preaching and visiting from house to house than ever I had done before: though I know not, if any of those who were outwardly reformed, were inwardly and thoroughly converted to God. 4. From 1738 to this time, speaking continually of Jesus Christ, laying him only for the foundation of the whole building, making him all in all, the first and the last: preaching wholly on this plan, "The kingdom of God is

at hand; repent ye and believe the gospel." The Word of God ran as fire among the stubble; it was glorified more and more; multitudes crying out, "What must we do to be saved?" And afterwards witnessing, "By grace we are saved through faith." 5. I considered deeply with myself, what I ought to do? whether to declare the things I had seen or not? I consulted the most serious friends I had. They all agreed, I ought to declare them; that the work itself was of such a kind as ought in no wise to be concealed; and indeed, that the unusual circumstances now attending it, made it impossible that it should. 6. This very difficulty occurred, "Will not my speaking of this be boasting? at least, will it not be accounted so?" They replied, "If you speak of it as your own work, it will be vanity and boasting all over: but if you ascribe it wholly to God, if you give him all the praise, it will not. And if, after this, some will account it so still, you must be content, and bear the burden." 7. I yielded, and transcribed my papers for the press; only labouring, as far as possible, to "render unto God the things which are God's," to give him the praise of his own work.

As to doctrines, I have again and again, with all the plainness I could, declared, what our constant doctrines are: whereby we are distinguished only from Heathens, or nominal Christians; not from any that worship God in spirit and in truth. Our main doctrines, which include all the rest, are three, that of repentance, of faith, and of holiness. The first of these we account, as it were, the porch of religion; the next the door; the third is religion itself.

That repentance, or conviction of sin, which is always previous to faith (either in a higher or lower degree, as it pleases God) we describe in words to this effect: "When men feel in themselves the heavy burden of sin, see damnation to be the reward of it, behold with the eye of their mind, the horror of hell: they tremble, they quake, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, and cannot but accuse themselves, and open their grief unto Almighty God, and call unto him for mercy. This being done seriously, their mind is so occupied, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, that all desire of meat and drink is laid apart, and loathing of all worldly things and pleasure cometh in place. So that nothing then liketh them more, than to weep, to lament, to mourn, and both with words and behaviour of body, to shew themselves weary of life.

Concerning the gate of religion (if I may be allowed so to speak) the true, Christian, saving faith; we believe it implies abundantly more than an assent to the truth of the Bible. Even the devils believe, that Christ was born of a virgin; that he wrought all kind of miracles; that for our sakes he suffered a most painful death, to redeem us from death everlasting. These articles of our faith the very devils believe, and so they believe all that is written in the Old and New Testament. And yet for all this faith they be but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the very true Christian faith. The right and true Christian faith is: not only to believe that the Holy Scriptures and the articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation through Christ.

Religion itself (I chuse to use the very words wherein I described it long ago) we define, "The loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves, and in that love abstaining from all evil, and doing all possible good to all men." The same meaning we have sometimes expressed a little more at large, thus: "Religion we conceive to be no other than love; the love of God and of all mankind: the loving God with all our hearts, and soul, and strength, as having first loved us, as the fountain of all the good we have received, and of all we ever hope to enjoy: and the loving every soul which God hath made, every man on earth as our own soul. This love we believe to be the medicine of life, the never-failing remedy, for all the evils of a disordered world, for all the miseries and vices of men. Wherever this is, there are virtue and happiness, going hand in hand. There is humbleness of mind, gentleness, long-suffering, the whole image of God, and at the same time, a peace that passeth all understanding, and joy unspeakable, full of glory. This religion we long to see established in the world, a religion of love, and joy, and peace; having its seat in the inmost soul, but ever shewing itself by its fruits: continually springing forth, not only in all innocence (for love worketh no ill to his neighbour) but likewise in every kind of beneficence, spreading virtue and happiness all around it."

However, with regard to the fruits of our teaching, you say, "It is to be feared, the numbers of serious men who have been perplexed and deluded, are much greater than the numbers of notorious sinners, who have been brought to repentance and good life." If the question were proposed, "Which are greater, the numbers of serious men who have been perplexed and deluded, or of notorious sinners who have been brought to repentance and good life" by these preachers, throughout England within seven years: it might be difficult for you to fix the conclusion. For England is a place of wide dimensions; nor is it easy to make a satisfactory computation, unless you confine yourself within a smaller compass. Suppose then we were to contract the question, in order to make it a little less unwieldy? We will bound our inquiry, for the present, within a square of three or four miles. It may be certainly known by candid men, both what has been, and what is now done within this distance. And from hence they may judge of those fruits elsewhere, which they cannot be so particularly informed of.

Inquire then, "Which are greater, the numbers of serious men perplexed and deluded by these teachers, or of notorious sinners brought to repentance and good life, within the forest of Kingswood?" Many indeed of the inhabitants are nearly as they were; are not much better or worse for their preaching: because the neighbouring clergy and gentry have successfully laboured to deter them from hearing it. But between three and four hundred of those who would not be deterred, are now under the care of those preachers. Now, what number of these were serious Christians before? Were fifty? were twenty? were ten? Peradventure, there might five such be found. But it is a question, whether there could or no. The remainder were gross, open sinners, common swearers, drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, whoremongers, plunderers, robbers, implacable, unmerciful, wolves and bears in the shape of men. Do you desire instances of more notorious sinners than these?

Not that all the "Methodists (so called) were very wicked people before they followed us." There are those among them, and not a few, who are able to stop the boasting of those that despise them, and to say, "Wherein soever any of you is bold, I am bold also:" only they "count all these things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus." But these we found, as it were, when we sought them not. We went forth to call the most flagrant, hardened, desperate sinners to repentance. To this end we preached in the Horse-fair, at Bristol, in Kingswood, in Newcastle: among the colliers in Staffordshire, and the tanners in Cornwall: in Southwark, Wapping, Moorfields, Drurylane, London. Did any man ever pick out such places as these, in order to find "serious, regular, well-disposed people?" How many such might then be in any of them I know not. But this I know, that four in five of those that are now with us, were not of that number, but were wallowing in their blood, till God by us said unto them LIVE.

Sir, I willingly put the whole cause on this issue: what are the general consequences of this preaching? are there more tares or wheat? more good men destroyed (that is the proper question) or wicked men saved? The last place where we began constant preaching, is a part of Wiltshire and Somersetshire, near Bath. Now, let any man enquire at Rhode, Bradford, Rexal, or among the colliers at Coleford, 1. What kind of people were those, "before they followed these men?" 2. What are the main doctrines they have been teaching for this twelvemonth? 3. What effect have these doctrines upon their followers? What manner of lives do they lead now? And if you do not find, 1. That three in four of these were two years ago notoriously wicked men. 2. That the main doctrines they have heard since were, "Love God and your neighbour, and carefully keep his commandments." And 3. That they have since exercised themselves herein, and continue so to do: I say, if you or any reasonable man, who will be at the pains to enquire, does not find this to be an unquestionable fact, I will openly acknowledge myself an Enthusiast, or whatsoever else you shall please to style me.

SECTION II.

FROM MR WHITEFIELD'S JOURNALS.

1737, 1738.

FROM LONDON TO GIBRALTAR.—FROM GIBRALTAR TO SAVANNAH.—HIS RETURN TO LONDON.—THE WORK OF GOD THERE.

Wednesday, December 28, 1737. After having continued instant in prayer with my friends at Mr J. H's, and afterwards receiving the holy sacrament at St Dunstan's, being recommended to the grace of God by a great number of weeping Christian brethren at the Rev. Mr H's, I set out at night for Deptford.

Saturday, December 31. Began this morning to have public prayers on open deck, at which the officer and soldiers attended with decency and reverence. After prayer I enlarged a little on those words of St Paul, "I am determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified."

Gibraltar, Saturday, Feb. 25, 1738. About six

this morning went with friend H. to the church to pray with some devout soldiers, who I heard used to meet there at that time. I found that their society had been subsisting about twelve years, and that one Serjeant B. now amongst them, was the first beginner of it. At first they told me they used to meet in dens and mountains, and caves in the rocks; but afterwards upon their applying for leave to build a little place to retire in, Dr C. and Governor S. gave them the free use of the church, where they constantly met three times in a day, to pray, read, and sing psalms, and at any other season when they please. I conversed closely with several of them, and they made me quite ashamed of my little proficiency in the school of Christ. Many have joined with them for a time, but a servile fear of man, that bane of Christianity, made them draw back. However, some continue steadfast and immovable, and though despised by the world, are no doubt highly favoured of God. Governor S. countenances them much, and has spoke of them often to me with respect. There is also another society of the Scotch Church. It has subsisted about a year, and is made up of many serious Christians, as I was informed. I sent them, as well as the other society, some proper books; had religious talk with several of them, and endeavoured to unite both societies together.

Tuesday, Feb. 28. Was asked by Dr C. in the name of the governor and Colonel G. to preach every prayer-day whilst I stayed at Gibraltar, which I promised to do. Many of the inhabitants pressed me to stay with them, and were exceedingly kind to those who were with me.

Friday, March 3. I preached my sermon against *swearing*, and made a farewell application to the soldiers that were going over to Georgia out of that garrison. The governor had that morning reviewed them; and as I could not be in the same ship with them, I desired they might be ordered to come to church, that I might have an opportunity of telling them how to behave in that land which they were going over the sea to protect. The Colonel and governor most readily consented; there was a most thronged audience, and God was pleased to set his seal to my sermon: many officers and soldiers wept sorely, and a visible alteration was observed in the garrison for some days after. "O that their convictions may end in their conversion, and that they may bring forth the fruits of the Spirit!"

Monday, March 6. Had near, if not more than a hundred at morning exposition; and it being the last day of my sojourning at Gibraltar, many came to me weeping, telling me what God had done for their souls, desiring my prayers, and promising me theirs in return.—Who more unlikely to be wrought upon than soldiers? and yet, God has made his power to be known. Many that were in gross darkness have been enlightened; many that have fallen back, have repented, and turned unto the Lord again; many that were ashamed to own Christ openly, have waxen bold; and many that were saints have had their hearts filled with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.

Sunday, March 26. This day God, I trust, magnified his power in the conversion of a young gentleman on board, whom he has been pleased to visit with a fever. His convictions were strong, and, as far as I could find, a thorough renovation began in his heart; "The Lord perfect it."—Exchanged

some bad books that were on board (which I threw immediately into the sea) for some good ones; blessed be God, all that I have found them with, as yet, have been ready to surrender them up.

April 3. Had some farther conversation with the young gentleman whose conversion I mentioned before, and who I hope is really quickened from above. He told me he used to wonder to hear me talk that all our thoughts, words, and actions, ought to be dedicated unto God, but now he perceived what I said to be true. April 8. And now indeed we live more comfortably in the great cabin than can easily be imagined. We talk of little else but God and Christ. God has greatly blessed that excellent book, *The Country Parson's Advice to his Parishioners*.

April 15. I was called in a hurry to pray by one of the devout soldiers who came from Gibraltar, and who was supposed to be expiring. I came, and rejoiced in spirit; for his soul seemed full of God. Instead of being affrighted at the approach of the king of terrors, he welcomed it, and said, he was going to his dear Redeemer; then he fell as it were into a trance, and poured out his heart in repeating some very applicable verses out of the Psalms. Upon which we thought he would have died; but lo! God brought him from the nethermost hell. From that instant the fever left him, and he recovered. Oh, what difference is there between him that feareth God, and him that feareth him not, in their last hours. April 16. This evening I was sent for by a sailor, who has been the most remarkable swearer on board; and whom I in an especial manner warned about two days ago; but he laughed at it. But tonight he sent for me, trembling, and burning with a fever, told me what grievous sins he had been guilty of, and prayed most fervently for repentance. Two or three of the same stamp have been taken in the same manner. "God grant they may flee from the wrath to come!" April 18. Several squalls came upon us, which afforded me glorious matter for adoring that great good God, whom winds and storms obey. The sailors were in great hurry and confusion, but not one single oath was heard all the while; a proof this, that sailors may pull their ropes without swearing, and that the words spoken to them have not altogether fallen to the ground; blessed be God!

Savannah, Friday, June 2. This evening parted with kind Captain Whiting, and my dear friend Delamotte, who embarked for England about seven at night. The poor people lamented the loss of him, and went to the water-side to take a last farewell. And good reason had they to do so; for he has been so very indefatigable in feeding the lambs of Christ with the sincere milk of the word, and many of them (blessed be God) have grown thereby. Surely, I must labour most heartily, since I come after such worthy predecessors. The good Mr John Wesley has done in America, under God, is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people; and he has laid such a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake.

Tuesday, July 12. Returned from Ebenezer, the place where the Saltzburghers are settled, and was wonderfully pleased with their order and industry. They are blest with two such pious ministers, as I have not often seen: they have no courts of judicature, but all little differences are immediately and

implicitly decided by their ministers, whom they look upon and love as their fathers. They have likewise an Orphan-house, in which are seventeen children, and one widow, and I was much delighted to see the regularity wherewith it is managed.—"Oh that God may stir up the hearts of his servants to contribute towards that and another which we hope to have erected at Savannah." Mr Boltzius, one of their ministers, being with me on Saturday, I gave him some of my poor's store for his orphans, and when I came to Ebenezer, he called them all before him, catechised and exhorted them to give God thanks for his good providence towards them; then prayed with them, and made them pray after him; then sung a Psalm, and afterwards the little lambs came and shook me by the hand one by one, and so we parted, and I scarce was ever better pleased in my life.—Surely, whoever contributes to the relief of the Saltzburghers, will perform an acceptable sacrifice to our blessed Master.

Monday, August 28. This being the day of my departure for England it was mostly spent in taking leave of my flock, who expressed their affection now more than ever, coming to me from the morning to the time I left them, with tears in their eyes, wishing me a prosperous voyage, and safe return, and giving me things proper for my passage.

Friday, December 8. About noon I reached London, was received with much joy by my Christian friends, and joined with them in psalms and thanksgiving for my safe arrival. December 10. Here seems to be a great pouring out of the Spirit; and many, who were awakened by my preaching a year ago, are now grown strong men in Christ, by the ministrations of my dear friend and fellow-labourers, John and Charles Wesley. Blessed be God! Sat. Dec. 30. Preached nine times this week, and expounded near eighteen times.—Blessed be God! I am employed from morning till midnight.—There's no end of people's coming and sending to me, and they seem more and more desirous, like new-born babes, to be fed with the sincere milk of the word.—What a great work has been wrought in the hearts of many within this twelvemonth!

1736.

HE PREACHES AT NEWGATE.—TO THE COALMENS OF KINGSWOOD.—OF MR GRIFFITH JONES.—LETTER FROM MR J. WESLEY.—OF ROWEL HARRIS.—MR BENJAMIN SEWARD.—VERY LARGE CONGREGATIONS.—MR DELAMOTTE'S FAMILY.—THE SUCCESSFUL MINISTRY OF MESSRS TENNENT, MESSRS FREELING, ROUSE, CROSS, &c., IN AMERICA.

London, January 3. Staid at home on purpose to receive those who wanted to consult me.—Blessed be God, from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon, people came, some telling me what God had done for their souls, and others crying out, "What shall we do to be saved?" Being obliged to go out after this, I referred several till Thursday.—How does God work by my unworthy hands! His mercies melt me down. Oh that I was thankful!

Windsor, Feb. 8. I find much service might be done to religion on journeys, if we had but courage to shew ourselves Christians in all places: Others sing songs in public houses, why should not we sing psalms? And when we give the servants money, why may we not with that give them a little book, and some good advice? I know by experience it is very beneficial. "God grant this may be always

my practice?" Friday, Feb. 16. Begun this morning to settle a daily exposition, and reading prayers to the prisoners in Newgate. I opened it by enlarging on the conversion of the jailor.

Saturday, Feb. 17. About one in the afternoon I went with my brother Seward, and another friend, to Kingswood, and was most delightfully entertained by an old disciple of the Lord.—My bowels yearned toward the poor colliers, who, as far as I can find, are very numerous, and yet are as sheep having no shepherd.—After dinner, therefore, I went upon a mount, and spake to as many people as came unto me. They were upwards of two hundred.—"Blessed be God that I have now broke the ice; I believe I never was more acceptable to my Master than when I was standing to teach those hearers in the open fields."

Amongst the letters I received from religious correspondents, one writes thus, "We had such a remarkable and sensible presence of God with us at Beech-lane this evening, as my eyes and ears were never witnesses of before. In the midst of Mr J. Wesley's exposition, a woman present had such convictions of her lost estate by nature, and such a sense of sin, that she could not forbear crying out aloud; upon which Mr Wesley breaking off, went to her, who earnestly desired him to pray for her, which he did in the presence of two or three hundred people, hardly one of whom, I think, could forbear tears; upon which she had comfort."

Thursday, February 22. I went with some Christian friends to Bath; where I was much comforted by meeting with several that love our Lord Jesus in sincerity.—More especially, I was edified by the pious conversation of the Rev. Mr Griffith Jones, whom I have desired to see of a long season. His words came with power, and the account he gave me of the many obstructions he had met with in his ministry, convinced me that I was but a young soldier, just entering the field.

Thursday, March 1. Amongst my other letters I received the following one from the Rev. Mr John Wesley: Part of which is,

February 20.—"My dear Brother, Our Lord's hand is not shortened amongst us. Yesterday I preached at St Katherine's, and at Islington. I think I never was so much strengthened before. About three hundred were present at Mr S——'s; thence I went to Mr B——'s; where also we wanted room.—To-day I expound in the Minorities at four, at Mrs W——'s at six, and to a large company of poor sinners in Gravel-lane (Bishopgate) at eight. The society at Mr Grouch's does not meet till eight; so that I expound before I go to him near St James' Square. On Wednesday at six, we have a noble company of women not adorned with gold or costly apparel, but with a meek and quiet spirit, and good works.—At the Savoy, on Thursday evening, we have usually two or three hundred, most of them, at least, thoroughly awakened. Mr A——'s parlour is more than filled on Friday, as in Mr P——'s room twice over. On Saturday se'ennight, a middle-aged, well-dressed woman at Beech-lane (where I expound usually to five or six hundred before I go to Mr E——'s society) was seized, as it appeared to several about her, with little less than the agonies of death. We prayed that God, who had brought her to the birth, would give her strength to bring forth. Five days she was in bondage. On Thursday evening our Lord got himself the victory; and,

from that moment, she has been full of love and joy, which he openly declared on Saturday last; so that thanksgivings were given to God by many on her account."

The following paragraph was likewise in a letter I received from my dear brother Kinchin of Oxon: "God has greatly blessed us at Oxford of late. We have reason to think, that four, within this fortnight, have been born of God. The people crowd to the societies on Sunday nights, several gownsmen amongst the rest. God has much assisted me. Last night we had a thronged Society, and about forty gownsmen."

Cardiff, March 8. I was much refreshed with the sight of my dear brother Howel Harris; whom though I knew not in person, I have long since loved in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and have often felt my soul drawn out in prayer in his behalf. "A burning and a shining light has he been in those parts; a barrier against profaneness and immorality, and an indefatigable promoter of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. About three or four years God has inclined him to go about doing good. He is now above twenty five-years of age. Twice he has applied (being every way qualified) for holy orders; but was refused, under a false pretence, that he was not of age, though he was then twenty two years and six months. About a month ago he offered himself again, but was put off. Upon this, he was, and is still resolved to go on in his work; and indefatigable zeal has he shewn in his Master's service. For these three years he has discoursed almost twice every day for three or four hours together; not authoritatively, as a minister; but as a private person, exhorting his Christian brethren. He has been, I think, in seven counties, and has made it his business to go to wakes, &c., to turn people from such lying vanities. Many alehouse people, fiddlers, harpers, &c., sadly cry out against him for spoiling their business. He has been threatened with public prosecutions, and had constables sent to apprehend him. But God has blessed him with inflexible courage; he is of a most Catholic spirit, loves all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore he is styled by bigots, a Dissenter. He is condemned by all that are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; but God has greatly blessed his pious endeavours. Many own him as their spiritual father, and, I believe, would lay down their lives for his sake. He discourses generally in a field; but at other times in a house, from a wall, a table, or anything else. He has established near thirty societies in South Wales, and still his sphere of action is enlarged daily. After I had saluted him, and given an exhortation to a great number, who followed me to the inn, we spent the remainder of the evening in taking sweet counsel together, and telling one another what God had done for our souls. We also took an account of the several societies, and agreed on such measures as seem most conducive to promote the common interest of our Lord. Blessed be God, there seems to be a noble spirit gone out into Wales. They have many burning and shining lights both among the Dissenting and Church ministers, amongst whom Mr Griffith Jones shines in particular. No less than fifty charity-schools have been erected by his means, without any settled visible fund, and fresh ones are setting up every day. People make nothing of coming twenty miles to hear a sermon, and great numbers there are who have not only been hearers,

but doors also of the Word; so that there is a most comfortable prospect of the spreading of the Gospel in Wales.

Bath, March 12.—Received news of the progress of the Gospel in Yorkshire, under the ministry of my dear brother Ingham. Keinsbam, Thursday, March 22. Received a letter which brought me word of the flourishing of the Gospel at Oxford.—Had many gracious souls came to me to consult me in spiritual cases, and could not but rejoice to see how secretly and irresistibly the kingdom of Jesus Christ is carried on, in spite of all opposition. Wednesday, March 28. Had the pleasure of hearing, that above an hundred people set apart a day for prayer in behalf of me and my dear brother Howel Harris, &c.

Thursday, March 29. Blessed be God, I hope a good work is begun to-day. Having had several notices that the colliers of Kingswood were willing to subscribe, I collected above twenty pounds in money, and got above forty pounds in subscriptions toward building them a charity-school.—It was surprising to see with what cheerfulness they parted with their money on this occasion.—Was I to continue here, I would endeavour to settle schools all over the wood, as also in other places, as Mr Griffith Jones has done in Wales.—But I have just time to set it on foot.—I hope God will bless the ministry of my honoured friend Mr John Wesley, and enable him to bring it to good effect.—It is a pity so many little ones as there are in Kingswood should perish for lack of knowledge.—Stir up thy power, O Lord, and come amongst them, for the sake of Jesus Christ.

Cheapstow, April 7. Oh, how swiftly has this week passed off! to me it has been but as one day. How do I pity those polite ones, who complain that time hangs heavy upon their hands! Let them but love Christ, and spend their whole time in his service, and they will find no dull melancholy hours. Want of the love of God I take to be the chief cause of indolence and vapours. Oh that they would up and be doing for Jesus Christ! they would not complain then for the want of spirits.

Gloucester, April 9. I was refreshed by a great packet of letters, giving me an account of the success of the Gospel in different parts. God grant I may see it come as powerfully amongst my own countrymen.

Evesham, April 8. Several persons came to see me, amongst whom was Mr Benjamin Seward, whom God has been pleased to call by his free grace very lately. It pleased God to cast him down, by eight days sickness; in which time, he scarce ever ate, or drank, or slept, and underwent great inward agonies and tortures. After this, God sent a poor travelling woman, that came to sell straw toys, to instruct him in the nature of our second birth, and now he is resolved to prepare for holy orders, and to preach Christ and those truths which once he endeavoured to destroy.—He is a gentleman of a very large fortune, which he has now devoted to God. Blessed be God, that although not many rich, not many mighty, not many noble are called, yet some are.—Who would but be accounted a fool for Christ's sake? How often has my companion and honoured friend, Mr William Seward, been deemed a madman by this very brother, for going to Georgia? But lo! God now has made him an instrument of converting his brother.

London, April 30. Heard of the wonderful success of my honoured friend Mr John Wesley's ministry in Bristol.

May 6. Preached this morning in Moorfields to about twenty thousand people, who were very quiet and attentive, and much affected.—Went to public worship morning and evening;—and at six preached at Kennington. But such a sight never did I see before.—I believe there were no less than fifty thousand people; and what is most remarkable, there was an awful silence amongst them, and the Word of God came with power. God gave me great enlargement of heart. I continued my discourse for an hour and a half. May 7. Received several letters of the fruits of my ministry in several places, and had divers come to me awakened, under God, by my preaching in the fields.

Friday, June 1. Preached in the evening at a place called May-Fair, near Hyde Park corner.—The congregation, I believe, consisted of near eighty thousand people.—It was, by far, the largest I ever preached to yet.—In the time of my prayer there was a little noise; but they kept a deep silence during my whole discourse.—An high and very commodious scaffold was erected for me to stand upon; and though I was weak in myself, yet God strengthened me to speak so loud that most could hear; and in such a manner, I hope, that most could feel. All love, all glory be to God through Christ.

So weak, so frail an instrument,
If thou, my God, vouchsafe to use,
'Tis praise enough to be employ'd,
Reward enough if thou excuse.
If thou excuse, then work thy will
By so unfit an instrument;
It will at once thy goodness show,
And prove thy power omnipotent.

June 4. Took leave of my weeping friends, and went in company with many of them to Blackheath, where was a very large congregation.—I think I never was so much enlarged since I have preached in the fields.—My discourse was near two hours long, and the people were so melted down, and wept so loud, that they almost drowned my voice.

Thursday, June 7. Received two letters from persons, confessing that they came to hear me out of a bad motive, but were apprehended by the free grace of Jesus Christ.

Broad Oaks, June 30. Mr Delamotte came from Cambridge to meet us.—I cannot but remark what wonderful mercies God has shewn this Mr Delamotte's family.—About three or four years ago, God was pleased to touch the heart of his brother Charles, who hearing that Mr Wesley was going to Georgia, (though his father would have settled him in a very handsome way) offered to go abroad with him as a servant.—His parents' consent was asked, but they, and almost all their relations, opposed it strenuously. However, the young man being resolute, and convinced that God called him, at length they somewhat consented. He went abroad, lived with Mr Wesley, served under him as a son in the Gospel, did much good, and endured great hardships for the sake of Jesus Christ.—Behold, how God rewarded him for leaving all.—Whilst he was absent, God was pleased to make use of the ministry of Mr Ingham, and Mr Charles Wesley, in converting his mother, two sisters, and this young gentleman before-mentioned at Cambridge.

Gloucester, Sunday, July 1. Preached at seven in the morning to a much increased audience in my brother's field.—Breakfasted at Gloucester, and

preached at 11 in the morning, read prayers in the afternoon, and preached at Randwick church, about seven miles from Gloucester. The church was quite full; about 2000 were in the church-yard, who, by taking down the window that lay behind the pulpit, had the conveniency of hearing. Many wept sorely. After evening service I hasted to Hampton-common, and, to my great surprise, found no less than 20,000 ready to hear me. New strength was imparted to me from above. I spoke with greater freedom than I had done all the day before. About twelve at night I reached Gloucester much fresher (to my apprehension) than when I left it in the morning. "Surely Jesus Christ is a gracious master. They that wait upon him shall renew their strength." Monday, July 2. Preached this morning in my brother's field to a larger audience than ever.—Found my spirits much exhausted by yesterday's labours, but notwithstanding a sweet power was amongst us.

Bristol, July 7. Preached at Baptist Mills, and found that Bristol had great reason to bless God for the ministry of Mr J. Wesley.—The congregation I observed to be much more serious and affected than when I left them.—And the exemplariness of their conversation in common life, plainly shews that they have not received the grace of God in vain.

Tuesday, July 10. Dined to-day with my honoured fellow-labourer, Mr Wesley, and many other friends at Two-Mile-Hill, in Kingswood, and preached afterwards to several thousand people, and colliers, in the school-house, which has been carried on so successfully, that the roof is ready to be put up.—The design I think is good. Old as well as young are to be instructed. A great and a visible alteration is made in the behaviour of the colliers. Instead of cursing and swearing, they are heard to sing hymns about the woods: and the rising generation, I hope, will be a generation of Christians.—They seem much affected by the word.—They melt in tears, and are observed to attend the churches and societies when Mr Wesley is absent from them.—The prospect of their future welfare filled me with joy.

Saturday, July 21. Preached in the evening to upwards of ten thousand at Kennington-common.—The poor souls were ready to leap for joy at my return amongst them.—The word sunk deep into their hearts.—Great numbers melted into tears, and my own heart overflowed with love towards them.—Blessed be God for what has been done here, since I left London, by my honoured friend and fellow-labourer, Mr Charles Wesley. Surely we can see the fruits of our labours. All love, all glory be to God, for giving so great an increase.

July 22. Received a letter from Mr Ralph Erskine of Scotland. Some may be offended at my corresponding with him, but I dare not but confess my Lord's disciples.

July 23. My friend, Mr William Seward received a letter from his brother, in which was the following paragraph: "The old clerk at Breferton, whom I before spoke of, having heard Mr Whitefield at Badsey, was so affected, that he told me, he could have no rest in his spirit; but after searching the church-homilies, articles, &c., and finding the doctrine every way agreeable to them, he met with the landlord of Contercup, who discoursing about Mr Whitefield, told him, he had some old books, that

set forth the very same doctrine. Soon after this he went to work, being a tailor by trade, and asking for one of these books, the others being lent out, he said, he had not read above a page or two, before the truth broke in upon his soul like lightning. He said, he could not go on with his work with any satisfaction, but his fingers itched to be at his book again, which the man lent him home with him; a few days after, he got the other, which so strengthened and confirmed him, that he could lay down his life in defence of the truth as it is in Jesus. He says the gospel appears to him, as though he had never read a line in it before; and it is a greater miracle to him, that he, an old sinner, with one foot in the grave, should be called at these years, than he had seen the dead raised.—He always, by what I can learn, bore a fair character, and was esteemed by his neighbours, but now threatened with the loss of his bread, for coming to Badsey society, and declaring his testimony to the truth of Mr Whitefield's doctrine, or rather, I should say, the doctrine of the gospel. The books he met with are very old, and, he says, were thrown by as waste paper, whereby the Contercup man met with them, and they seemed very providentially reserved for his use."

August 15. On board the ship bound to Philadelphia. Began to put those of my family, who I thought were prepared for it, into bands.—In all we are eight men, four women, one boy, and two children, besides Mr Seward and myself. The conversion of one of the men was particularly remarkable.—Not long since he was a master of a ship, which was lost near the gulph of Florida.—Providence was pleased to throw him and his crew upon a sand-bank, where they continually expected the waters to overwhelm them. At the end of ten days they saw a ship, and made a signal of distress.—The ship made towards them; the captain (now with me) went out with his boat, and begged for a passage for himself and men.—It was granted him, on condition he would leave some of his crew behind upon the sand-bank, but he would not consent.—At length the other commander agreed to take all.—But as soon as ever my friend put off his boat to fetch them, the commander of the ship made sail and left them.—All this seemed quite against; but in the end God shewed it was intended for the good of my friend.—After thirty days' continuance upon the sand-bank, having fitted up the boat with some planks they had took out of a ship which had been lost five months before, nine of them committed themselves to the providence of God.—The others cared not to venture themselves in so small a boat.—Having sailed about 140 leagues, they at length came to Tyby island, ten miles off Savannah.—An inhabitant being near that place, espied them, and brought them home with him.—Being then in Georgia,—and informed of what had happened, I invited the captain to breakfast with me, and reminded him of the goodness of God.—He then seemed serious, and coming very providentially in the same ship with me, when I returned to England, God was pleased to work more effectually upon his soul, and he is now returned with me to Georgia again.

October 3. About five in the evening, we landed at Lewis Town, situated in the southern part of the province of Pennsylvania. We had not been long in

¹ One of them was Bolton's Directions. The other, some Pieces of Daniel Dykes, B.D., printed 1617.

the inn, but two or three of the chief inhabitants being apprised of my arrival, came and spent the evening with us, and desired me to give them a sermon on the morrow.—We supped very comfortably together, and after prayers, and singing with the family, I and my dear companions went to rest, admiring more and more the goodness and providence of the all-wise God. He is the great householder of the whole world; all places and persons are so many little parts of his great family.—I pray to him before I go, and I find in answer to my prayer, he always commands some or other of his household to take care of, and provide for me.—As here is the same son, so here is the same God in America as in England.—I bless God, all places are equal to me, so I am where God would have me to be. I hope I shall never account myself at home, till I arrive at my heavenly Father's house above.—However, I desire patiently to tarry till my blessed change comes. Heaven will be doubly sweet when I am worn out with distresses for the sake of Jesus Christ.—“Lord, grant I may continually be looking up to the glory which is to be revealed hereafter, and then deal with me as it seemeth good in thy sight, during my pilgrimage here.”

*If rough and thorny be my way,
My strength proportion to my day;
'Till toil and grief and pain shall cease,
Where all is calm and joy and peace!*

New Brunswick, in America, Nov. 30. Preached about noon, for near two hours, in worthy Mr Tennent's meeting-house, to a large assembly gathered together from all parts; and amongst them, as Mr Tennent told me, there was a great body of solid Christians; about three in the afternoon, I preached again, and at seven I baptized two children, and preached a third time with greater freedom than at either of the former opportunities.—It is impossible to tell with what pleasure the children of God heard those truths confirmed by a minister of the Church of England, which for many years have been preached to them by their own pastor.—Mr Tennent's opposers' mouths were stopped, several were brought under strong convictions, and our Lord's dear disciples were ready to leap for joy.—Among others that came to hear the word, were several ministers whom the Lord has been pleased to honour in being instruments of bringing many sons to glory. One was a Dutch minister, named Freeling Hausen, pastor of a congregation about four miles off New Brunswick: he is a worthy soldier of Jesus Christ, and was the beginner of the great work which I trust the Lord is carrying on in these parts.—He has been strongly opposed by some persons, but God has always appeared for him in a surprising manner, and made him more than conqueror through his love.—He has long since learned to fear Him only who can destroy both body and soul in hell.—Another was one Mr Cross, minister of a congregation at Barkington-bridge, about twenty miles from Brunswick.—A most remarkable out-pouring of the Spirit has been frequently seen in his assembly, for which he has been opposed much by natural men.—He himself told me of many wonderful effects, and sudden conversions that have been wrought by the Lord under his ministry.—For some time eight or nine used to come to him together, in deep distress of soul; and I think he said, three hundred of his congregation, which is not very large, were effectually

brought home to Christ.¹ He indeed is one who I believe would rejoice to suffer for the Lord Jesus.—Oh! that I may be like-minded!—A third minister was one Mr Campbell, who has been a preacher of the doctrines of grace for these four years, was a regular moral liver, and accounted a very good man, but within these few months, being convinced of sin, and that he knew nothing experimentally of Jesus Christ, though he had pretended to preach him so long, after many struggles with himself, he told the Synod he was unconverted, and therefore dared not preach till he was.—He has laboured under great distress of soul.—By some he is looked upon as melancholy, and beside himself; but I had much discourse with him, and really believe these humiliations will prepare him for great and eminent services in the church of God.—His case puts me in mind of Professor Franck, who being on Easter-day to preach on the nature of divine faith, and finding he had not that faith himself, was convicted by God of his unregenerate state, upon which he ran into the woods, was there deeply humbled, and at last became a most exalted instance of faith. At our persuasion, Mr Campbell promised to preach next Sunday. Nov. 21. Mr Rowland, another faithful minister of Jesus Christ, gave us the meeting.—He has been a preacher about two years; he went about doing good, and had many seals to his ministry.—Much of the simplicity of Christ was discernible in his behaviour.

November 22. Set out for Neshamini (twenty miles distant from Trent Town) where old Mr Tennant lives, and keeps an academy, and where I was to preach to-day, according to appointment. We found above three thousand people gathered together in the meeting-house yard; and Mr William Tennent, an eminent servant of Jesus Christ, preaching to them, because we had stayed beyond the time appointed. When I came up he soon stopped, and sung a psalm, and then I began to speak as the Lord gave me utterance. At first the people seemed unaffected, but in the midst of my discourse, the power of the Lord Jesus came upon me, and I felt such a struggling within myself for the people, as I scarce ever felt before. The hearers began to be melted down immediately; and we had reason to hope the Lord intended good for many. After I had finished, Mr Gilbert Tennent gave a word of exhortation to confirm what had been delivered. At the end of his discourse we sung a psalm, and then dismissed the people with a blessing. Oh that the Lord may say amen to it! After our exercises were over, we went to old Mr Tennent, who entertained us like one of the ancient patriarchs. His wife to me seemed like Elizabeth, and he like Zachary; both as far as I can find, walk in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless. Though God was pleased to humble my soul, so that I was obliged to retire for a while, yet we had sweet communion with each other, and spent the evening in concerting what measures had best be taken for promoting our dear Lord's kingdom. It happens very providentially, that Mr Tennent and his brethren are appointed to be a Presbytery by the Synod, so that they intend breeding up gra-

¹ Near the end of his fifth Journal (from which this passage is taken) Mr Whitefield says, “Except Northampton, in New-England, the work of conversion has not been carried on with so much power in any parts of America, that I can hear of, as under the ministry of Messrs Tennent, Cross, and the other labourers before-mentioned.”

cious youths, and sending them out from time to time into our Lord's vineyard.

Philadelphia, November 25. After I had done preaching, a young gentleman, once a minister of the Church of England, but now Secretary to Mr Penn, stood up with a loud voice, and warned the people against the doctrine I had been delivering, urging, that there was no such term as Imputed Righteousness in Holy Scripture; that such a doctrine put a stop to all goodness; that we were to be judged for our good works and obedience; and were commanded to do and live. When he had ended, I denied his first proposition, and brought a text to prove an Imputed Righteousness was a Scriptural expression; but thinking the Church was an improper place for disputation, I said no more at that time. The portion of Scripture appointed for the epistle, was Jer. xxiii. wherein were these words, "The Lord our Righteousness." Upon these I discoursed in the afternoon, and showed how the Lord Jesus was to be our whole Righteousness. Proved how the contrary doctrine overthrew Divine revelation. Answered the objections that were made against the doctrine of an Imputed Righteousness. Produced the Articles of our Church to illustrate it, and concluded with an exhortation to all to submit to Jesus Christ, who is the end of the law for Righteousness, to every one that believeth. The verses at the beginning of the chapter out of which the text was taken, are very remarkable (Jer. xxiii. 1, 2, 3, 4). God was pleased to fulfil that promise in me; for, blessed be his name, I was not dismayed. The word came with power; the Church was thronged within and without, all wonderfully attentive, and many, as I was informed, convinced that the Lord Christ was our Righteousness.

Philadelphia, November 28. Redeemed a little time before it was light, to write a letter or two to my dear friends in England. I have not had a moment's time before, since my return from New York. People are continually coming in, and enquiring with strong crying and many tears how they must come to Christ. It grieves me to send them away with such short answers.

I received the following letter from New York: "R.D.S. I was heartily sorry that the disorder of a cold should hinder me from waiting upon you in the Jerseys; but am in hopes it was ordered by Divine Providence for the best. I found the next day, that you had left the town under a deep and universal concern; many were greatly affected, and I hope abiding impressions are left upon some. Some that were before very loose and profligate, look back with shame upon their past lives and conversations, and seem resolved upon a thorough reformation. I mention these things to strengthen you in the blessed cause you are engaged in, and support you under your abundant labours. When I heard so many were concerned for their eternal welfare, I appointed a lecture on Wednesday evening, though it was not an usual season. And though the warning was short, we had a numerous and attentive audience.—In short, I cannot but hope your coming among us has been the means of awakening some among us to a serious sense of practical religion, and may be the beginning of a good work in this secure and sinful place.—Dear Sir, Let your prayers be joined with mine for this desirable blessing. I desire your prayers for me in particular, that I may be faithful in my master's work; that I may be an

instrument in the hands of Christ of pulling down the strong holds of Sin and Satan, and building the Redeemer's kingdom in this place, &c. Your affectionate Brother,
E. PEMBERTON.

Williamsburg, Dec. 15. Paid my respects to Mr Blair the commissary of Virginia. His discourse was savoury, such as tended to the use of edifying. He received me with joy, asked me to preach, and wished my stay was to be longer.

1740.

HIS SUCCESS IN AMERICA.—AT CHARLES-TOWN.—SAVANNAH.
—PHILADELPHIA.—WESHAMING.—NOTTINGHAM.—POG'S MOR.
—BASKINRIDGE.—BOSTON, &c.

Charlestown, March 18. I believe a good work is begun in many souls. Generally every day several came to me, telling with weeping eyes, how God had been pleased to convince them by the word preached, and how desirous they were of laying hold on and having an interest in the complete and everlasting righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ. Numbers desired privately to converse with me.—Invitations were given me from some of the adjacent villages; and people daily came to town more and more from their plantations to hear the word.

Sunday, March 30. At Savannah found myself very sick, and weak in body; but was strengthened notwithstanding, to go through most of the duties of the day, and to take an affectionate leave of my dear parishioners, because it appeared that Providence called me at this time towards the northwards. An unspeakable trouble of soul did I feel most part of the day, and was enabled to wrestle with my Lord in behalf of the people in general, and those belonging to the Orphan House, in particular. Blessed be God, he has already, I trust in a great measure, heard such prayers. All things belonging to the Orphan House succeed beyond expectation, and some of my little flock have lately (as far as I can judge) been effectually called of God. One woman, that had been a constant attender on the means of grace, and thought herself a Christian for many years, came to me acknowledging that she had been a self-deceiver, and knew nothing of the righteousness or true living faith in Jesus Christ. A tradesman of the same stamp has felt the power of the doctrines of grace. A captain of a ship, who had been a strong opposer of the truth, wrote and came to me under great convictions, confessing his sin, and desirous to be a Christian indeed. Some others also there are who have received the love of God in the truth of it. So that I hope, if ten saints could preserve Sodom, the few righteous souls left behind, will prevent the utter desolation of declining Savannah.—"Blessed Jesus! let our extremity be thy opportunity."

Philadelphia, April 14. O how did some here comfort my heart with the account of what God had done for their own and many other people's souls, by the doctrine I had delivered when here last. A minister in particular, who had been made instrumental to water what God had planted, recounted to me many noble instances of God's power of free grace, shewn in the conviction and conversion of some ministers, as well as common people.—Oh that the Lord may revive his work in the midst of the years. Thursday April 17. Preached at Abingdon, a district under the care of one Mr Treat (a dissenting minister) to whom God has been pleased lately to shew mercy.—He has been a preacher of the doc-

trines of grace for some years; but was deeply convinced, when I was here last, that he had not experienced them in his heart.—And soon after I went away, he attempted to preach, but could not. He therefore told his congregation, how miserably he had deceived both himself and them: and desired them to pray for him.—Ever since, he has continued to seek Jesus Christ sorrowing, and is now under deep convictions, and a very humbling sense of sin.—He preaches as usual, though he has not a full assurance of faith: because he said it was best to be found in the way of duty. I believe God is preparing him for great services. I observed a great presence of God in our assembly, and the word, as I was informed afterwards, came with a soul-convicting and comforting power to many.—When I had done, I hastened to Philadelphia, where I preached to upwards of ten thousand people, upon the woman that was cured of her bloody issue.—Hundreds I found were graciously melted; and many, I hope, not only thronged round, but also touched the Lord Jesus Christ by faith. Near ten came to me after sermon, under deep convictions, and could tell me the time when, and manner how the Lord Jesus made himself manifest to their souls.—What gives me greater hopes that this work is of God, is, because these convictions have remained on many ever since I was here last. Some have not only righteousness and peace, but also joy in the Holy Ghost.

Wednesday, April 23. Reached Newhamini near three in the afternoon, and preached to upwards of five thousand people in old Mr Tennent's meeting-house yard. When I came there, my body, through heat and labour, was so weak and faint, that my knees smote one against another, and I was ready to drop down as soon as I had finished my prayer. But God was pleased to revive me. A very great commotion was in the hearts of the hearers. Great numbers were much melted; and one in particular after sermon, came to me, crying, "You have brought me under deep convictions, what shall I do to be saved!" I gave him the Apostle's answer: "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved." Upwards of fifty, I hear, have been lately convicted about this place.—"The Lord grant his arrows may stick fast in them till they have got a closing interest with Jesus Christ." For many I find, "receive the word with joy for a season, but having no true root in themselves soon fall away." Better were it for them that always continue thus, that they had never been convicted at all. "Lord, have mercy on these and such like unhappy apostates, and let them be renewed again unto repentance!" Amen and Amen.

New Brunswick, April 27. Was told last night by Mr Gilbert Tennent, of two that were savingly brought home by my ministry when here last. April 28. Took a sorrowful leave of captain Gladman, and my dear brother, and fellow-traveller Mr Seward, whom I had dispatched to England to bring me over a fellow-labourer, and to transact several affairs of importance. Captain Gladman is the person mentioned in my last Journal, who was cast away at the gulph of Florida, and whom God made me an instrument of converting in my passage to England.—Hitherto he has had the command of our sloop: but, being obliged to dispatch him on business to England, I have now committed the care of the sloop to his mate, whom God was pleased

to bring home to himself when I was last at Philadelphia. Not long since he was an abandoned prodigal, and ringleader in vice; but God struck him to the heart. Captain Gladman had prayed that God would send him a mate. This young man came and offered himself; the captain hired him; and now, I believe, he is a child of God. Numbers at Philadelphia cannot but see the new creature in him.

New-York, April 29. I met with Mr William Tennent, who refreshed my heart, by telling me, what the Lord was doing for numbers of souls in the Highlands, where he had lately been.

Thursday, May 1. Went in a ferry this morning, over to Flat-Bush on Long-Island; on the east part of which, God has lately begun a most glorious work, by the ministry of two young Presbyterian ministers, who have walked in an uncommon light of God's countenance for a long while together. "Prosper thou, O Lord, more and more the work of their hands!"

Philadelphia, May 8. Was called up early in the morning to speak to poor souls under convictions. The first, I think, was an Indian trader, whom God was pleased to bring home by my preaching when here last. The account he gave of God's dealings with him was very satisfactory.—He is just come from the Indian nation, where he has been praying with and exhorting all he met, that were willing to hear: some of the Indians he had hopes of; but his fellow-traders endeavoured to prejudice them against him. However, he proposes visiting them again at the Fall. Conversd also with a poor negroe woman, who has been visited in a very remarkable manner. God was pleased to convert her by my preaching the last Fall; but being under dejection on Sabbath morning, she prayed that salvation might come to her heart, and that the Lord would be pleased to manifest himself to her soul that day. Whilst she was at meeting, hearing one Mr M——, whom the Lord has been pleased lately to send forth, the word came with such power upon her heart, that at last she was obliged to cry out; and such a great concern also fell upon many in the congregation, that several betook themselves to secret prayer. The minister stopped, and several persuaded her to hold her peace; but the glory of the Lord shone so brightly round about her, that she could not help praising and blessing God, and telling how God was revealing himself to her soul.

Philadelphia, May 11. After I had taken my leave, man yeome to my lodgings; I believe near 60 negroes came to give me thanks, under God, for what had been done for their souls. Some of them have been effectually wrought upon, and in an uncommon manner. Many of them have now begun to learn to read.—And one that was free, said she would give her two children, whenever I settle my school.—I intended, had time permitted, to have settled a society for negro men and negro women. But that must be deferred till it shall please God to bring me to Philadelphia again. I have been much drawn out in prayer for them, and have seen them exceedingly wrought upon under the word preached.—I cannot well express how many others of all sorts came to give me a last farewell. And indeed I never yet saw a more general awakening in any place. Many of the Quakers have been convinced of the righteousness of Jesus Christ; and openly profess the truth as it is in Jesus; for which I be-

lieve they will shortly be thrust out of their synagogues.

Tuesday, May 13. Preached at Willingtoun. After sermon I rode towards Nottingham with Mr Tennent, Mr Craighead, and Mr Blair, all worthy ministers of the dear Lord Jesus. The last has been remarkably owned of God. Many others belonging to Philadelphia accompanied us, and we rode through the woods, most sweetly singing and praising God. We were all rejoiced to see our dear Lord's kingdom come with visible power, and endeavoured to strengthen one another against a suffering time should come.

Nottingham, May 14. I was invited thither by some of the inhabitants, who had a good work begun amongst them, some time ago, by the ministry of Mr Blair, Messrs Tennents, and Mr Cross, the last of which had been denied the use of the pulpit, and was obliged to preach in the woods, where the Lord manifested forth his glory, and caused many to cry out, "What shall we do to be saved?" It surprized me to see such a great multitude gathered together, at so short a warning, and in such a desert place. I believe there were near 12,000 hearers. I had not spoke long, but I perceived numbers melting. As I proceeded, the power increased, till at last, both in the morning and afternoon, thousands cried out, so that they almost drowned my voice. Never before did I see a more glorious sight! Oh what strong cryings and tears were shed and poured forth after the dear Lord Jesus.—Some fainted: and when they had got a little strength, they would hear and faint again. Others cried out in a manner, almost, as if they were in the sharpest agonies of death! I think I never was myself filled with greater power. After I had finished my last discourse, I was so pierced, as it were, and overpowered with God's love, that some thought (I believe) that I was about to give up the ghost.

Thursday, May 15. Preached at Fog's Mannor, about three miles from Mr Blair's house; where I was earnestly invited to come, by him. And here also the Lord was pleased to cause much of his glory to pass before us. The congregation was as large as that yesterday at Nottingham. As great, if not a greater commotion was in the hearts of the people. At Newcastle, gave a word of advice, and prayed with several, who came many miles under violent convictions. May 19. On board the ship, Was much refreshed to-day by reading the journal of an Indian trader mentioned a little before, and could not but think God would open a door for preaching the Gospel among the Alleghanian Indians. I wrote them a letter, wherein I laid down the principles of our holy religion, told them the promises of the Gospel, that had especial reference to them, and cautioned them against such things, as I thought might be an hinderance to their embracing Christianity. The head or chief of them is well inclined.

Charlestown, July 20. Blessed be God for sending me once more among his people. Though the heat of the weather and frequency of preaching, have perhaps given an irrecoverable stroke to the health of my body; yet, I rejoice, knowing it has been for the conviction, and I believe conversion of many a soul. "Glory be to God on high." Numbers are seeking after Jesus. And two or three gracious dissenting ministers, by my advice, agreed to set up a weekly lecture. "May the Lord be with both

ministers and people, and cause them to preach and hear as becometh the gospel of Christ." What makes the change more remarkable in Charlestown people is, that they seemed to be a people wholly devoted to pleasure. One well acquainted with their circumstances and manners told me, more had been annually spent on polite entertainments than the poor's rate came to. But now an alteration is discernible in the ladies' dress: the rooms that were usually employed for balls and assemblies, are now turned into society-rooms. But, I hope, the reformation has went further than externals. Many who before were settled on their lees, have been gloriously awakened to seek after Jesus Christ. And many a Lydia's heart bath the Lord opened to receive the things that were spoken. Indeed the word often came like a hammer and a fire. And a door, I believe, will be opened for teaching the poor Negroes. Several of them have done their work in less time than usual, that they may come to bear me. Many of their owners, who have been awakened, resolve to teach them. Had I time, and proper schoolmasters, I might immediately erect a Negro-school in South Carolina, as well as Pennsylvania. Many would willingly contribute both money and land.

August 24. Being but weak in body I have preached only once every day (except on Sundays); but I hope with success.—I scarce know the time, wherein I did not see a considerable melting in some part or other of the congregation, and often it spread over all the parts of it. Several times I was so weak before I began to preach, that I thought it almost impossible I should go through half the discourse. But the Lord quickened, enlightened, and supported me above measure. Out of weakness I became strong, and the Lord manifested himself in the sanctuary.

New-Port, Rhode-Island, Sep. 15. Breakfasted this morning with old Mr Clap, and was much edified by his conversation. I could not but think, whilst at his table, that I was sitting with one of the patriarchs. He is full of days, a bachelor, and has been minister of a congregation in Rhode-Island upwards of 40 years. People of all denominations, I find, respect him. He abounds in good works, gives all away, and is wonderfully tender of little children; many of different persuasions come to be instructed by him.

Boston, Saturday, Sep. 20. Was sweetly refreshed with several packets of letters sent to me from different parts of England and America, giving me an account of the success of the gospel. Monday, Sep. 22. Preached this morning at Mr Webb's meeting-house to six thousand hearers in the house, besides great numbers standing about the doors. The presence of the Lord was amongst them. Look where I would around me, visible impressions were made upon the auditory. Most wept for a considerable time; and sometime after I received a letter wherein were these words; "But what I must give the preference to was that gracious season at the New North the Monday following, where there was more of the presence of God through the whole visitation than ever I had known at one time through the whole course of my life. Justly might it have been said of that place, "it was no other than the house of God and the gate of Heaven!" Indeed my own soul was so deeply abased and overwhelmed with such unusual meltings that I could have been

glad of some private corner in that house to pour out my soul, without disturbance to the audience. The Spirit of God seemed to be moving upon the face of the waters at that time, and who knows but that to a great many souls, God was pleased to say, "Let there be light, and there was light."

Tuesday, September 23. Went this morning with Dr Colman and the secretary to Roxbury, three miles from Boston, to see the Rev. Mr Walter, a good old puritan, who, with his predecessor the Rev. Mr Elliot, commonly called the apostle of the Indians, now with God, has been pastor of that congregation an hundred and six years.

Thursday, Sept. 25. Preached the weekly lecture at Mr Foxcroft's meeting-house. Here, the Lord was pleased to enable me, feelingly, to talk of my dearest Saviour's love, and I afterwards found that one stranger in particular, was in all probability effectually convinced by that morning's sermon. After public worship, I went, at his excellency's invitation, and dined with the governor. Most of the ministers of the town were invited with me. Before dinner, the governor sent for me up into his chamber; he wept, wished me good luck in the name of the Lord, and recommended himself, ministers, and people, to my prayers.

Friday, Sept. 26. Preached in the morning at Roxbury from a little ascent to many thousand people, with much of the divine presence amongst us. Several, I think, came afterwards to me, telling how they were struck at that time under the word. Sept. 27. Preached in the morning at Mr Welstead's meeting-house, and in the afternoon on the common to about fifteen thousand people. But oh how did the word run! After sermon, I visited and prayed with two different persons, and then went home to my lodgings. The power and presence of the Lord accompanied and followed me. Many now wept bitterly, and cried out under the word like persons that were really hungering and thirsting after righteousness; and after I left them, God gave me to wrestle with him in my chamber, in behalf of some dear friends then present, and others that were absent from us. Sept. 28. In the evening preached to a great number of Negroes on the conversion of the Ethiopian, Acts viii. (at which the poor creatures, as well as many white people, were much affected) and, at my return, gave a word of exhortation to a crowd of people, who were waiting at my lodgings. My animal spirits were almost exhausted, and my legs, through expense of sweating and vomiting, almost ready to sink under me: but the Lord visited my soul; and I went to bed greatly refreshed with divine consolations. Sept. 29. Rode to Salem, four miles from Marble-Head, and preached there also to about two thousand. Here the Lord manifested forth his glory. One was, I believe, struck down by the power of the word. In every part of the congregation, persons might be seen under great concern; and one Mr C——k, a good minister, as is granted by all lovers of God, seemed to be almost in heaven.

Portsmouth, Oct. 1. Preached to a polite auditory, and so very unconcerned, that I began to question whether I had been preaching to rational or brute creatures. Seeing no immediate effects of the word preached, I was a little dejected; but God sent one young man to me, crying out in great anguish of spirit, "What shall I do to be saved?" Friday, Oct. 3. Preached this morning at Portsmouth to a

far greater congregation than before. Instead of preaching to dead stocks, I had now reason to believe I was preaching to living men. People began to melt soon after I began to pray, and the power increased more and more during the whole sermon. The word seemed to pierce through and through, and carried such conviction along with it, that many, who before had industriously spoken evil of me, were ashamed of themselves. Mr Shutlif, the minister, afterwards wrote thus: "You have left great numbers under deep impressions, and I trust in God, they will not wear off; but that the convictions of some will be kept up and cherished, till they have had their desired effect." Amen and Amen.

Boston, Oct. 8. Preached in Mr Webb's meeting-house, both morning and evening, to very great auditories. Both times (especially in the morning) Jesus Christ manifested forth his glory. Many hearts melted within them, and I think I never was so drawn out to pray for and invite little children to Jesus Christ as I was this morning. A little before, I had heard of a child, who was taken sick just after it had heard me preach, and said, "He would go to Mr Whitefield's God," and died in a short time. This encouraged me to speak to little ones. But, oh how were the old people affected, when I said, "Little children, if your parents will not come to Christ, do you come and go to heaven without them." There seemed to be but few dry eyes. Look where I would, the word smote them, I believe, through and through, and my own soul was very much carried out.

October, 9. A ticket was put up to me, wherein I was desired to pray "for a person just entered upon the ministry; but under apprehensions that he was not converted." God enabled me to pray for him with my whole heart. Oct. 10. Busied from the moment I rose until I went out, in answering poor souls that came to me under great distress. About nine went to Mr Cooper over Charlestown ferry where I preached. Immediately after dinner we hasted to Redding twelve miles from Charlestown; there I preached to many thousands, and observed a considerable moving in the congregation. Returned and supped at Mr R——l's. Was weak, very weak in the body. But was refreshed to hear of a poor girl, who was found sitting at the gate in the cold. Upon being examined by a truly experienced friend, he found she was under very strong convictions, and had followed me from Roxbury. She said, "She wanted nothing but Christ, and Christ she would have." "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." Lord, let this promise be fulfilled in her heart!

October 11. One little girl, about eight years old, came to me under deep concern. She, as her friends told, had been wrestling for Christ, and while she was wrestling, it came to her mind, "That Jesus being in an agony, prayed yet so much and more earnestly, and that an angel was sent from heaven to strengthen him." This encouraged her to persevere, and her soul soon received some comfort. Another minister's daughter has been quite restless after Christ night and day. And a young man about fourteen came to me crying and saying, "Sir, I am convicted, but not converted; Oh pray for me!"

New Haven, Oct. 25. Was refreshed this morning by the sight of Mr Jedediah Milk, a dear man of God, minister at Ripton near Stratford. He wrote to me some time ago. I felt his letter, and

now also felt the man. My soul was much united to him. He has had a remarkable work in his parish some time ago, and talked like one that was no novice in divine things. With him I dined at the Rev. Mr C——'s, rector of New Haven college, about one third part as big as that of Cambridge. It has one rector, three tutors, and about an hundred students. I preached twice to the consolation of God's people, many of which, I have heard, live at New Haven, and the countries round about. There were sweet meltings discernible both times. I spoke to the students, and shewed the dreadful ill consequences of an unconverted ministry. Dear Mr Mills, when he took his leave, told me of one minister in particular who had been wrought upon before, but now was gone home as full as he could hold. "Oh that God may quicken ministers! Oh that the Lord may make them a flaming fire! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." Amen and Amen.

Sunday, Oct. 26. Preached both morning and evening to much larger congregations than before, and in the afternoon observed an especial presence of God in the assembly. After sermon I waited on the governor: I observed him to be much affected under the word. When I came in, he said, "I am glad, Sir, to see you, and heartily glad to hear you." His heart was so full that he could not speak much. The tears trickled down his aged cheeks like drops of rain. "He was thankful to God," he said, "for such refreshings in our way to our rest. Food does us good, when we eat it with an appetite." "The Lord support him, when his strength faileth him, and bring his grey hairs with comfort to the grave." About eight at night, we left New Haven; and, after we had rode three miles, we arrived at a house, which, as a faithful minister told me before, was full of God. And my friends said, at departing, they were never in such a house before. Oh, it was a sweet time indeed! God made his power to be felt and known. After I had given a word of exhortation, that they would study to adorn the gospel of our Lord in all things, we went forward on our journey.

Stanford, Oct. 29. Finding my heart much enlarged, I prayed. Most in the room were put under concern, and one old minister was so deeply convicted, that calling Mr Noble and me out, with great difficulty, (because of his weeping) he desired our prayers: "For, says he, I have been a scholar, and have preached the doctrines of grace a long time; but I believe I have never felt the power of them in my own soul;" or words to that effect. I was much affected with his ingenuity, and by prayer recommended him to God.

Here I think it proper to set up my Ebenezer, before I enter into the province of New York, to give God thanks for sending me to New England. I have now had an opportunity of seeing the greatest and most populous parts of it; and, take it all together, it certainly, on many accounts, exceeds all other provinces in America: and, for the establishment of religion, perhaps all other parts of the world. God has remarkably, in sundry times, and in divers manners, poured out of his Spirit in several parts of both provinces; and it often refreshed my soul to hear of the faith of their good forefathers, who first settled in these parts. Notwithstanding they had their foibles, surely they were a set of righteous men. They followed our Lord's rule—"sought first the kingdom of God and his righteous-

ness, and behold all other things God added unto them."

Tuesday, Nov. 4. Preached at Staten-Island to about three or four hundred people. The Lord came amongst them. One dear young man, in particular, as though his very heart-strings would break, came to me after sermon, with strong cryings, and tears, beseeching me, "to pray that he might be converted." Many others wept also, and several of God's children felt the presence of the dear Lord Jesus in their hearts. Many of them rejoiced to see me again. One grey-headed man came and told me how God had brought him from darkness to light, when I was here last. My soul was also much refreshed with the sight of dear Mr Gilbert Tennent and Mr Cross. Mr Tennent has been in the West Jerseys, and Maryland, and told me how God had remarkably worked by his ministry in many places. Mr Cross also has seen great and wonderful things in his congregations, so great, that when I came to desire a particular account, he said, "It directly answered the account given by Mr Edwards, of the work of God in Northampton." Rode after sermon to Newark, about ten miles from Staten Island. Preached to a considerable congregation. Spent the remaining evening in hearing dear Mr Tennent give an account of his late excursion. Oh, he is a choice humble minister of the gospel! "May I follow him, as he does Christ."

Wednesday, Oct. 5. Got to Baakinsridge, the place where Mr Cross exercises his stated ministry. At the house where I waited in the way, a woman spoke to me under strong convictions. In prayer I perceived my soul drawn up, and a stirring of affection among the people. I had not discoursed long when the congregation melted into tears. This abated for a few moments, till a little boy about seven or eight years old cried out exceeding piteously indeed, and wept as though his little heart would break. Mr Cross having compassion on him, took him up into a waggon, which so affected me that I broke from my discourse, and told the people, "The little boy should preach to them, and that God, since old professors were not concerned, had displayed his sovereignty, and out of an infant's mouth was perfecting praise." God so blessed this that an universal concern fell on the congregation again. At length I concluded, as I was going away, I asked the little boy, "What he cried for?" He answered, "His sins." I then asked, "What he wanted?" He answered, "Christ." As I passed along, fresh instances of God's power presented themselves to my view. Many mourning after Jesus that would not be comforted. After sermon, Mr Cross gave notice of an evening lecture in his barn, about two miles off. Thither we went, and a great multitude followed. Mr Tennent preached first, and that excellently well upon the necessity and benefit of spiritual desertions. I then prayed and gave a word of exhortation. The Lord's presence attended it. One could scarce sustain the discovery that Jesus Christ made of himself to his soul. Others were so earnest for a discovery of the Lord to their souls, that their eager crying obliged me to stop, and I prayed over them as I saw their agonies and distress increase. At length we sung a hymn, and then retired to the house, where the man that received Christ continued till near midnight, talking of and praising, "his sweet Christ, his free-hearted Christ," &c. A gracious woman who had been wrestling with God for a display of his

power, was so overcome with a sense of his goodness that she almost swooned away. And at length my soul was so full that I retired, and wept before the Lord, under a deep sense of my vileness, and the sovereignty and greatness of God's everlasting love. Most of the people spent the remainder of the night in prayer and praises. Two or three young ministers spoke alternately, and others prayed as the Lord gave them utterance. It was a night much to be remembered! "May the Lord make us mindful of it to the day of our death."

Friday, Nov. 7. Had some thoughts of going to Freehold and Shrewsbury, but was prevented by the coming of Mr William Tennent, whom I wanted to consult about his brother Gilbert's going to Boston, in order to help in carrying on the work of God in New England. After prayer and some arguments *pro* and *con*, we thought it the will of God that Mr Gilbert Tennent should go to Boston. He (diffident of himself) was first unwilling, urging his inability for so great a work, but afterwards being convinced that it was the divine will, he said, "The will of the Lord be done." With him also Mr R——s was to go, a young minister, one of the tutors of Cambridge college. It being the last time we should be together for a long season, we thought it best to spend some time in prayer. Mr Gilbert Tennent was our mouth to God. Many were greatly effected. About 11 o'clock we parted in tears, but with a full assurance that we should see and hear of great things before we saw each other again.

Philadelphia, Nov. 9. Had several gracious souls come to see me.—We prayed together. My soul was much rejoiced to look round on them, because there were some who had been most marvellous offenders against the great God. I shall mention two only. And the first is one. "Mr Brockden, for many years a notorious deist. In his younger days, he told me, he had some religious impressions, but coming into business, the cares of the world so choked the good seed, that he not only forgot his God in some degree, but at length began to doubt of, and dispute his very being. In this state he continued many years, and has been very zealous to propagate his deistical or rather atheistical principles among moral men; but he told me he never endeavoured to make proselytes of vicious, debauched people. When I came to Philadelphia this time twelvemonth, he told me, he had not so much as a curiosity to hear me. But a brother deist, his choicest friend, pressing him to come and hear me, to satisfy his curiosity, he at length complied with his request. It was night. I preached at the court-house stairs, upon the conference which our Lord had with Nicodemus. I had not spoke much before that God struck his heart. For, said he, I saw your doctrine tended to make people good. His family knew nothing that he had been to hear me. After he came home, his wife, who had been at sermon, came in also, and wished heartily that he had heard me. He said nothing. After this, another of his family came in repeating the same wish: and, if I mistake not, after that another, till at last, being unable to refrain any longer, with tears in his eyes, why, says he, I have been hearing him; and then expressed his approbation. Ever since he has followed on to know the Lord, and I verily believe Jesus Christ has made himself manifest to his soul. Though upwards of three-score years old, he is now, I believe, born again of

God. He is a little child, and often (as he told me) receives such communications from God, when he retires into the woods, that he thinks he could die a martyr for the truth." The next is one Capt. H——l, formerly as great a reprobate as ever I heard of: almost a scandal and reproach to human nature. He used to swear to ease his stomach, and was so fond of new oaths that he used to go on board the transport ships, and offer a guinea for a new oath, that he might have the honour of coining it. It would be endless to give instances of his vile profaneness. To the honour of God's grace let it be said, he is now, I believe, a Christian. Not only reformed, but renewed. The effectual stroke, he told me, was given, when I preached last Spring at Penny-pack, though under good impressions before. Ever since he has been zealous for the truth, and shews forth his faith by his works.

Nov. 16. Have seen many instances of God's grace this week. My chief business was now to build up and to exhort them to continue in the grace of God. Notwithstanding many were convicted almost every day, and came unto me under the greatest distress and anguish of soul. Several societies are now in town, not only of men and women, but of little boys and little girls.—I was called to visit one Mrs D., then lying on a sick-bed, brought home to God when I was at Philadelphia last Spring. My soul was much enlarged to hear a creature talk with such assurance just upon the brink of eternity. Her husband and other friends stood weeping by. "Oh that this sickness may be a means under God of saving her relations' precious immortal souls!" After my departure, she bid one of my friends tell me, "That she fed and lived upon the doctrine which I had preached."

It is now the 75th day since I arrived at Rhode-Island.—My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its strength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, an hundred and seventy-five times in public, besides exhorting very frequently in private. I have travelled upwards of eight hundred miles. Never did I perform my journeys with so little fatigue, or see such a continuance of the Divine presence in the congregations to whom I have preached. May the Lord prepare me for everything he has appointed for me to do and suffer, and then I need not fear being more than conqueror through his love.

December 29. In the evening, I preached at Savannah, and took my final leave of the people, it being inconsistent with my other affairs to act as pastor any more. Another minister is not yet come, but is expected daily. I gave the trustees notice, January last, of my design to give up the parsonage. Blessed be God, I am now more free to go whithersoever the Lord shall be pleased to call me. I yet hope well of Georgia, though, at present, in a very declining and piteous state. It will flourish, I believe, when settled upon a religious foundation. Glory be to God, I leave behind me some who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

January 15, 1741. Received several comfortable letters from my dear friends at Boston; amongst whom, Secretary Willard writes thus:—"Mr Webb tells me, that divers young men in this town, who are candidates for the ministry, have been brought under deep convictions by your preaching, and (as he hopes) are carried off from the foundation of their false hopes (their own righteousness) to rest only

upon Christ for salvation." Mr Cooper writes thus: "I can inform you that there are many abiding proofs that you did not run in vain, and labour in vain amongst us in this place. I could much more than fill this paper with the accounts I have received from the persons who have been impressed under the Word preached by you. But I can only now say, in general, some have been awakened who were before quite secure, and, I hope, a good work begun in them. Others who had been under religious impressions, are now more earnestly pressing into the kingdom of heaven, and many of the children of God stirred up to give diligence for the full assurance of faith. There is a greater flocking to all the lectures in the town, and the people show such a disposition to the new Tuesday evening lecture, that our large capacious house cannot receive all that come." Mr Welch, a pious merchant, writes thus: "I fear I am tedious, but I cannot break off until I just mention, to the glory of the grace of God, and for your comfort and encouragement, the success your ministry of late has had amongst us. Impressions made seem to be abiding on the minds of many. The doctrines of grace seem to be more the topic of conversation than ever I knew them. Nay, religious conversation seems to be almost fashionable, and almost every one seems disposed to hear or speak of the things of God. Multitudes flock to the evening lecture, though it has sometime been the worst of weather. Ministers seem to preach with more life, and the great auditories seem to hear with solemn attention, and, I hope, our Lord Jesus is getting to himself the victory over the hearts of many sinners." Others write to the same effect, All love, all glory be to God.

For this let men revile my name,
No cross I shun, I fear no shame;
All hail reproach! and welcome pain!
Only thy terrors, Lord, restrain.

From a Letter from G— T— to Mr Whitefield.—Glasgow Weekly History, No. 3.

New Brunswick, Dec. 1, 1739.—"Very R. and D. B. I think I never found such a strong and passionate affection to any stranger as to you, when I saw your courage and labour for God at New York: I found a willingness in my heart to die with you, or to die for you.—The reason why I spoke so little for the most part of the time while I was with you, was a shameful sense I had of my ignorance and barrenness, after such a multitude of waterings and sealings as God had given me. Though I am a brute beast before God, one of the meanest and vilest worms that ever crawled on the creation of God, yet I must say to his praise, and my own shame, that I have had in time past such discoveries of my great Father's dear affection as have overcome me. For months together, my soul has been so ravished with divine objects, that my animal spirits have been wasted, and my sleep much broken. I have been made to loath my food because of the superior sweetness I have found in Christ. I could not refrain my soul from a secret longing for reproach, poverty, imprisonment, and death for a glorious Christ, that thereby I might testify a grateful regard to his unspeakably dear and very venerable Majesty. I could not refrain wishing that every hair of my head was a life, that I might lay it down freely for my sweet Lord Jesus. The fears of bringing any reproach on his religion has many times

brought bitter tears from my eyes and my heart. Sometimes, when travelling on the road, while I beheld the canopy of heaven, my heart has been suddenly ravished with love to God as my Father, so that I could not forbear crying out in the pleasing transports of a child-like affection, Father! Father! with a full and sweet assurance that he was my Father and my God.—In the night season, when I awoke, my soul was still with God: the passion of my soul for Christ was so vehement, that my dreams were full of him. It made my rest very broken, and caused me often to speak through my sleep. And thus it was for a long tract of time. But alas, when the great God wisely withdrew his quickening presence, and let Satan loose upon me, O what terrible havoc did he make in my soul, and that alas, too much with my will. I thought myself a monster in iniquity, and that there was some peculiar brutishness in my heart, that none had but myself.—This made me often wish for death to get clear of it. This hath often enraged my soul so against sin and myself for it, that I have thought, if it were lawful, I could freely try to pluck my heart out, and tear it in pieces.

Since you was here, I have been among my people dealing with them plainly about their souls' state in their houses; examining them one by one as to their experiences, and telling natural people the danger of their state; and exhorting them that were totally secure, to seek convictions; and those that were convinced, to seek Jesus; and reproved pious people for their faults; and blessed be God, I have seen hopeful appearances of concern amongst a pretty many in the places I belong to, &c.—G— T—.

From a Letter from Mr Gilbert Tennent to Mr Whitefield.—Glasgow Weekly History, No. 1.

New York, April 25, 1741.—"Very D. B. In my return homewards, I have been preaching daily, ordinarily three times a-day, and sometimes oftener (a few days in the aforesaid space excepted) and through pure grace I have met with success much exceeding my expectations. In the town of Boston there were many hundreds, if not thousands, as some have judged, under soul concern. When I left that place, many children were deeply affected about their souls, and several had received consolation. Some aged persons in church communion, and some open opposers were convinced: divers of the young and middle-aged were converted; and several Negroes were hopefully converted. The concern was rather more general at Charles-Town; multitudes were awakened, and several had received great consolation, especially among the young people, children, and negroes. At Cambridge also in the college and town, the shaking among the dry bones was general; and several of the students have received consolation. In these places, I found several fruits of your ministry. In Ipswich, there was a general concern among the inhabitants, so in this place, also, I saw some of the fruits of your labours. There were also several awakened in Portsmouth, in Greenland, in Ipswich, Hamlet, Marble-Head, Chelsea, Malden, Hampton, New-Town, Rosebury, Plymouth, Bristol, Providence, Stoning-Town, Geat-town, New-London, Lime, Guilford, New-Haven, Milford, Stratford, New-Port. The concern at

New-Port was very considerable. Divers Quakers and children came to me, in distress about their souls, with others. At New-Haven, the concern was general both in the college and town;—about thirty students came on foot ten miles to hear the Word of God. And at Milford the concern was general. I believe, by a moderate computation, that divers thousands have been awakened, glory to God on high! I have had good information this journey, that God has blessed my poor labours on Long-Island in my pass to New-England. I thank you, Sir, that you did excite me to this journey. There have been several children in several other places beside these mentioned, who, after distress, have received comfort. The work of God spreads more and more. My brother William has had remarkable success this winter at Burlington. I hear that there are several religious societies formed there. Mr John Cross has had remarkable success at Staten Island, and many, I hear, have been awakened by the labours of Mr Robinson in divers places of the York Government. Mr Mills has had remarkable success in Connecticut, particularly at New-Haven. And I hear that Mr Blair has had remarkable success in Pennsylvania. Mr Noble and family are well. The Lord bless you, dear brother. I add no more, but love and remain yours,

G. TENNENT.

P.S.—From Horseneck to York beyond Boston, there is in most places a greater or less degree of soul-concern.

From a Letter from Dr JOHN NICHOLS, Physician in New York to NICHOLAS SPENCE, Agent for the Church of Scotland.—Glasgow Weekly History, No. 12.

May 20th, 1741.—“I received yours of the 23d January last, and sent your letter for Mr William Tennent; he has been a very useful man in training up of youth for the holy ministry: he hath had four sons ministers, but one of them is dead; Gilbert, William, and Charles are yet alive, all of them Gospel-preachers, and the labours of them blessed with abundant success. My dear friend, you desire to know the state of religion in this country; and I have good news to tell you—Our Lord Jesus is triumphantly getting himself the victory, the kingdom of Satan falling as lightning to the ground before him, many made to cry out, “What shall we do to be saved?” And that in many places and corners of this country from Boston to Philadelphia; yea, whole colleges under convictions! and many savingly converted, especially the youth at the college of New-Haven, in the colony of Connecticut, young children of six, eight, or ten years of age concerned about their salvation, and inviting one another to come to Christ! Our minister (Mr Pemberton, minister at New York) having been lately sent for to Connecticut College, upon the account of the many distressed and exercised people there, in his going and coming, preached twice a-day at different places, told me, that several little children followed him to his lodging, weeping and anxiously concerned about the salvation of their souls. O the power of Divine Grace! There seems to be an unusual effusion of the Spirit in many places, especially among the young generation, and blessed be the Lord, we in this sinful city, particularly in our congregation, are not without the visible effects thereof; many having

been, within these four or five months, under strong convictions, and not a few, we have great hope, savingly converted to the Lord Jesus Christ. O dear Redeemer, go on conquering and to conquer!

Dear Sir,—You may think these things strange, and indeed so they are, but no stranger than true; I have been an eye-witness to some of them, and, to the praise of FREE GRACE, have experienced them in my own family particularly. The Rev. Mr Whitefield was made the blessed instrument of sowing the seed in these parts¹, and the good Lord hath in his mercy stirred up, and spirited seven more ministers to water it, viz., Messrs Gilbert and William Tennent, Mr Pemberton, Mr Burr, Mr Mills, Mr Leonard, and Mr Davenport, and some others. But alas, Satan is using his utmost endeavours to drive some of them, to extremes, which I am afraid will do hurt, and hinder the success of the Gospel, by being a stumbling block to a carnal world: however it is visible and certain, the Spirit of God is at work with many in divers places of this country. There seems to be great, and I hope glorious, things likely to be brought to pass in our day: the good Lord hasten them and grant that the saving knowledge of himself may “cover the whole earth as the waters cover the sea.”

SECTION III.

A HINT OF THE LABOURS AND SUCCESS OF SEVERAL IN WALES.
—AND OF THE STATE OF RELIGION THERE IN 1742.

From two Letters from Mr HOWEL HARRIS to Mr WHITEFIELD.—Glasgow Weekly History, No. 44.

LONDON, Oct. 12th, 1742.—“Last night I heard from brother B——, and glorious news from brother Rowland, of the Lord's being wonderfully with him, and brother Howel Davies (Mr Griffith Jones' curate) and Mr Thomas Lewis, a curate near Brecon.—They are wounded by scores under the two former, and the Lord is amazingly with the latter, and with Mr Williams, curate of Lanwithid, and with Mr Thomas Sweetly, curate of Mr Hodges of Weins in Glamorganshire. He administers the sacrament every Sunday.—Mr Powell of Blenegwent is much blessed too, and grows sweetly —.”

October 15th, 1742.—“My dear Brother, I am very weak in my body, but so supported in my inward man, that I am carried through the whole work here, to visit the lambs at Deptford Tuesday evening, and Wednesday morning; and we have had sweet seasons there in public and private. I hope the whole flock moves on sweetly, and is more and more delivered from self and unbelief, and grows more and more humble, loving and teachable; and I trust our dear Lord has enabled me to search them, and deal tenderly with them; and whenever rash, dry, rough me, am helped to this, it must bring glory to him, for all must say, “This is thy doing, O Lord.” On our letter day, last Monday, the Lord was indeed powerfully there like a flame filling us with zeal and fire. I have since heard most glorious news from Wales of the success attending brother Rowland and many others.—They are wounded by scores, and flock under the word by thousands. There is

¹ How much the Lord was pleased to bless the labours of Messrs Whitefield, Tennent, &c. in America, will appear farther in the next chapter.

another clergyman coming out sweetly, and united to us. There are now in Wales ten clergymen, who are wonderfully owned of the Lord Jesus Christ; five beneficed, and the other five settled in curacies. There is another young curate in Carmarthenshire, not far from Mr Griffith Jones, under strong drawings and convictions."

From a Letter to Mr M'C ——— from a dissenting Minister in Wales, relating to the State of Religion there. Glasgow Weekly History, No. 48.

Oct 26th, 1742.—"R. D. B. I shall give you some account of religion in the principality of Wales, both North and South. To begin with North Wales.

In the isle of Anglesea there are no Dissenters; and it is the only county in England or Wales that wants one. In Carnarvonshire there is one congregation of Dissenters, who are a very devout and zealous people, as perhaps any in the kingdom: and three lecture places, all of them on that promontory, or narrow neck of land that stretches out into the sea, and is the best inhabited part of the county. The minister is Mr John Thomas, a humble, meek, serious man, and preaches well. Mr Howel Harris, and some Methodists, together with Jenkyn Morgan, the schoolmaster, have been made instrumental to awaken and convert many in these parts, but were grievously persecuted; and they have even broke the meeting-house, and committed strange outrages; the devil, their master, being wonderfully nettled, at his losing so many souls. In Denbighshire are three congregations of Dissenters, viz., a small one in Denbigh town, and two in Waxham. And I might add one in Oswestry, which, though in Shropshire ground; the people are Welsh and border on Denbighshire. In Flintshire is a small one. In Merionethshire, there is but one, not far from Bala-town. Their minister is Mr Lewis Rees, a very godly man, exceeding well gifted in prayer, and also frequent in it. He preaches in two places in this county, though he lives in Montgomeryshire. In Montgomeryshire there are five congregations, two of which were lately gathered by that excellent minister of Christ, the above-mentioned Mr Lewis Rees, who preaches in five places in this county, and in two places in Merionethshire, between twenty and thirty miles from his habitation. There are some very devout people belonging to Mr Rees in this county; as also some in Merionethshire.—So far as to North Wales.

In South Wales.—In Radnorshire there are six congregations of Dissenters, eight if we reckon the Baptists. One of our six congregations there was gathered lately, partly by the labours of the Methodists, and partly through the zeal of a gentlewoman, a Dissenter, who built a new Meeting-House. In this county lived the Rev. Mr Vavasor Griffith, the master of the Welsh Academy, who died lately. He was in every respect the greatest and most excellent man that ever I saw in my life; nor is it in my power to hope that I shall ever see the like again on this side glory. Most of the congregations in this county are but small. In Cardiganshire are nine congregations of Dissenters, and one of the Anabaptist persuasion. Most of the congregations here are large ones. Here were lately two eminent clergymen, Mr David Jenkyns,

a young man lately dead, and Mr Daniel Rowland, who had at this church sometimes ago above 2000 communicants. Almost all the lower part of the county is become religious, since Mr Howel Harris and the Methodists laboured there. Among the Dissenting Ministers, Mr Philip Pugh is the most noted, both for his uncommon piety, diligence, and success: he hath about 500 communicants, and preaches in five or six places. And besides the above-mentioned congregations, the Dissenters and Methodists have several lecture-places. Pembroke-shire hath been lately mightily roused up, and abundance of people convinced, reformed, and converted, by means of the exhortations of Mr Howel Harris, and other Methodist exhorters: and, contrary to Cardiganshire, it is the upper part of Pembroke-shire that hath been roused and reformed, and that almost universally to a concern about religion. Certainly a very great work has been done there. Among the clergy Mr David Jones, and Mr Howel Davies are very eminent, especially the latter, who is a mighty Boanerges, and very industrious in preaching both in churches, houses, and fields. There are in this county six congregations of Dissenters, some of them not small; and three Anabaptist ones, one of which is large. In Carmarthenshire there are near a score of our non-conforming congregations (and two of Anabaptist) some of which are large. Besides, they have many other lecture-places spread almost over all the county. Among the ministers noted are, Mr James Lewis, Mr John Harris, Mr Owen Rees, and Mr Henry Palmer, an Apollos in the Scriptures, and very pious. Among the clergy is the famous Mr Griffith Jones, one of the most excellent preachers in Great Britain, for piety, good sense, diligence, moderation, zeal, a mighty utterance, the like whereof I never heard: he is so Catholic spirited, and charitable, that he allows his communicants to communicate with Dissenters, and they with him. He hath set up moveable Welsh free schools in every county in South Wales, and in some counties in North Wales, to teach the poorer sort to read Welsh, and hath thereby done unspeakable good. In Brecknockshire there are eight congregations of our Dissenters, two of which I have had the favour, upon the late reformation, to gather and set up, and are yet chiefly under my care. Besides this, there are two or three Anabaptist congregations, and about twenty societies of Methodists, who were reckoned to be converted, and were set up by the labours of Mr Howel Harris, who was born and lives in this county. Among the clergy, Mr William Williams and Mr Thomas Lewis are notable, as is also Mr. Pewry Baillie: and among the Dissenters, Mr William Williams, Mr John Watkins, and Mr John Davies. The Dissenters have above twenty different places in this county to preach in: and there are in it some notable good Christians. In Glamorganshire there are near twenty congregations of our Dissenters, and three of Anabaptist, and several societies of Methodists. Among the Dissenting ministers, the most noted are Mr James Davies of Merthyr, noted both for his industry and his gifts in preaching and prayer, especially as to the latter, and his congregation is large: Mr Lewis Jones for his seriousness, popularity, and an excellent utterance, even much resembling Mr Griffith Jones: and Mr Henry Davies for devoutness and affectionate piety.—And so far as to South Wales.

In Monmouthshire, which is the county I was born and live in, we have seven congregations, and about twenty places to preach in; and six Anabaptist congregations: and most of these meetings are in the western side of the county. Here are also several societies of Methodists, who cleave to the Church of England; among whom are some very pious and devout souls. Among the clergy are Mr John Powel and Mr Thomas Jones, especially the latter. Besides this, there is a congregation in the Welch part of Herefordshire, whose minister is Mr William Jenkins. I remain, dear and reverend Sir, yours, &c.

CHAPTER V.

OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY REVIVAL IN THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA, WHICH BEGAN CHIEFLY IN THE END OF THE YEAR 1739,—AND CONTINUED FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS,—SPREADING AND INCREASING GREATLY IN VARIOUS PLACES.

SECTION I.

OF THE REVIVAL IN THE TOWNS OF HOPEWELL, AMWELL, &c., IN NEW JERSEY.—THE ATTENTION OF THE HEARERS IN GENERAL AWAKENED.—THE PEOPLE OF GOD ENLIVENED.—CONCERN UNDER A SERMON MAY 1739.—VISITING AND PRIVATE EXAMINATION BLESSED TO SEVERALS.—REMARKABLE SEASONS OF DIVINE INFLUENCE.—THE NATURE OF THE WORK, AND GOOD FRUITS OF IT.

From a letter from Mr ROWLAND, Minister at Hopewell, to Mr PRINCE, Minister at Boston, printed at Philadelphia, 1745.

REVEREND SIR,—In answer to yours, &c.—I was sent forth to preach the Gospel of Christ by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, on September 7th, 1738, on which day the congregation of Maidenhead and Hopewell put in a supplication for me to the Presbytery; and accordingly I complied therewith. In process of time we had the privilege of Maidenhead meeting-house, and my people built a meeting-house in Hopewell; but, before this, we were constrained to keep our meetings in barns in both towns; and though we thus appeared as poor despised creatures, yet the congregation that attended my ministry was so numerous, that the largest barns among us were chosen to worship God in. It was some discouragement to me at first, that I, and my people, had no better places for divine worship; but at that time I thought on these things which proved of some support to me, viz., that our Lord and Saviour was born in a mean place, and likewise preached in the ship, and on the mountain, as well as in the synagogues, and that it had been the frequent lot of his people to bethake themselves to worship him in places attended with many inconveniences. There is another town lying contiguous to Hopewell, which is called Amwell; the people there were something numerous likewise; and having none to labour among them in the word, they petitioned for a part of my time, viz., one Sabbath in three; and it was granted unto them; so that my labours among these three towns, for the most part of the time that I lived in the Jerseys, were equally divided. There was a small number in Hopewell and Maidenhead

truly acquainted with vital religion, as far as I could judge, before I came among them, and they seemed so earnest in prayer, night and day, to have the gospel in power among them, as if they would take no denial. But of them who became my congregation in Amwell, there were but very few that knew the Lord Jesus when I came among them; yet, in many ways, they were a very agreeable people; so that I was much encouraged to labour among them.

The subjects which I chiefly insisted on for about six months, were conviction and conversion; and usually I made choice of the most rousing and awakening texts, to set forth the nature of these doctrines; and I have reason to hope, that the Lord began to accompany his word in a measure from the very first. Some began to be convinced that they were in the way to misery, and unacquainted with the way to the kingdom of heaven. But then let it be observed, that but one or two were taken with convictions at a time, or under one sermon; for many months together¹ their convictions were still increased, and the number of the convinced was still multiplied. I commonly preached in the night as well as in the day, and frequently on week-days also; so that they had hardly any opportunity to cast their convictions out of their thoughts, the Lord continuing to co-operate with his word. The frequent opportunities which I took to examine them were made very beneficial, through the divine blessing, to preserve their convictions alive until the time of grace, of which I shall speak afterwards. The attention of all in general was awakened; fathers, mothers, and the youth: some Negroes also seemed very earnest after the word, and were convinced thereby of their sin and misery, and that Christ they must have, or perish for ever.

The people of God were much enlivened to see poor sinners convinced of the perishing nature of their state, and their absolute need of Christ: their supplications to God were mostly bent for the conversion of sinners, and their conversation, whenever they met together, (as far as I observed it, and frequent opportunities I had to observe it) savoured exceedingly of the things of God; so that I cannot say that I ever saw those pious people given to worldliness in their conversation, or to lightness and vanity in their discourses. Great was the love they bore to one another, and sweet was the peace which subsisted among themselves; so that I was not interrupted from my work in making up differences among them.

In the month of May 1739, I began to think that the most inviting and encouraging subjects would be the most agreeable to convinced souls; and accordingly I began with these words, John xi. 28, 29. "The Master is come, and calleth for thee. As soon as she heard that, she arose quickly and came unto him." The discourse upon this subject was brought home, through the divine influence, upon the souls of many. Solemn weeping, and deep concern, appeared through the congregation: I had hopes that the hearts of some had been knit close to Jesus our Lord, which afterwards appeared to be so; of which more hereafter. I was still encouraged to go on, in inviting convinced sinners to come and em-

¹ Let none suppose, that because I speak of convictions being still carried on, that I mean that sinners must be convinced to some high degree before they can be converted: I only mean, that this was the way which the Lord observed in carrying on his work, to keep sinners for a long time under conviction before he manifested his love to them.

brace the person and purchase of the dear Lord Jesus. Then I made choice of that word in Matth. xxii. 4. "And all things are ready : come unto the marriage." This was also blessed to poor convinced souls ; they were brought under a full persuasion that Jesus, the Son of God, was ready and willing to embrace them with his everlasting favour, and to pardon their sins and transgressions ; but then they found more of their own hardness, and had a clearer view of their own unwillingness to come unto the Lord Jesus Christ, which increased their mourning and sorrow, and made them press forward with more living earnestness in search after Jesus Christ. A variety of other engaging subjects I made use of for a considerable time, to press them to a full closure with Jesus Christ. At length, by frequent converse among them, and enquiring strictly into the nature of the views they had of Christ, and the outgoings of their souls after him, and their willingness to be ruled by Jesus Christ in their whole hearts and lives, I could not but be favourable in my thoughts of such, as persons favoured of the Lord.

I find, by reading what accounts I kept by me of the blessed work of grace which hath been in these towns, that there was much good done by visiting, by which means I found out many that had been touched of whom I had not well heard how it was with them, which gave me an opportunity to offer such things unto them, as might tend to fix these beginnings in their souls, and increase them. So likewise many were convinced of their lost state by nature. By particular examinations, I found likewise that private examination of persons, as to their state and condition, is an excellent means to lay them open to conviction under the public word : and thus were some convinced in these towns.

The divine influence of the Spirit of God was very evidently afforded with his word, though not in every opportunity, yet in several, until May 1740, in which time many more were added unto the Lord's people. Some of these opportunities, for clearness sake, I shall mention. One was in October 6th, 1739, in a night meeting ; but the people not having been warned with sufficient care, there met but about fifteen persons, eleven of whom were deeply convinced of their misery, and some of them cried out so very awfully, that I was constrained to conclude. After sermon I took an opportunity to enquire of those persons, what was the real cause of their crying out in such a manner ? Some of whom answered me, "That they saw hell opening before them, and themselves ready to fall into it." Others answered me, "That they were struck with such a sense of their sinfulness, that they were afraid the Lord would never have mercy on them." Another of these opportunities was on December 30th, 1739. As to myself I felt exceeding poor in the frame of my soul ; so that I thought I might well say, as in the words of the text I preached on that day, Isa. xl. 6. "What shall I cry." But the Lord was pleased to manifest his grace and power exceedingly through the whole service. The people of God were much enlarged in love, to see that whatever gracious word was sent with power into their hearts, was sent from God ; for the man knoweth not what to cry, without being guided by the word and spirit. Some hardened creatures, who thought not much of religion, as if there was no reality in it, were deeply convinced of the truth, reality, and beauty of religion. Others who knew

not well which way to walk, or what to choose, opposers I cannot call them, though they had not joined with our side ; such, I say, as far as I could judge the tree by the fruit, were also convinced and converted under that discourse ; many youths also were wrought upon ; so that I cannot say truly that any remained untouched. Some of these persons were pleased to tell me, "That they never would forget this day, in which God had been so gracious unto them." As to backsliders from convictions that were not converted, I shall afterwards speak of them. The night of the same day, being spent in public worship, (viz. the first part thereof) was attended with the same divine influence. Another of these opportunities was in April 6th, 1740, in Maidenhead. The subject that was insisted on was the GOSPEL-NET, from Matth. xiii. Many who were not acquainted with the spiritual nature of the gospel in the least degree, as far as I found, were greatly bowed down, and brought to own that it was the Lord's work which was carried on. The people, in general, through the whole assembly, seemed as if they were humbled before the Lord, which afterwards proved itself to be so. Without controversy, many of these slipped out of the net as fast as they could ; yet many, blessed be God, were held in it by Almighty power.

I come next to speak of the times of most remarkable power that I observed in these towns. It began in this way : there had been a week-day's meeting in Maidenhead on July 24, 1740. Worship seemed to be attended with much warmth of affection, which gave much encouragement to their minister again ; for lukewarmness at this time had prevailed very much among some of the people ; and the affections of some were much removed from others of their fellow members ; neither did they seem to have such a thirst for the Word of God as formerly. Things had come to this pass in about two months ; but how astonishing is it to consider what sweet methods the Lord observed to remove them ! for, as the people were passing homewards through the town after worship, some inclined to stop at one of the Christian houses ; and the stopping of some occasioned others to stop, till the number was about forty ; and when they were all sat in the house, that the time might be profitably spent, the first part of the fiftieth Psalm was sung, which seemed to be performed with unusual quickening. When singing was over, the same verses were explained at some length, and the Spirit of the Lord was pleased to work by it upon all that were present, as far as we could discern by the outward man, and much converse that was spent among them all in particular. In about an hour afterwards, the love of God's people that were present, was uncommonly inflamed to Jesus Christ, their views of his majesty and glory were much enlarged, their longings after him much stirred up, and their fear of him graciously increased ; their zeal for God's glory was kindled anew, and their concern for the cause of God seemed to receive much growth : and, as to the unconverted that were present, we could not find otherwise, but that they had received very clear discoveries of their undone state by nature. This was followed with the mighty power of God, in a sermon the next evening to a large congregation in the same town. And, in Amwell, July 27, and in Maidenhead again on August 3d, God was pleased to magnify his grace in visiting many poor sinners. In these opportunities he open-

ed their eyes to see themselves without Christ, and without hope in the world; their convictions were attended with great horror and trembling, and loud weeping, which I supposed could not be stopped so easily as some do imagine; for I observed that many did continue crying in the most doleful manner along the road, in their way home; and it was not in the power of man to prevail with them to refrain; for the word of the Lord remained like a fire upon their hearts. Furthermore, the Lord was pleased to add many more to my people, who used not to walk with them, who still continue in communion with them, of whom I hope it may be said, that they are growing in grace, and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ. The seed of the Word was dropped into the hearts of others, who bore not much regard to the doctrine of the new-birth which was preached among us, and did not spring up visibly until it was near three years after.

As to the issue of these convictions which I have last mentioned, I think it must be owned, that many of them were followed with a sound conversion, or else we must give up speaking anything as to any knowledge of grace in this life. Many backslided, and became stiff-necked again, though I must say that I have not seen such backslidings in these towns as I have seen in many others; the instances are but few in them in comparison with what I have seen in most other places that I have been acquainted with. One great means to prevent backsliding from convictions in Amwell was this: when the husband was taken, the wife was also taken, or when the wife was visited, the husband was also; so that they were ever stirring up each other. Many such instances are in the town of Amwell, upon which account that congregation appears to me peculiarly beautiful; and, as to Maidenhead and Hopewell, I believe that one great means that the Lord used there to prevent backsliding, was the care and diligence of some of the Christian people in conversing with the convinced; for several of the Christians were so engaged in deep concern for the work of God, that they could not rest satisfied until they had reason to hope, that the souls who were convinced from one time to another, were also come through to sound conversion.

Respecting the nature of this work which I have been speaking of, it will appear yet more distinct, by giving some account of their experiences. And, first, I would speak something more of their convictions: they can give a very distinct account of sin, both original and actual; their views of heart-corruption, their distance from God, and their having lived so long without him, were very clear and affecting; their hardness and unbelief, their ignorance and blindness pressed very close upon them; their need of Christ and his Spirit was such, in their apprehension, that there was no rest nor contentment to be taken in anything here below, until they did obtain an interest in Jesus Christ, and receive his Spirit to purify and sanctify their hearts. There are few among them, whose convictions were not attended with any considerable degree of horror; they were very watchful over themselves, lest they should receive false comfort, and so rest in ungrounded hopes; their hunger and thirst after Jesus Christ, his righteousness, and all his fulness, was very earnest, and their experience of it is very clear; therefore they wanted the Word preached often, and they would sit under it with great affection, waiting on

the Lord. Their views of the Lord Jesus in his person, nature, and offices, were very clear, and their acquaintance with the actings of their faith on him, together with the outgoing of their souls in love and affection towards him. They can give a satisfying account of those things according to the holy Scriptures. Their experience of a saving closure with Jesus Christ, and the sweet manifestations they had of him in that time of spiritual marriage, were very glorious, and their affections have been often stirred afresh towards Jesus Christ, in meditating on, and speaking of the day of their espousals. They are careful to maintain a holy communion with God in the general course of their lives. I have seen some of them in considerable agonies when they have been under the hidings of God's face; so that they could take no rest by any means, until the gracious Lord would be pleased to shine again upon them with the light of his countenance. They are properly diligent in the things of this life; yet they are ready to attend on the Word of God on any opportunity that offers to them on week-days.

They still continue zealous for God and his truth; their walk is steady in the ways of God, and not unconstant and uneven. And, that I may conclude with Hopewell and Maidenhead, I would say, that Jesus Christ has gathered for himself a blessed flock there; and, however they may be vilified and scorned by those who have their portion in this life, yet I hope no less, but that they are precious with God, and shall be satisfied with the pleasures of his right hand for evermore. Amen.

SECTION II.

OF THE REVIVAL AT NEWARK AND ELIZABETH-TOWN IN NEW JERSEY.—IT BEGAN AT NEWARK, AUGUST 1739.—BUT NOT AT ELIZABETH-TOWN TILL NEAR A YEAR AFTER.

From a Letter from Mr DICKINSON, Minister at Elizabeth-town, to Mr FOXCROFT, Minister at Boston, August 28, 1745, in PRINCE'S Christian History, No. 32.

In these towns religion was in a very low state; professors generally lifeless, and the body of our people careless, carnal and secure, till some time in August 1739 (the summer before Mr Whitefield came first into these parts), when there was a remarkable revival at Newark, especially among the rising generation: many of whom were now brought under convictions, and instead of frequenting vain company as usual, were flocking to their minister with that important inquiry, "What shall we do to be saved?" This concern increased for a considerable time among the young people (though not wholly confined to them) and in November, December, and January following, it became more remarkable, as well as more general.—There was an apparent reformation among the youth of the town: their customary tavern-haunting, frolicing, and other youthful extravagancies, were now laid aside, a new face of things appeared in the town: all occasions of religious conversation were improved with delight: a seriousness, solemnity, and devout attention appeared in their public assemblies; and a solemn concern about their eternal welfare was visible in the very countenances of many. This revival of religion was chiefly observable among the younger people, till the following March; when the whole town in general was brought under an un-

common concern about their eternal interests; and the congregation appeared universally affected under some sermons that were then preached to them; and there is good reason to conclude, that there was a considerable number who experienced a saving change about that time. The summer following, this awakening concern sensibly abated, though it did not wholly die away; and nothing remarkable occurred till February 1740-1, when they were again visited with the special and manifest effusions of the Spirit of God. A plain familiar sermon then preached, without any peculiar terror, fervour, or affectionate manner of address, was set home with power. Many were brought to see and feel that, till then, they had no more than a name to live; and professors in general were put upon serious and solemn inquiries into the foundation of their hope. There seemed to be very few in the whole congregation, but who felt more or less of the power of God at this happy season; though the greatest concern now appeared among the rising generation.—There is good reason to conclude, that there were a greater number now brought home to Christ than in the former gracious visitation. It was remarkable at this season, that, as sinners were generally under an awakening distressing sense of their guilt and danger; so the children of God were greatly refreshed and comforted; their souls were magnifying the Lord, and rejoicing in God their Saviour, while others in distressing agony were crying out, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?"

In the summer following, this religious concern sensibly decayed; though the sincere converts now held fast their profession without wavering; yet there were too many who had been under convictions, that grew careless and secure; and all endeavours proved ineffectual, to give new life to their former solicitude about their eternal welfare. What seemed greatly to contribute to this (now growing) security among these, was the pride, false and rash zeal, and censoriousness, which appeared among some few at this time, who made high pretences to religion. This opened the mouths of many against the whole work; and raised that opposition which was not before heard off; almost every body seeming to acknowledge the finger of God in these wonderful appearances, till this handle was given to their opposition. And the dreadful scandals of Mr C— which came to light about this time, proved a means to still further harden many in their declension and apostasy. That unhappy gentleman having made so high pretensions to extraordinary piety and zeal, his scandals gave the deeper wound to vital and experimental godliness. Thus, Sir, I have faithfully given you a narrative in some brief and general hints of the late revival of religion in Newark; and shall now proceed to give you a brief view of the like manifestation of the divine grace at Elizabeth-town.

The Rev. Mr Whitefield preached a sermon here the fall of the year 1739, to a numerous and attentive auditory; but I could observe no further influence upon our people by that address, than a general thoughtfulness about religion; and a promptitude to make the extraordinary zeal and diligence of that gentleman, the common and turning topic of their conversation. I do not know that there was any one person brought under conviction, or any new and special concern about their salvation, by that sermon; nor more than one by any endeavours that were used with them that fall, or the succeeding

winter. Though there was such a shaking among the dry bones so near to us, as is above represented, and we had continual accounts from Newark of the growing distress among their people, (their young people especially) our congregation remained yet secure and careless; and could not be awakened out of their sleep. You will easily conceive, that this must needs be an afflicting and discouraging consideration to me; that when from other places, we had the joyful news of so many flying to Christ as a cloud, and as doves to their windows, I had yet cause to complain, that I laboured in vain and spent my strength for nought. But notwithstanding all these discouraging appearances, I could not but entertain an uncommon concern, particularly for the young people of my charge, during that winter, and the ensuing spring; which not only animated my addresses to the throne of grace on their behalf, but my endeavours also, to excite in them, if possible, some affecting sense of their misery, danger, and necessity of a Saviour. To that end, there were frequent lectures appointed for the young people in particular; but without any visible success, until some time in June 1740, when we had a remarkable manifestation of the divine presence with us.

Having at that time invited the young people to hear a sermon, there was a numerous congregation convened, which consisted chiefly of our youth, though there were many others with them. I preached them a plain, practical sermon; without any special liveliness or vigour; for I was then in a remarkably dead and dull frame, till enlivened by a sudden and deep impression which visibly appeared upon the congregation in general.—There was no crying out, or falling down; (as elsewhere has happened) but the inward distress and concern of the audience discovered itself by their tears, and by an audible sobbing and sighing in almost all parts of the assembly. There appeared such tokens of a solemn and deep concern, as I never before saw in any congregation whatsoever. From this time, we heard no more of our young people's meeting together for frolics and extravagant diversions, as had been usual among them; but instead thereof, private meetings for religious exercises were by them set up in several parts of the town. All our opportunities of public worship, were carefully and constantly attended by our people in general: and a serious and solemn attention to the ministry of the word, was observable in their very countenances. Numbers were almost daily repairing to me for assistance in their eternal concerns. There were then probably more came to me in one day on that errand, than usually in half a year's space before¹. In a word, the face of the congregation was quite afraid; and religion became the common subject of conversation among a great part of the people.

Though this work began among our young people; and the most of those with whom we have reason to conclude it became effectual, were of the youngest sort, yet there were some who had lived a careless and sensual life to an advanced age, who were under convictions, and (I hope) savingly brought nigh to Christ, at this blessed time of the effusion of his holy

¹ Agreeable to this, the Rev. Mr Dickinson, in another letter wrote about that time to the Rev. Mr Foxcroft, viz. September 4th, 1760, has these remarkable passages—"I have still the comfortable news to inform you of, that there is yet a great revival of religion in these parts. I have had more young people address me for direction in their spiritual concerns within these three months than in thirty years before."

Spirit. Though there were so many brought under convictions at once, we had very little appearance of those irregular heats among us, which are so loudly complained of in some other parts of the land. I do not remember to have heard of above two or three instances of anything of that nature, in this congregation; and those easily and speedily regulated. It is observable that this work was substantially the same in all the differing subjects of it, though some passed through much greater degrees of distress and terror than others; and this distress lasted much longer with some than with others; yet all were brought under a deep sense of their sin, guilt, and danger; and none (that I know of) obtained satisfying discoveries of safety in Christ, till they were first brought to despair of help from themselves or any of their own refuges, and to see and feel that they lay at mercy.

We had no instances among us of such sudden conversions as I have heard of elsewhere; but our new converts were all for a considerable time under a law-work, before they were brought to any satisfying views of their interest in Christ and the favour of God. Nor had we many instances of those exstatic rapturous joys that were so frequent in some other places. It was remarkable that they who were formerly eminent for religion, were now greatly quickened and revived; and some of them had now such joyful manifestations of God's love to their souls as they had never before experienced. It was also remarkable, that as this work began among us in a time of greatest health and prosperity; so the concern began sensibly to wear off in one of the greatest mortalities that had ever been known in the town; which makes it appear more evidently to be the work of God himself. Though there are some of those who were then under special convictions, that have worn off their impressions, and are become secure and careless; yet I do not know of any two persons, who gave reasonable hopes of a real change at that time, but who have hitherto by their conversation confirmed our hopes of their saving conversion to God.

I would be very cautious of any confident determinations, with respect to the conversion of particular persons; but if we may judge the tree by the fruits, which we have now had so long a time to observe, we have reason to suppose, that near about sixty persons have received a saving change in this congregation only, and a number in the parish next adjoining to us, though I dare not pretend to guess how many since the beginning of this work. The general concern which (as I have observed) appeared upon the face of the congregation, has gradually worn off; and a great part of those who came short of the effectual and saving influences of the blessed Spirit, are returned to their former security and insensibility, and again appear like a valley of dry bones. Though there be yet a considerable number, that do not give satisfying evidences of a regenerate state, who have not worn off their various impressions.

I intreat your prayers for us, that he with whom is the residue of the Spirit, would again revive his work among us, and have compassion upon the many poor souls who are yet in the paths of destruction and death; and be pleased particularly to remember at the throne of grace, yours &c.,

JONATHAN DICKINSON.

SECTION III.

A CONCERN APPEARS, IN SEPTEMBER 1739, AT HARVARD, IN MIDDLESEX.—IT INCREASES AMONG THE YOUNG PEOPLE.—THIS A MEANS TO STIR UP OTHERS.—RELIGIOUS CONVERSATION.—SOCIETIES FOR PRAYER, &c.

From a Letter from Mr SECOMB, Minister at Harvard, to Mr PRINCE, Minister at Boston, February 20th, 1744, in PRINCE'S Christian History, No. 54.

REV. SIR,—According to your request, I here send you a cautious, though brief account of the revival of religion here. The first visible alteration among my people for the better was sometime in the month of September, in the year 1739; when several began to grow more thoughtful and serious, and somewhat reformed, more constant and diligent in attending the public worship, more attentive in hearing the Word preached, more careful to sanctify the Sabbath, &c. Not long after this, came four young men to me under considerable awakenings and concern about their spiritual state. In December following these same persons were taken into Church-fellowship, who had been of too loose a life and conversation in times past; which put many upon further thoughtfulness.

From this time, the concern began to increase, and there was scarce a sacrament passed (which is with us once in eight weeks) without some additions to the church from that to the present time; though twelve is the greatest number that have been received at once. After a while religious discourse began to be introduced among persons on Lord's-Days between exercises, which had been shamefully neglected, and could not before this be obtained. And by many it was looked upon as a sign of hypocrisy, and accordingly such were much scorned by the less serious and considerate among the people. But as this concern grew upon persons, religious conversation became more frequent; and many would often speak one to another about soul-concerns. Afterwards several young persons were formed into societies for prayer, reading the Word, singing, and religious conference. This visible reformation among the young people was (under God) a means of stirring up many middle-aged and elder persons to think more seriously about their souls, and what they should do to be saved. And they also had a weekly meeting together for prayer, &c. Here was now a great visible reformation among the people, both old and young.

The work of conviction and conversion was begun and carried on in a gradual manner, principally, by the preaching of the Word. The preached Word became more quick and powerful than usual; like as a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces. And particularly some sermons from Isa. lv. 1, and Ezek. xxxiii. 11, were set home upon the hearts of some for their great awakening, and I hope saving good. Many were made sensible of that miserable wretched state they were in by nature, and that fountain of sin that is in the heart; judging and condemning themselves as the very greatest and vilest of sinners; and greatly concerned how to obtain an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ. Some had amazing apprehensions of the dreadful wrath of God under which they lay; very sensible how greatly they had been blinded and deluded in time past as to

the nature of religion and the state of their own souls; greatly affected with their ignorance in Divine things, and to think they had abused the patience of God so long, being even astonished at their being yet out of hell; and greatly bewailing their former insensibleness of the design of the holy Sabbath, in their having sinned away such precious seasons for their souls. Now they became wonderfully attentive to the word preached as if they would not by any means lose a single sentence; as newborn babes desiring the sincere milk of the Word. Many, very desirous of seeing themselves as they were, and greatly afraid lest their convictions should wear away before they had found Christ. Some, while under the Spirit of bondage, were so sensibly affected with their danger, that they durst not close their eyes to sleep, lest they should awake in hell; and would sometimes arise in the night, and go to the windows, under alarming fears of Christ's sudden coming to judgment, expecting to hear the sounding of the trumpet to summons all nations to appear before him. Thus, when the terrors of God make sinners afraid, there is a dreadful sound in their ears.

I think I may say there has been a great shaking among the dry bones, and some that have been for a long time dead in trespasses and sins appear to be made alive to God: sleepy sinners have been awakened, stubborn sinners subdued, proud sinners humbled, carnal persons made spiritual. Such as lived unmindful of heaven, now seek the things which are above, and set their affections upon them. Prayerless persons now call upon God, and some that despised his word now tremble at it. Some that turned their backs upon the table of the Lord, and said (practically at least) the table of the Lord is contemptible, do now hunger and thirst for communion with Christ there, &c. Great numbers, both young and old, are outwardly reformed; and a considerable number who in a judgment of charity may be said to be savingly converted, whose lives and conversation for two or three years past are in the main as becometh the Gospel. "Old things are past away, behold, all things are become new." Hence the Bible hath appeared to some to be a new book; and the Catechism of the Assembly of Divines to be a new and most excellent compendium, though before they saw no great excellency to be in the one or the other; and therefore greatly admire at their former ignorance. And some of the same sermons they had heard some time before (being sometimes necessitated to preach such) appeared to be quite new, and better than ever they heard before, and I could hardly make them believe they had ever heard them before. It was grievous to them to think they should live so long under the means of grace, and never hear any preaching till now; that all former sermons had been so lost upon them which now were so sweet and nourishing to their souls. They speak of a sweetness in sermons, and in spiritual promises, which they never found before. And hereupon some have been so eager to hear sermons, and join with others in prayer and conference and such Christian exercises, as to neglect their particular callings. And being thus irregularly intent upon spiritual things, it hath turned to the disparagement of religion among such as have a mind to take up all exceptions against it that they can meet with, as if religion put people beside themselves. But I think it no ways strange to see young

Christians thus strongly disposed to religious duties; and we ought to make allowances in such cases, if they go a little too far in some things, at first setting out: they will be slow enough and lamentably backward to the best exercises (usually) after a few years. Though some have been thus upon the extreme for a while; yet oh, how pleasant was it to see such numbers (chiefly young persons) as I have seen flying as doves to their windows, going and weeping, seeking the Lord their God, asking the way to Zion with their faces thitherward! some judging and condemning themselves, bemoaning their sad condition, others rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory, and pressing into the kingdom of God with holy violence.

If all this be the effects of frenzy and madness, delusion and enthusiasm, I pray God I may see another such pleasant season, even the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God; when the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. I am persuaded God hath done great things for us, whereof we have great reason to rejoice and be glad. And several things confirm me in my belief; particularly these two, 1, The means by which this work of conviction and conversion (by God's blessing) hath been carried on, is one evidence of a good work. I mention this, to take off that objection which hath been made by some, who say persons were not truly convinced of sin, &c., but affrighted by the manner of the preacher's address to their passions, by the loudness of the voice, gesture, &c. And that this work hath been carried on only in such places where such preachers have been. This is not the case here; this reformation hath not been carried on violently, nor by strangers. There was a lecture-sermon preached in June, 1741, by an elderly minister, from those words in Mat. xxii. 5, "They made light of it;" which God remarkably blessed to the awakening, and I have reason to think to the spiritual good of some souls among us: which is the only instance of that nature by any minister preaching with us, that I now recollect. And furthermore, this religious concern began a year before Mr Whitefield's coming into the country: and after he preached in New England very few of this people did ever hear him. But God was pleased to make use of the usual means, to rouse and awaken sleepy sinners by the small voice; and, as before observed, by some of the very same sermons that made no impression before. This, I say, is one thing that confirms my belief of a good work, and that assertion of the apostle; "Whoever plants or waters, it is God that gives the increase." But then, 2, The good fruits and effects are a further and most convincing proof of the power and grace of God. "By their fruits ye shall know them." If it be asked, what are these fruits that evidence a good work? Though I have already hinted at this, yet I would add, that many are more humble, just, meek, temperate, sober-minded, peaceable, kind and charitable, shewing love to the brethren, &c., and some have at times expressed a great readiness and willingness to lay down their lives for the salvation of one soul, if God should call them to it; expressing great inward joy and peace in believing; shewing out of a good conversation their works with meekness of wisdom. And I think it may be truly said that many are better husbands, better wives, better parents, better children, better masters, and better servants, &c. That censorious spirit (so much the blemish of reli-

gion) hath not prevailed as in some places : though it must be acknowledged that some have been too much for judging others for a time, as is the case with some after the first beginnings of grace. But even those that have been most censorious of others, are now (after a better acquaintance with their own heart, &c.) very jealous of themselves, and more charitable towards others ; much for judging and condemning themselves, loathing themselves in their own sight for their iniquities and for their abominations ; and complaining much of their own deadness, hardness of heart, remaining unbelief, that body of sin they find within them, &c., exercised also with such scruples, fears, and temptations, as are incident to believers. These, with many other things I could name, give me good ground to think that some have been turned "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God." And as to the manner of persons being wrought upon ; it has been usually in a rational gospel-way. None have cried out under the word but once, and then but five or six. And I would further observe concerning such as have received comfort, they had most of them been under concern and a spirit of bondage for several months before.

As to the subjects of this work, the chief were young persons as aforesaid. Some loose immoral persons. Some that greatly opposed this work at first. Some who were before in repute for morality and religion : and these were in the last place and with the greatest difficulty brought to submit to the righteousness of Christ : and such as these have usually walked in darkness, and been full of fears a considerable time, before they could attain any comfortable hope of their good state : the light hath come very gradually into their souls ; while it hath broke in upon some others like the sun at noon-day, and given light all around them ; which so affected them at first, that they thought they had no more to do with this world, that all their business was now to praise God, and to shew forth all his wonderful works, &c., but experience has since taught them otherwise. And as to the additions to the church ; there have been near an hundred added since Sept. 1739. And though some, who have been under deep impressions, seem since to have lost them ; yet there is by far the greater number (blessed be God) who testify their sincerity by an answerable life and conversation ; so that, upon the whole, I must conclude, that God hath, by his Word and Spirit, been carrying on a good work among us ; and to his name be all the praise and glory.

SECTION IV.

IN MARCH, 1740, A LIKE CONCERN APPEARS AT NEW LONDON-DEN IN PENNSYLVANIA.—UNDER THE PREACHING OF A STRANGER MINISTER, FROM LUKE XIII. 7.—AND AFTERWARDS, WHEN THEIR OWN MINISTER PREACHED FROM MATTHEW VI. 23.—SERMONS ON WEEK DAYS.—THE EXPERIENCES OF A YOUNG WOMAN.—AND OF A MAN AGED FIFTY.—AND OF TWO SISTERS, AGED SEVEN AND NINE YEARS.—OTHER PLACES IN PENNSYLVANIA AWAKENED.

From a Letter from Mr. SAMUEL BLAIR, Minister at New Londonderry, to Mr. PRINCE, Minister at Boston, August 6th, 1744, in PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 33.

REVEREND SIR.—That it may be the more clearly appear that the Lord has indeed carried on a work

of true religion among us of late years, I conceive it will be useful to give a brief general view of the state of religion in these parts before this remarkable season. I doubt not then but there were some sincerely religious people up and down ; and there were, I believe, a considerable number in the several congregations, pretty exact, according to their education, in the observance of the external forms of religion, not only as to attendance upon public ordinances on the Sabbath, but also as to the practice of family worship, and perhaps secret prayer too ; but with these things the most part seemed, to all appearance, to rest contented, and to satisfy their consciences just with a dead formality in religion. If they performed these duties pretty punctually in their seasons, and as they thought with a good meaning, out of conscience, and not just to obtain a name for religion among men, then they were ready to conclude that they were truly and sincerely religious. A very lamentable ignorance of the main essentials of true practical religion, and the doctrines nextly relating thereto, very generally prevailed. The nature and necessity of the new birth was but little known or thought of. The necessity of a conviction of sin and misery, by the Holy Spirit opening and applying the law to the conscience, in order to a saving closure with Christ, was hardly known at all to the most. It was thought that if there was any need of a heart-distressing sight of the soul's danger, and fear of Divine wrath, it was only needful for the grosser sort of sinners ; and for any others to be deeply exercised this way, (as there might sometimes be before some rare instances observable) this was generally looked upon to be a great evil and temptation that had befallen those persons. The common names for such soul-concern were, melancholy, trouble of mind, or despair. These terms were in common, so far as I have been acquainted, indifferently used as synonymous ; and trouble of mind was looked upon as a great evil, which all persons, that made any sober profession and practice of religion, ought carefully to avoid. There was scarcely any suspicion at all, in general, of any danger of depending upon self-righteousness, and not upon the righteousness of Christ alone for salvation. Papists and Quakers would be readily acknowledged guilty of this crime ; but hardly any professed Presbyterian. The necessity of being first in Christ by a vital union, and in a justified state, before our religious services can be well-pleasing and acceptable to God, was very little understood or thought of ; but the common notion seemed to be, that if people were aiming to be in the way of duty as well as they could, as they imagined, there was no reason to be much afraid.

According to these principles, and this ignorance of some of the most soul-concerning truths of the Gospel, men were very generally through the land careless at heart, and stupidly indifferent about the great concerns of eternity. There was very little appearance of any heart-engagedness in religion ; and indeed the wise, for the most part, were in a great degree asleep with the foolish. It was sad to see with what a careless behaviour the public ordinances were attended, and how people were given to unsuitable worldly discourse on the Lord's-day. In public companies, a vain and frothy lightness was apparent in the deportment of many professors.

Thus religion lay as it were a-dying, and ready to expire its last breath of life in this part of the vi-

sible church; and it was in the spring, in the year 1740, when the God of salvation was pleased to visit us with the blessed effusions of his Holy Spirit in an eminent manner. The first very open and public appearance of this gracious visitation in these parts, was in the congregation which God has committed to my charge. This congregation has not been erected above fourteen or fifteen years from this time; the place is a new settlement, generally settled with people from Ireland, (as all our congregations in Pennsylvania, except two or three, chiefly are made up of people from that kingdom.) I am the first minister they have ever had settled in the place; having been regularly liberated from my former charge in East-Jersey, above an hundred miles north-eastward from hence, (the rev. presbytery of New-Brunswick, of which I had the comfort of being a member, judging it to be my duty, for sundry reasons, to remove from thence.) At the earnest invitation of the people here, I came to them in the beginning of November 1739, accepted of a call from them that winter, and was formally installed and settled among them as their minister in April following. There was some hopefully pious people here at my first coming, which was a great encouragement and comfort to me.

I had some view and sense of the deplorable condition of the land in general; and accordingly the scope of my preaching through that first winter after I came here, was mainly calculated for persons in a natural unregenerate state. I endeavoured as the Lord enabled me, to open up and prove from his word, the truths which I judged most necessary for such as were in that state to know and believe, in order to their conviction and conversion. I endeavoured to deal searchingly and solemnly with them: and through the blessing of God, I had knowledge of four or five brought under deep convictions that winter. In the beginning of March I took a journey into East-Jersey, and was abroad for two or three Sabbaths: a neighbouring minister, who seemed to be earnest for the awakening and conversion of secure sinners, and whom I had obtained to preach a Sabbath to my people in my absence, preached to them, I think, on the first Sabbath after I left home: his subject was the dangerous and awful case of such as continue unregenerate and unfruitful under the means of grace. The text was Luke xiii. 7. "Then said he to the dresser of his vineyard; behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?" Under that sermon there was a visible appearance of much soul-concern among the hearers; so that some burst out with an audible noise into bitter crying (a thing not known in these parts before.) After I had come home, there came a young man to my house under deep trouble about the state of his soul, whom I had looked upon as a pretty light merry sort of a youth; he told me that he was not any thing concerned about himself in the time of hearing the above-mentioned sermon, nor afterwards, till the next day he went to his labour, which was grubbing, in order to clear some new ground: the first grub he set about was a pretty large one with a high top, and when he had cut the roots, as it fell down, these words came instantly to his remembrance, and as a spear to his heart, "Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?" so, thought he, must I be cut down by the justice of God for the burning of hell, unless I get into another

state than I am now in. He thus came into very great and abiding distress, which, to all appearance, has had a happy issue; his conversation being to this day as becomes the gospel of Christ.

The news of this very public appearance of deep soul-concern among my people met me an hundred miles from home: I was very joyful to hear of it, in hopes that God was about to carry on an extensive work of converting grace amongst them. And the first sermon I preached after my return to them, was from Matth. vi. 33. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness." After opening up and explaining the parts of the text, when, in the improvement, I came to press the injunction in the text upon the unconverted and ungodly, and offered this as one reason among others, why they should now henceforth first of all seek the kingdom and righteousness of God, viz., that they had neglected too long to do so already: this consideration seemed to come and cut like a sword upon several in the congregation; so that while I was speaking upon it, they could no longer contain, but burst out in the most bitter mourning. I desired them as much as possible, to restrain themselves from making any noise, that would hinder themselves or others from hearing what was spoken: and often afterwards I had occasion to repeat the same counsel: I still advised people to endeavour to moderate and bound their passions, but not so as to resist or stifle their convictions. The number of the awakened increased very fast; frequently under sermons there were some newly convicted, and brought into deep distress of soul about their perishing estate. Our Sabbath assemblies soon became vastly large: many people from almost all parts around inclining very much to come where there was such appearance of the divine power and presence. I think there was scarcely a sermon or lecture preached here through that whole summer, but there were manifest evidences of impressions on the hearers; and many times the impressions were very great and general; several would be overcome and fainting; others deeply sobbing, hardly able to contain: others crying in a most dolorous manner; many others more silently weeping; and a solemn concern appearing in the countenances of many others. And sometimes the soul-exercises of some (though comparatively but very few) would so far affect their bodies as to occasion some strange unusual bodily motions. I had opportunities of speaking particularly with a great many of those, who afforded such outward tokens of inward soul-concern in the time of public worship and hearing of the word: indeed many came to me of themselves in their distress, for private instruction and counsel; and I found, so far as I can remember, that with by far the greater part their apparent concern in public was not just in a transient qualm of conscience, or merely a floating commotion of affections; but a rational fixed conviction of their dangerous perishing estate. They could generally offer as a convictive evidence of their being in an unconverted miserable estate, that they were utter strangers to those dispositions, exercises, and experiences of soul in religion, which they heard laid down from God's word, as the inseparable characters of the truly regenerate people of God; even such as before had something of the form of religion; and I think the greater number were of this sort; and several had been pretty exact and punctual in the performance of outward duties: they saw they had been content-

ing themselves with the form without the life and power of godliness; and that they had been taking peace to their consciences from, and depending upon their own righteousness, and not the righteousness of Jesus Christ. In a word, they saw that true practical religion was quite another thing than they had conceived it to be, or had any true experience of. There were likewise many throughout the land brought under deep distressing convictions that summer who had lived very loose lives, regardless of the very externals of religion. In this congregation I believe there were very few that were not stirred up to some solemn thoughtfulness and concern more than usual about their souls. The general carriage and behaviour of people was soon very visibly altered. Those awakened were much given to reading in the holy Scriptures and other good books. Excellent books that had lain by much neglected, were then much perused, and lent from one to another: and it was a peculiar satisfaction to people to find how exactly the doctrines they heard daily preached, harmonized with the doctrines maintained and taught by great and godly men in other parts and former times. The subjects of discourse almost always when any of them were together, were the matters of religion and great concerns of their souls. All unsuitable, worldly, vain discourse on the Lord's-day seemed to be laid aside among them; indeed, for any thing that appeared, there seemed almost an universal reformation in this respect in our public assemblies on the Lord's-day.

There was an earnest desire in people after opportunities for public worship and hearing the word. I appointed in the spring to preach every Friday through the summer when I was at home, and those meetings were well attended; and at several of them the power of the Lord was remarkably with us. The main scope of my preaching through that summer was, laying open the deplorable state of man by nature since the fall, our ruined exposed case by the breach of the first covenant, and the awful condition of such as were not in Christ, giving the marks and characters of such as were in that condition; and moreover, laying open the way of recovery in the new covenant through a Mediator, with the nature and necessity of faith in Christ the Mediator, &c. I laboured much on the last mentioned heads; that the people might have right apprehensions of the gospel method of life and salvation. I treated much on the way of sinners closing with Christ by faith, and obtaining a right peace to an awakened wounded conscience: showing that persons were not to take peace to themselves on account of their repentings, sorrows, prayers, and reformatings; nor to make these things the grounds of their adventuring themselves upon Christ and his righteousness, and of their expectations of life by him; and that neither were they to obtain or seek peace in extraordinary ways, by vision, dreams, or immediate inspirations, but, by an understanding view, and believing persuasion of the way of life, as revealed in the gospel through the suretyship-obedience and sufferings of Jesus Christ; with a view of the suitableness and sufficiency of that mediatory righteousness of Christ for the justification and life of law-condemned sinners; and thereupon, freely accepting him for their Saviour, heartily consenting to, and being well pleased with, the way of salvation, and venturing their all upon his mediation, from the warrant and encouragement afforded of God thereunto in his word, by his free offer,

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authoritative command, and sure promise to those that so believe. I endeavoured to show the fruits and evidences of a true faith, &c.

In some time many of the convinced and distressed afforded very hopeful satisfying evidence that the Lord had brought them to a true closure with Jesus Christ; and that their distresses and fears had been in a great measure removed in a right gospel-way, by believing in the Son of God. Several of them had very remarkable and sweet deliverances this way. It was very agreeable to bear their accounts how that when they were in the deepest perplexity and darkness, distress and difficulty, seeking God as poor condemned hell-deserving sinners, the scene of recovering grace through a Redeemer has been opened to their understandings with a surprising beauty and glory, so that they were enabled to believe in Christ with joy unspeakable and full of glory. It appeared that most generally the Holy Spirit improved for this purpose, and made use of some one particular passage or other of the holy Scripture that came to their remembrance in their distress; some gospel offer or promise, or some declaration of God directly referring to the recovery and salvation of undone sinners by the new covenant. But with some it was otherwise: they had not any particular place of scripture more than another in their view at the time. Those who met with such a remarkable relief; as their account of it was rational and scriptural, so they appeared to have had at the time, the attendant and fruits of a true faith; particularly, humility, love, and an affectionate regard to the will and honour of God: much of their exercise was in self-abasing and self-loathing; and admiring the astonishing condescension and grace of God towards such vile and despicable creatures, that had been so full of enmity and disaffection to him: they freely and sweetly with all their hearts chose the way of his commandments; their inflamed desire was to live to him for ever according to his will, and to the glory of his name.

There were others that had not had such remarkable relief and comfort, who yet I could not but think were savingly renewed, and brought truly to accept of the rest upon Jesus Christ, though not with such a degree of liveliness and liberty, strength and joy: and some of those continued for a considerable time after, for the most part, under a very distressing suspicion and jealousy of their case. I was all along very cautious of expressing to people my judgment of the goodness of their states, excepting where I had pretty clear evidences from them of their being savingly changed; and yet they continued in deep distress, casting off all their evidences: sometimes in such cases, I have thought it needful to use greater freedom that way than ordinary; but otherwise, I judged that it could be of little use, and might easily be hurtful.

Beside those above spoken of, whose experience of a work of grace was in a good degree clear and satisfying, there were some others (though but very few in this congregation that I knew of) who, having very little knowledge or capacity, had a very obscure and improper way of representing their case in relating how they had been exercised; they would chiefly speak of such things as were only the effects of their soul-exercise upon their bodies from time to time, and some things that were purely imaginary: which obliged me to be at much pains in my enquiries before I could get any just ideas of their case. I

would ask them, what were the thoughts, the views and apprehensions of their minds, and exercise of their affections, (at such times when they felt, perhaps, a quivering come over them, as they had been saying, or a faintness, or thought they saw their hearts full of some nauseous filthiness; or when they felt a heavy weight or load at their hearts, or felt the weight again taking off and a pleasant warmth rising from their hearts, as they would probably express themselves,) which might be the occasions or causes of these things they spoke of: and then, when with some difficulty I could get them to understand me, some of them would give a pretty rational account of solemn and spiritual exercises: and upon a thorough careful examination this way, I could not but conceive good hopes of some such persons.

But there were, moreover, several others, who seemed to think concerning themselves that they were under some good work, of whom yet I could have no reasonable ground to think that they were under any hopeful work of the Spirit of God. As near as I could judge of their case from all my acquaintance and conversation with them, it was much to this purpose: they believed there was a good work going on; that people were convinced, and brought into a converted state; and they desired to be converted too: they saw others weeping and fainting, and heard people mourning and lamenting, and they thought if they could be like these it would be very hopeful with them; hence, they endeavoured just to get themselves affected by sermons, and if they could come to weeping, or get their passions so raised as to incline them to vent themselves by cries, now they hoped they were got under convictions, and were in a very hopeful way; and afterwards, they would speak of their being in trouble, and aim at complaining of themselves, but seemed as if they knew not well how to do it, nor what to say against themselves; and then they would be looking and expecting to get some texts of scripture applied to them for their comfort; and when any scripture text which they thought was suitable for that purpose came to their minds, they were in hopes it was brought to them by the Spirit of God, that they might take comfort from it. And thus, much in such a way as this, some appeared to be pleasing themselves just with an imaginary conversion of their own making. I endeavoured to correct and guard against all such mistakes so far as I discovered them, in the course of my ministry; and to open up the nature of a true conviction by the Spirit of God, and of a saving conversion.

Thus I have given a very brief account of the state and progress of religion here through that first summer after the remarkable revival of it among us. Towards the end of that Summer there seemed to be a stop put to the farther progress of the work as to the conviction and awakening of sinners; and ever since there have been very few instances of persons convinced. It remains then, that I speak something of the abiding effects and after-fruits of those awakenings and other religious exercises which people were under during the above-mentioned period. Such as were only under some slight impressions and superficial awakenings, seem in general to have lost them all again without any abiding hopeful alteration upon them; they seem to have fallen back again into their former carelessness and stupidity, and some that were under pretty great awakenings, and con-

siderably deep convictions of their miserable state, seem also to have got peace again to their consciences, without getting it by a true faith in the Lord Jesus, affording no satisfying evidence of their being savingly renewed. But, through the infinite rich grace of God (and blessed be his glorious name!) there is a considerable number who afford all the evidence that can be reasonably expected and required for our satisfaction in the case, of their having been the subjects of a thorough saving change; (except in some singular instances of behaviour, alas for them, which proceed from, and shew the sad remains of original corruption even in the regenerate children of God while in this imperfect state:) their walk is habitually tender and conscientious, their carriage towards their neighbours just and kind, and they appear to have an agreeable peculiar love one for another, and for all in whom appears the image of God. Their discourses of religion, their engagedness and disposition of soul in the practice of the immediate duties and ordinances of religion, all appear quite otherwise than formerly. Indeed, the liveliness of their affections in the ways of religion is much abated in general, and they are in some measure humbly sensible of this, and grieved for it, and are carefully endeavouring still to live unto God; much grieved with their imperfections and the plagues they find in their own hearts; and frequently they meet with some delightful enlivenings of soul; and particularly our sacramental solemnities for communicating in the Lord's Supper have generally been very blessed seasons of enlivening and enlargement to the people of God. There is a very evident and great increase of Christian knowledge with many of them. We enjoy in this congregation the happiness of a great degree of harmony and concord; scarcely any have appeared with open opposition and bitterness against the work of God among us and elsewhere up and down the land; though there are pretty many such in several other places through the country: some indeed, in this congregation, but very few, have separated from us, and joined with the ministers who have unhappily opposed this blessed work.

It would have been a great advantage to this account, had I been careful in time to have written down the experiences of particular persons; but this I neglected in the proper season. However, I have more lately noted down an account of some of the soul exercises and experiences of a young woman, but I judge it proper to conceal her name, because she is yet living. I was very careful to be exact in the affair, both in my conversing with her, and writing the account she gave me of herself, immediately after. And though I do not pretend to give her very words for the most part, yet I am well satisfied I do not misrepresent what she related. The account then is thus: she was first brought to some solemn thoughtfulness and concern about her soul's case, by seeing others so much concerned about their souls: when she saw people in deep distress about the state of their souls, she thought with herself, how unconcerned she was about her own. And though she thought that she had not been very guilty of great sins, yet she feared she was too little concerned about her eternal well-being: and then the sermons she heard made her still more uneasy about her case; so that she would go home on the Sabbath evenings pretty much troubled and cast down; which concern used to abide with her for a few days after; but still towards the end of the week she would become pretty

easy; and then, by hearing the Word on the Sabbath-days, her uneasiness was always renewed for a few days again. And thus it fared with her, till one day, as she was hearing a sermon preached from Heb. iii, 15, "To-day if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts;" the minister in the sermon spoke to this effect, How many of you have been hearing the Gospel for a long time, and yet your hearts remain always hard, without being made better by it: the Gospel is the voice of God, but you have heard it only as the voice of man, and not the voice of God, and so have not been benefited by it. These words came with power to her heart. She saw that this was her very case: and she had an awful sense of the sin of her mis-improvement of the Gospel, of her stupidity, hardness, and unprofitableness under hearing of the Word of God: she saw that she was hereby exposed to the sin-punishing justice of God, and so was filled with very great fear and terror: but she said there was no other sin at that time applied to her conscience, neither did she see herself as altogether without Christ. This deep concern on the fore-mentioned account stuck pretty close by her afterwards. There was a society of private Christians to meet in the neighbourhood some day after in the same week, for reading, prayer, and religious conference: she had not been at a society of that kind before, but she longed very much for the time of their meeting then, that she might go there: and while she was there, she got an awful view of her sin and corruption, and saw that she was without Christ and without grace; and her exercise and distress of soul was such, that it made her for a while both deaf and blind; but she said she had the ordinary use of her understanding, and begged that Christ might not leave her to perish; for she saw she was undone without him. After this she lived in bitterness of soul: and at another time she had such a view of her sinfulness, of the holiness and justice of God, and the danger she was in of eternal misery, as filled her with extreme anguish; so that, had it not been that she was supported by an apprehension of God's all-sufficiency, she told me she was persuaded she should have fallen immediately into despair. She continued for some weeks in great distress of spirit, seeking and pleading for mercy without any comfort, until one Sabbath evening, in a house where she was lodged during the time of a sacramental solemnity, while the family were singing the eighty-fourth psalm, her soul conceived strong hopes of reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ, and she had such apprehensions of the happiness of the heavenly state, that her heart was filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory; she sung with such elevation of soul, as if she had sung out of herself, as she expressed it; she thought at the time, it was as if the Lord had put by the veil, and shewed her the open glory of heaven: she had very enlarged views of the sufficiency of Christ to save: she was clearly persuaded to the fullest satisfaction, that there was merit enough in him to answer for the sins of the most guilty sinner; and she saw that God could well be reconciled to all elect sinners in his Son; which was a most ravishing delightful scene of contemplation to her.

After this she continued very much under grievous dejections for about two years, and yet enjoyed considerable sweetness and comfort at times: she often came to hear sermons with a desire to get clearly convinced of her being yet in a Christless state, and

with a formed resolution to take and apply to herself what might be said in the sermon to the unconverted; but most commonly she returned very agreeably disappointed; she would generally hear some mark of grace, some evidence of a real Christian laid down, which she could lay claim to, and could not deny; and thus she was supported and comforted from time to time. During that two years' space it was still with much fear and perplexity that she adventured to communicate in the Lord's Supper; but she could not omit it; and she always found some refreshing sweetness by that ordinance.

After she had been so long under an almost alternate succession of troubles and supports, the Sun of Righteousness at last broke out upon her, to the clear satisfaction and unspeakable ravishment of her soul, at a communion table. There her mind was let into the glorious mysteries of redemption with great enlargement: while she meditated on the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, she thought with herself he was not just a man who suffered so for sinners, but infinitely more than a man, even the Most High God, the eternal Son equal with the Father: and she saw his being God put an infinite lustre and value upon his sufferings as man; her heart was filled with a most unutterable admiration of his person, his merit, and his love; she was enabled to believe in him with a strong self-evidencing faith; and when she thought that he had suffered for her sins, that she was the very person who by her sins had occasioned his sufferings, and brought agony and pain upon him: the consideration of this filled her with the deepest abhorrence of her sins, and most bitter grief for them; she said she could have desired with all her heart to have melted and dissolved her body quite away in that very place, in lamentation and mourning over her sins. After this enjoyment her soul was generally delighting in God, and she had much of the light of his countenance with her: and O, her great concern still was, how she might live to the Lord, how she might do anything for him, and give honour to him: the Lord condescended to be much with her by his enlivening and comforting presence, and especially sacramental seasons were blessed and precious seasons to her. At one of those occasions, she was in a sweet frame meditating on the blood and water that issued from the wound made by the spear in her Saviour's side: she thought, as water is of a purifying cleansing nature, so there was sanctifying virtue as well as justifying merit in the Lord Jesus; and that she could no more be without the water, his sanctifying grace, to cleanse her very polluted soul, than she could be without his blood to do away her guilt: and her heart was much taken up with the beauty and excellency of sanctification. At another time, a communion solemnity likewise, she was very full of delight and wonder with the thoughts of electing love; how that God had provided and determined so great things for her before ever she had a being. And a very memorable enjoyment she had at another time, on Monday after a communion Sabbath, when these words came to her mind, "The Spirit and the Bride say, come, and let him that is a-thirst come, and whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." The glory and delight let in upon her soul by these words was so great, that it quite overcame her bodily frame: she said it seemed to her that she was almost all spirit, and that the body was quite laid by; and she was sometimes in hopes that

the union would actually break, and the soul get quite away: she saw much at that time into the meaning of her Lord in those words, "Because I live, ye shall live also."

About a time of sickness she had had, concerning which I had inquired of her, she told me, she expected pretty much to die then, and was very joyful at the near prospect of her change, and sensibly grieved to find herself recover again; chiefly because that while she lived here she was so frail and sinful, and could do so little for the Lord's honour. I was with her in the time of that sickness, and indeed I scarcely ever saw one appear to be so fully and sweetly satisfied under the afflicting hand of God; she manifestly appeared to lie under it with a peaceful serenity and Divine sweetness in her whole soul. In a word, her whole deportment in the world bespeaks much humility and heavenliness of spirit.

One of our Christian friends, a man about fifty years of age, was removed from us by death in the beginning of May last; of whom I can give some broken imperfect account, which perhaps may be of some use. His name was Hans Kirkpatrick: he was a man of a pretty good understanding, and had been, I believe, a sober professor for many years, though he had not been very long in America. After the work of religion, begun so powerfully amongst us, I found in conversation with him, that he believed it to be a good work, but seemed very unwilling to give up his good opinion of his own case: he told me of some concern and trouble he had been in about his soul in his younger years; but yet the case looked suspicious that he had got ease in a legal way, upon an outward form of religion. At another time being at his house, and taking up a little book that lay by me on the table, which I found to be Mr Mather's *Dead Faith Anatomized*, and *Self-Justiciary Convicted*, he said to me, that was indeed as strange a book as ever he saw, and that according to that author it was a great thing indeed to have a right faith that was true and saving, another thing than it was generally supposed to be, or to this purpose. He seemed to me at that time to be under more fears about his own case than I had observed in him before. Not long after this, as he was hearing a sermon one day, the word was applied with irresistible evidence and power to his heart, so that he saw himself as yet in a perishing undone case: whereupon the distress and exercise of his soul was so great that he fell off the seat on which he was sitting, and wept and cried very bitterly. A little after this, he went to Philadelphia, at the time of the meeting of the Synod, in hopes that perhaps he might meet with some benefit to his soul, by hearing the ministers preach there, or by conversing with some of them. He told me afterwards, that while he was there, and as he walked the streets, he was unspeakably distressed with the view of his miserable condition; so that he could hardly keep his distress from being publicly discerned upon him: and, that he seemed sometimes to be even in a manner afraid that the streets would open and swallow up such a wretched creature. He told me of his trouble, and his very sweet relief out of it, in a most moving manner, under a very fresh sense and impression of both; but the particulars of his relief I have quite forgot. He was afterwards chosen and set apart for a ruling elder in the congregation. He died of an imposthume, and gradually wasted away for a long

time before his death, and was for about two months entirely confined to his bed. He told me, that for some time before he was laid bedfast, he had been full of very distressing fears, and jealousies about his soul's state, and was altogether unsatisfied about his interest in Christ; but that soon after he was confined to his bed, the Lord afforded him his comforting presence, cleared up his interest, and removed his fears. After this he continued still clear and peaceful in his soul, and sweetly and wholly resigned to the Lord's will until death. While he had strength to speak much he was free and forward to discourse of God and Divine things. One time as two other of our elders were with him, he exhorted them to continue steadfast and faithful to God's truths and cause; for he said, if he had a thousand souls, he could freely venture them all upon the doctrines which had been taught them in this congregation. One time when I took leave of him, he burst out into tears, saying, "I had been the messenger of the Lord of Hosts to him, whom the Lord had sent to call him out of the broad way of destruction." For some days before his decease he could speak very little, but to all appearance, with a great deal of serenity and sweetness of soul he fell asleep in Jesus.

There have been very comfortable instances of little children among us. Two sisters, the one being about seven, the other about nine years of age, were hopefully converted that summer, when religion was so much revived here. I discoursed with them both very lately, and both from their own account, and the account of their parents, there appears to have been a lasting and thorough change wrought in them. They speak of their soul-experiences with a very becoming gravity, and apparent impression of the things they speak of. The youngest was awakened by hearing the word preached; she told me she heard in sermons that except persons were convinced and converted they would surely go to hell, and she knew she was not converted: this set her to praying with great earnestness, with tears and cries; yet her fears and distress continued for several days, till one time as she was praying, her heart, she said, was drawn out in great love to God; and as she thought of heaven and being with God, she was filled with sweetness and delight: I could not find by her that she had at that time any explicit particular thoughts about Christ as a Redeemer, but she said she knew then that Christ had died for sinners. She told me, she often found such delight and love to God since as she did then, and at such times she was very willing to die that she might be with God: but she said, she was, sometimes afraid yet of going to hell. I asked her, "If she was troubled at any time when she was not afraid of going to hell?" she said, "Yes:" I asked her, "What she was troubled for then?" she said "Because she had done ill to God;" meaning, that she had done evil and sin against God. Sometime after she first found comfort, one night when her father and all the rest of the family, but her mother and herself, were gone to a private society, she said to her mother, "That the people were singing and praying where her father was gone," and desired her mother to do the same with her; and after they were gone to bed, "She desired her mother to sing some Psalms which she had by heart, for she said she did not want to go to sleep."

Her sister was brought into trouble about her soul

that same summer, by sickness; it continued with her some time after her recovery; until one day, coming home from meeting, as she heard some people speaking about Christ and heaven, her heart was enflamed with love to Christ. She says, that "when she has Christ's presence with her she does not know what to do to get away and be with God." Their parents told me that for a long time they seemed to be almost wholly taken up in religion: that no weather through the extremity of winter would hinder them from going out daily to by-places for secret prayer; and if any thing came in the way that they could not get out for prayer at such times as they inclined and thought most proper, they would weep and cry. Their parents say, they are very obedient children, and strict observers of the Sabbath. There are likewise other young ones in the place, of whom I know nothing to the contrary, but that they continue hopeful and religious to this day.

This blessed shower of divine influences spread very much through this province that summer: and was likewise considerable in some other places bordering upon it. The accounts of some ministers being something distinguished by their searching awakening doctrine, and solemn pathetic manner of address, and the news of the effects of their preaching upon their hearers, seemed in some measure to awaken people through the country to consider their careless and formal way of going on in religion; and very much excited their desires to hear those ministers. There were several vacant congregations without any settled pastors, which earnestly begged for their visits; and several ministers who did not appear heartily to put their shoulder to help in carrying on the same work, yet then yielded to the pressing importunities of their people in inviting those brethren to preach in their pulpits: so that they were very much called abroad, and employed in incessant labours, and the Lord wrought with them mightily. Very great assemblies would ordinarily meet to hear them, on any day of the week; and oftentimes a surprising power accompanying their preaching was visible among the multitudes of their hearers. It was a very comfortable enlivening time to God's people; and great numbers of secure careless professors, and many loose irreligious persons through the land, were deeply convinced of their miserable perishing estates; and there is abundant reason to believe and be satisfied, that many of them were in the issue savingly converted to God. I myself have had occasion to converse with a great many up and down, who have given a most agreeable account of very precious and clear experiences of the grace of God. Several even in Baltimore, a county in the province of Maryland, who were brought up almost in a state of heathenism, without almost any knowledge of the true doctrines of Christianity, afford very satisfying evidences of being brought to a saving acquaintance with God in Christ Jesus.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to give a brief account of the revival of religion among us in these parts; in which I have endeavoured, all along, to be conscientiously exact, in relating things according to the naked truth: knowing, that I must not speak wickedly, even for God; nor talk deceitfully for him. And upon the whole I must say, it is beyond all dispute with me, and I think it is beyond all reasonable contradiction, that God has carried on

a great and glorious work of his grace among us.—SAMUEL BLAIR.

Having an opportunity of obtaining these attestations before sending my letter to you, I send them also along:—"New Londonderry, August 7, 1744. We, the under-subscribers, ruling elders in the congregation of New Londonderry, do give our testimony and attestation to the above account of the revival of religion in this congregation and other parts of this country, so far as the said account relates to things that were open to public observation, and such things as we have had an opportunity of being acquainted with. Particularly, we testify that there has been a great and very general awakening among people, whereby they have been stirred up to an earnest uncommon concern and diligence about their eternal salvation, according to the above account of it: and, that many give very comfortable evidence by their knowledge, declaration of experience, and conscientious practice, of their being savingly changed and turned to God.

JAMES COCHRANE.	JOHN SMITH.
JOHN RAMSAY.	JOHN SIMSON.
JOHN LOVE.	WILLIAM BOYD.

SECTION V.

OF THE REMARKABLE REVIVAL IN THE CITY OF BOSTON WHICH BEGAN SOON AFTER MR WHITEFIELD'S ARRIVAL THERE, SEPTEMBER, 1740.—THE CONCERN INCREASES GREATLY AFTER HIS DEPARTURE.—AND MUCH MORE UPON MR GILBERT TENNENT'S COMING, DECEMBER 13TH, 1740.—HIS SEARCHING MANNER OF PREACHING.—AFTER MR TENNENT'S DEPARTURE WAS SUCH A TIME AS THE MINISTERS OF BOSTON NEVER KNEW FOR THE NUMBERS THAT CAME TO THEM IN CONCERN ABOUT THEIR SOULS.—BOYS AND GIRLS, YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN, INDIANS AND NEGROES, HEADS OF FAMILIES, AGED PERSONS.—A TASTE FOR EVANGELICAL EXPERIMENTAL WRITERS REVIVED.—FREQUENT SERMONS.—MEETINGS FOR PRAYER INCREASE.—THE OFFENSE THE MINISTERS PREACHED, THEY HAD THE MORE PLEASURE IN IT.—STRANGERS WERE SURPRISED AT THE CHANGE IN THE LOOKS AND CARRIAGE OF THE PEOPLE.—THE WORK GOES ON UNTIL JUNE, 1742, WHEN SOME UNHAPPY IMPEDIMENTS OF MR DAVENPORT BEING IN A DISPUTATIOUS AND CENSORIOUS SPIRIT.—MR DAVENPORT'S RETRACTATIONS AFTERWARDS.

From the Account of the Revival at Boston by MR PRINCE, Minister there, in his Son's CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 100, &c.

FROM the year 1738, we had received accounts of the Rev. Mr Whitefield, as a very pious young minister of the Church of England, rising up in the spirit of the Reformers, and preaching their doctrines first in England, and then in America, with surprising power and success; which raised desires in great numbers among us to see and hear him. And having received invitations to come hither, he from Georgia and South Carolina arrived at Rhode-Island on the Lord's-day, September 14, 1740, and the Thursday evening after came to Boston. Next day Dr Sewall and I made him a visit, found several ministers and other gentlemen of the town with him, and that Dr Colman and Mr Cooper had engaged him to preach this afternoon in their house of public worship; and in about an hour we went to the place, which quickly crowded with two or three thousand people. He began with a short and fer-

vent prayer; and, after singing, took his text from John xvii. 2, gave us a plain, weighty, regular discourse; representing that all our learning and morality will never save us; and without an experimental knowledge of God in Christ we must perish in hell for ever. He spake as became the oracle of God in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; and especially when he came to his application, he addressed himself to the audience in such a tender, earnest, and moving manner, exciting us to come and be acquainted with the dear Redeemer, as melted the assembly into tears.

Next morning, at Dr Sewall's and my desire, he preached at the South Church to further acceptance. He spake with a mighty sense of God, eternity, the immortality and preciousness of the souls of his hearers, of their original corruption, and of the extreme danger the unregenerate are in; with the nature and absolute necessity of regeneration by the Holy Ghost; and of believing in Christ, in order to our pardon, justification, yielding an acceptable obedience, and obtaining salvation from hell and an entrance into heaven. His doctrine was plainly that of the Reformers; declaring against putting our good works or morality in the room of Christ's righteousness, or their having any hand in our justification, or being indeed pleasing to God while we are totally unanctified, acting from corrupt principles, and unreconciled enemies to him; which occasioned some to mistake him, as if he opposed morality. But he insisted on it, that the tree of the heart is by original sin exceedingly corrupted, and must be made good by regeneration, that so the fruits proceeding from it may be good likewise; that where the heart is renewed, it ought, and will be, careful to maintain good works; that if any be not habitually so careful, who think themselves renewed, they deceive their own souls; and even the most improved in holiness, as well as others, must entirely depend on the righteousness of Christ for the acceptance of their persons and services. And though now and then he dropped some expressions that were not so accurate and guarded as we should expect from aged and long-studied ministers, yet I had the satisfaction to observe his readiness with great modesty and thankfulness to receive correction as soon as offered. In short, he was a most importunate wooer of souls to come to Christ for the enjoyment of Him and all His benefits. He distinctly applied his exhortations to the elderly people, the middle-aged, the young, the Indians, and negroes; and had a most winning way of addressing them. He affectionately prayed for our magistrates, ministers, colleges, candidates for the ministry, and churches, as well as people in general; and before he left us, he in a public and moving manner observed to the people how sorry he was to hear that the religious assemblies, especially on lectures, had been so thin; exhorted them earnestly to a more general attendance on our public ministrations for the time to come, and told them how glad he should be to hear of the same.

Multitudes were greatly affected, and many awakened with his lively ministry. Though he preached every day, the houses were exceedingly crowded; but when he preached in the Common, a vaster number attended: and almost every evening the house where he lodged was thronged to hear his prayers and counsels. Upon invitation he also preached in several neighbouring towns, travelled

and preached as far as York, about seventy miles north-east of Boston, returned hither, gave us his farewell affectionate sermon on the Lord's-day evening, October 12th, next morning left us, travelled westward to Northampton, thence through Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey to Philadelphia, and thence sailed to South Carolina.

Upon his leaving us, great numbers in this town were so happily concerned about their souls, as we had never seen any thing like it before, except at the time of the general earthquake¹, and their desires excited to hear their ministers more than ever; so that our assemblies, both on lectures and Sabbaths, were surprisingly increased, and now the people wanted to hear us oftener. In consideration of which, a public lecture was proposed to be set up at Dr Colman's church, near the midst of the town, on every Tuesday evening.

Lord's-day afternoon, October 19th, public notice was there given of the proposed lecture to be on the Tuesday evening following: which the religious people in general received with so much joy, that when the evening came, the house seemed to be crowded as much as if Mr Whitefield was there. It was the first stated evening lecture in these parts of the world: and Dr Colman began it with a most suitable and moving sermon upon Isa. lx. 8. "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows." The Tuesday evening after, the Rev. Dr Sewall preached the lecture in the same place; and the house was then also greatly crowded with attentive hearers: and so it continued to be on these lectures for many months after.

Upon the Rev. Mr Gilbert Tennent's coming and preaching here, the people appeared to be much more awakened about their souls than before. He came, I think, on Saturday December 13th, this year; preached at the New-North on both the parts of the following day, as also on Monday in the afternoon, when I first heard him; and there was a great assembly. He did not indeed at first come up to my expectation, but afterwards exceeded it. In private converse with him, I found him to be a man of considerable parts and learning; free, gentle, condescending; and from his own various experience, reading the most noted writers on experimental divinity, as well as the scriptures, and conversing with many who had been awakened by his ministry in New-Jersey, where he then lived, he seemed to have as deep an acquaintance with the experimental part of religion as any I have conversed with; and his preaching was as searching and rousing as ever I heard.

He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open their ruinous delusions, show them their numerous, secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge wherein they made themselves easy, with the form of godliness without the power. And many who were pleased in a good conceit of themselves before, now found, to

¹ Though people were then generally frightened, and many awakened to such a sense of their duty as to offer themselves to our communion, yet very few came to me then under deep convictions of their unconverted and lost condition in comparison of what came now. Nor did those who came to me then, come so much with the enquiry, What shall we do to be saved? as to signify they had such a sense of their duty to come to the Lord's table, that they dare not stay away any longer.

their great distress, they were only self-deceived hypocrites. And though, while the discovery was making, some at first raged, as they have owned to me and others; yet in the progress of the discovery many were forced to submit; and then the power of God so broke and humbled them, that they wanted a further and even a thorough discovery; they went to hear him, that the secret corruptions and delusions of the heart might be more discovered: and the more searching the sermon, the more acceptable it was to their anxious minds.

From the terrible and deep convictions he had passed through in his own soul, he seemed to have such a lively view of the Divine Majesty, the spirituality, purity, extensiveness, and strictness of his law; with his glorious holiness, and displeasure at sin, his justice, truth and power in punishing the damned, that the very terrors of God seemed to rise in his mind afresh, when he displayed and brandished them in the eyes of unreconciled sinners. And though some could not bear the representation, and avoided his preaching, yet the arrows of conviction, by his ministry, seemed so deeply to pierce the hearts of others, and even some of the most stubborn sinners, as to make them fall down at the feet of Christ, and yield a lowly submission to him.

And here I cannot but observe, those who call these convictions by the name of religious frights or fears, and then ascribe them to the mere natural or mechanical influence of terrible words, sounds and gestures, moving tones, or boisterous ways of speaking, appear to me to be not sufficiently acquainted with the subjects of this work, as carried on in the town in general, or with the nature of their convictions; or at least as carried on among the people I have conversed with. For I have had awakened people of every assembly of the congregational and Presbyterian way in town, in considerable numbers, repairing to me from time to time; and from their various and repeated narratives shall show the difference. I don't remember any crying out, or falling down, or fainting, either under Mr Whitefield's or Mr Tennent's ministry all the while they were here; though many, both women and men, both those who had been vicious, and those who had been moral, yes, some religious and learned, as well as unlearned, were in great concern of soul. But as Dr Colman well expressed it in his letter of November 23d, 1741, "We have seen little of those extremes or supposed blemishes of this work in Boston, but much of the blessed fruits of it have fallen to our share. God has spoken to us in a more soft and calm wind; and we have neither had those outcries and faintings in our assemblies, which have disturbed the worship in many places, nor yet those manifestations of joy inexpressible, which now fill some of our eastern parts."

As to Mr Whitefield's preaching, it was, in the manner, moving, earnest, winning, melting; but the mechanical influence of this, according to the usual operations of mechanical powers, in two or three hours; and I believe with the most as soon as the sound was over, or they got out of the house, or in the first conversation they fell into. But with the manner of his preaching, wherein he appeared to be in earnest, he delivered those vital truths which animated all our martyrs, made them triumph in flames,

and led his hearers into the view of that vital, inward, active piety which is the mere effect of the mighty and supernatural operation of a divine power on the souls of men; which only will support and carry through the sharpest trials, and make meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. His chief and earnest desires and labours appeared to be the same with the apostle Paul for the visible saints at Ephesus, viz. that they might know (i. e. by experience) what is the exceeding greatness of his power (i. e. the power of God) to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, Eph. i. And they were these things, and this sort of preaching with surprising fervency, that the Holy Spirit was pleased to use as means to make many sensible they knew nothing of these mighty operations, nor of these vital principles within them; but that with Simon Magus, who was a visible believer and professor of Christ and his religion, they were in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity; i. e. in the state, pollution, guilt, and power of sin, which is inexpressibly more disagreeable to the holy God than the most bitter gall to men, and will be bitterness to them, without a mighty change, in the latter end. It was by such means as these, that the Holy Spirit seized and awakened the consciences of many; and when the mechanical influence on the animal passions ceased, still continued these convictions, not only for many days, but weeks and months after the sound was over; yea, to this very day with some; while they excited others to an earnest and persevering application to Jesus for his Spirit to quicken them, till they came to an hopeful perception of his quickening influence in them: and while in others the sovereign and offended Spirit leaving off to strive, these convictions in their consciences, the effects thereof, have either sooner or later died away.

As to Mr Tennent's preaching.—It was frequently both terrible and searching. It was often for matter justly terrible, as he according to the inspired oracles exhibited the dreadful holiness, justice, law threatnings, truth, power, majesty of God; and his anger with rebellious, impenitent, unbelieving and Christless sinners; the awful danger they were every moment in of being struck down to hell, and damned for ever; with the amazing miseries of that place of torment. But his exhibitions both for matter and manner fell innoceivably below the reality: and though this terrible preaching may strongly work on the animal passions, and frighten the hearers, rouse the soul, and prepare the way for terrible convictions; yet those mere animal terrors, and these convictions, are quite different things.

Nothing is more obvious than for people to be greatly terrified with the apprehensions of God, eternity, and hell, and yet have no convictions. As in Old England and New I have been a constant preacher and observer of the religious state of those who heard me, for above thirty years; they have passed under many scores of the most dreadful tempests of thunder and lightning; wherein, as the Psalmist represents, "The voice of the Lord was powerful, the voice of the Lord was full of majesty;" yea, even since the revival, viz. on Friday night, July 30th, 1742, at the lecture in the South Church near nine o'clock, being very dark, there came on a very terrible storm of thunder and lightning: and just as the blessing was given, an amazing clap broke over the church with piercing repetitions,

¹ His letter at the end of Mr Edwards' Sermon, of the distinguishing marks of a work of the Spirit of God, printed at London in 1742.

which set many a shrieking, and the whole assembly into great consternation; and yet in these displays of the Majesty of God, and terrifying apprehensions of danger of sudden destruction, neither in this surprising night, nor in all the course of thirty years, have I scarce known any, by these kinds of terrors, brought under genuine convictions. So, on the Lord's-day, June 3d last, in our time of public worship in the forenoon, when we had been about a quarter of an hour in prayer, the mighty power of God came on with a surprising roar and earthquake; which made the house with all the galleries to rock and tremble, with such a grating noise, as if the bricks were moving out of their places to come down and bury us; which exceedingly disturbed the congregation, excited the shrieks of many, put many on flying out, and the generality in motion. But though many were greatly terrified, yet in a day or two their terrors seemed to vanish, and I know of two or three seized by convictions on this awful occasion.

No! conviction is quite another sort of a thing. It is the work of the Spirit of God, a sovereign, free and almighty agent: wherein he gives the sinful soul such a clear and lively view of the glory of the divine sovereignty, omnipresence, holiness, justice, truth and power; the extensiveness, spirituality and strictness of his law, the binding nature, efficacy and dreadfulness of his curses; the multitude and heinousness of its sins both of commission and omission; the horrible vileness, wickedness, perverseness and hypocrisy of the heart, with its other impotence either rightly to repent, or believe in Christ, or change itself; so that it sees itself in a lost, undone and perishing state, without the least degree of worthiness to recommend it to the holy and righteous God, and the least degree of strength to help itself out of this condition. These discoveries are made by means of some revealed truths, either in the reading, hearing or remembrance; when in the hearing sometimes by words of terror, and sometimes by words of tenderness; and the Holy Spirit with such internal evidence and power so applies them to the conscience, that they become as sharp arrows piercing in the heart, wounding, paining and sticking in it, when all the mechanical impressions of frightful sounds are over, sometimes for many days, weeks, and months, if not years together, until this divine agent, by these and other convictions agreeable to his inspired Word, entirely subdues the soul to Christ, or being ungratefully treated, withdraws his convincing influence, and leaves the heart and conscience to greater and more dangerous hardness and stupidity than ever.

Such were the convictions wrought in many hundreds in this town by Mr Tennent's searching ministry: and such was the case of many scores of several other congregations as well as mine, who came to me and others for direction under them¹. And indeed by all their converse I found, it was not so much the terror as the searching nature of his ministry, that was the principal means of their conviction. It was not merely, nor so much his laying open the terrors of the law, and wrath of God, or damnation of hell; (for this they could pretty well hear, as long as they hoped these belonged not to them, or they

could easily avoid them;) as his laying open their many vain and secret shifts and refuges, counterfeit resemblances of grace, delusive and damning hopes, their utter impotence, and impending danger of destruction; whereby they found all their hopes and refuges of lies to fail them, and themselves exposed to eternal ruin, unable to help themselves, and in a lost condition. This searching preaching was both the suitable and principal means of their conviction: though it is most evident, the most proper means are utterly insufficient; and wholly depend on the sovereign will of God, to put forth his power, and apply them by this or that instrument, on this or that person, at this or that season, in this or that way or manner; with these or those permitted circumstances, infirmities, corruptions, errors, agencies, oppositions; and to what degree, duration and event he pleases.

A remarkable instance of conviction also has been sometimes under the ministry of the Rev. Mr Edwards of Northampton: a preacher of a low and moderate voice, a natural way of delivery, and without any agitation of body, or anything else in the manner to excite attention, except his habitual and great solemnity, looking and speaking as in the presence of God, and with a weighty sense of the matter delivered. It is just as the Holy Spirit pleases, who hides occasions of pride from man: and if Mr Tennent was to come here again, and preach more rousingly than ever, it may be, not one soul would come under conviction by him.

On Monday March 2d, 1740-1, Mr Tennent preached his farewell sermon to the people of Boston, from Acts xi. 23, to an auditory extremely crowded, and very much affected, in Dr Coleman's house of worship. It was an affectionate parting; and as great numbers of all conditions and ages appeared awakened by him, there seemed to be a general sadness at his going away. Though it was natural for them to resort abundantly to him by whom it pleased the sovereign God chiefly to awaken them, for advice in their soul concerns; yet while he was here, many repaired to their ministers also, and many more and oftener when he was gone. Mr Tennent's ministry, with the various cases of those resorting to us, excited us to treat more largely of the workings of the Spirit of grace, as a Spirit of conviction and conversion, consolation and edification in the souls of men, agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and the common experiences of true believers.

And now was such a time as we never knew. The Rev. Mr Cooper was wont to say, that more came to him in one week in deep concern about their souls than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. I can also say the same as to the numbers who repaired to me. By Mr Cooper's letter to his friend in Scotland, it appears, he has had about six hundred different persons in three month's time: and Mr Webb informs me, he has had in the same space above a thousand. Agreeable to the numerous bills of the awakened put up in public, sometimes rising to the number of sixty at once, there repaired to us both boys and girls, young men and women, Indians and negroes, heads of families, aged persons; those who had been in full communion and going on in a course of religion many years. And their cases represented were; a blind mind, a vile and hard heart, and some under a deep sense thereof; some under great temptations; some in a great concern for their souls; some in great distress of mind for fear of

¹ The same kind of searching preaching by our own ministers and others. I also observed was the most successful means of bringing people into powerful convictions, or clear and awakening views of their sinful and lost condition, and their absolute need of Christ to find and save them.

being unconverted; others lest they had been all along building on a righteousness of their own, and were still in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity. Some under slight, others under strong convictions of their sins and sinfulness, guilt and condemnation, the wrath and curse of God upon them, their impotence and misery; some for a long time, even for several months under these convictions; some fearing lest the Holy Spirit should withdraw; others having quenched his operations, were in great distress lest he should leave them for ever: persons far advanced in years afraid of being left behind, while others were hastening to the great Redeemer. Nor were the same persons satisfied with coming once or twice, as formerly, but again and again, I know not how often, complaining of their evil and cursed hearts; of their past and present unbelief, pride, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, contempt of Christ and God, and alienation from them, their love and captivity to sin, and utter impotence to help themselves, or even to believe on Christ, &c., renouncing every degree of worthiness in and utterly condemning themselves; greatly afraid of deceiving their own souls; and earnestly desirous of being searched, discovered, and shown the true way of salvation. Both people and ministers seemed under a divine influence to quicken each other. The people seemed to have a renewed taste for those old pious and experimental writers, Mr Hooker, Shepard, Gurnal, William Guthrie, Joseph Allein, Isaac Ambrose, Dr Owen, and others; as well as latter—such as Mr Mead, Flavel, Shaw, Willard, Stoddard, Dr Increase and Cotton Mather, Mr Mather of Windsor, Mr Boston, &c. The evangelical writings of these deceased authors, as well as of others alive, both in England, Scotland, and New England, were now read with singular pleasure; some of them reprinted, and in great number quickly bought and studied. And the more experimental our preaching was, like their's, the more it was relished. The people seemed to love to hear us more than ever: the weekly Tuesday evening lectures at the Church in Brattle Street were much crowded and not sufficient. April 17th, 1741, another lecture was therefore opened every Friday evening at the South Church; when a reasonable discourse was given by the Rev. Dr Sewall, from John xvi. 8. And soon after, another lecture every Tuesday and Friday evening was opened at the New North; three of the most capacious houses of public worship in town; the least of which I suppose will hold three thousand people. Besides the ancient lecture every Thursday noon at the Old Church; and other lectures in other churches.

Dr Sewall's discourse, with three other excellent sermons on the same text, were soon after published. In the first of which he says, page 20:—"As more lately, we have received good news of this kind from more distant places upon this continent; so I cannot but hope that God's sending one another of his servants among us who had been personally acquainted with these latter wonderful works of grace, together with their very laborious and fervent preaching, and the ministry of others his servants; has been blessed to convince many of their sins, and awaken them to a serious concern about their souls. Yea, it is hopeful that there are a number converted, and brought home to Christ. Let us give the praise to the God of all grace." And in the preface he says, "It hath pleased the sovereign and gracious

God, in whose hand our times are, to ordain that we should live under some peculiar advantages for our precious souls. For to the ordinary means, we have superadded the manifestation of the Spirit, in extraordinary works of grace. We have lately heard glad tidings from one place and another, that many are inquiring the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward; and some are declaring what God hath done for their souls. Yea, God hath brought this work home to our own doors, and we hear many crying out, "What must we do to be saved!" And there are a number hopefully rejoicing in God's salvation. Of such a season as this it may well be said, "I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee: behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." I hope God's people are reaping the fruit of their prayers, particularly on extraordinary days of fasting, observed with an especial view to this great blessing, the plentiful effusion of the holy Spirit. O there is great reason to fear that another like season will never, never return upon you. O sleeper! awake, and hearken, there is a noise, and a shaking among the dry bones. Some it may be of your own acquaintance, secure like you a little while ago, are now in deep concern, and can no longer relish those carnal pleasures in which you were companions. Now, destruction from God is a terror to them, and they are fleeing from the wrath to come. What a reproof doth God give to your stupidity in the awakenings of others? and here, among you with whom the Spirit is striving at this day, we behold many of our young people. O our children! God is drawing nigh to you in a distinguishing manner," &c. Nor were the people satisfied with all these lectures: but as private societies for religious exercises, both of younger and elder persons, both of males and females by themselves in several parts of the town, now increased to a much greater number than ever, viz., to near the number of thirty, meeting on Lord's-day, Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday evenings; so the people were constantly employing the ministers to pray and preach at those societies, as also at many private houses where no formed society met; and such numbers flocked to hear us as greatly crowded them, as well as more than usually filled our houses of public worship both on Lord's-days and lectures, especially evening lectures, for about a twelvemonth after. Some of our ministers, to oblige the people, have sometimes preached in public and private, at one house or another, even every evening, except on Saturday, for a week together: and the more we prayed and preached, the more enlarged were our hearts, and the more delightful the employment. And O how many, how serious and attentive were our hearers! how many awakened and hopefully converted by their ministers! and how many of such added soon to our churches, as we hope will be saved eternally? Scarce a sermon seemed to be preached without some good impressions.

As to the church to which I belong—within six months from the end of January, 1740-1, were threescore joined to our communicants: the greater part of whom gave a more exact account of the work of the Spirit of God on their souls in effectual calling, than I was wont to meet with before: besides many others I could not but have charity for, who refrained from coming to the table of Christ for want of a satisfying view of the work of renovation in

them. However, in many of these people, their convictions in a judgment of charity, appeared by the same Spirit to be carried further than an awakening view of their sins, their sinfulness and misery; even to an enlightening their minds in the knowledge of Christ, or clear, lively, and attractive views of his perfect suitableness, all-sufficiency, and willingness as the Son of God incarnate and Mediator, to receive them, and by his merits, intercession, grace and Spirit, to reconcile them to the Holy God, and save and make them completely and eternally holy and happy, though now the chief of sinners: and in such views as these he melted their frozen hearts, renewed their wills, overcame them with affection to him, and persuaded and enabled them to embrace him in his person, and all his offices and benefits as offered in the gospel. By Dr Colman's letter of June 8th, 1741, it appears that in April, there were nine or ten, and in May nineteen added to his church. And the Rev. Mr Webb, senior pastor of the New North, just now informs me, with respect to his church and people, in the following words—"Admissions to full communion of those hopefully wrought upon in the late day of grace about one hundred and sixty: of which one hundred and two from January, 1740-1 to 1741-2. Of the above-mentioned, by far the greater part have since given hopeful signs of saving conversion. And many more give good evidences of grace; but cannot be prevailed upon to come to the table of the Lord.

In this year 1741, the very face of the town seemed to be strangely altered. Some who had not been since the fall before, have told me their great surprise at the change in the general look and carriage of the people, as soon as they landed. Even the negroes and boys in the streets surprisingly left their usual rudeness: I knew many of these had been greatly affected, and now were formed into religious societies. And one of our worthy gentlemen, expressing his wonder at the remarkable change, informed me, that whereas he used with others on Saturday evenings to visit the taverns, in order to clear them of town inhabitants, they were wont to find many there, and meet with trouble to get them away; but now having gone at those seasons again, he found them empty of all but lodgers. Of that time the Rev. Dr Colman justly writes to the Rev. Dr Watts on September 15th, 1741, in the following terms:—"Thanks be to God, in our province the impressions of religion grow and increase in a happy, wise, sedate manner, such as gives a joyous prospect relating to the next generation. I know not how to admire the pleasant, gracious work of God: our lectures flourish, our Sabbaths are joyous, our churches increase, our ministers have new life and spirit in their work." Of the same time the Rev. Mr Cooper also writes on November 20th, 1741, "I verily believe, in this our metropolis, there were the last winter some thousands under such religious impressions as they never felt before.—And as to the fruits of this work, (which we have been bid so often to wait for) blessed be God! so far as there has been time for observation they appear to be abiding. I do not mean, that none have lost their impressions, or that there are no instances of hypocrisy and apostacy. Scripture and experience leads us to expect these at such a season. It is to me matter of surprise and thankfulness, that as yet there have been no more. But I mean, that a great number of those who have been awakened are still seeking and striving to enter

in at the strait gate. The most of those who have been thought to be converted, continue to give evidences of their being new creatures, and seem to cleave to the Lord with full purpose of heart. To be sure a new face of things continues in this town; though many circumstances concur to render such a work not so observable here, as in smaller and distant places. Many things not becoming the profession of the Gospel are in a measure reformed. Taverns, dancing schools, and such meetings as have been called assemblies, which have always proved unfriendly to serious godliness, are much less frequented. Many have reduced their dress and apparel, so as to make them look more like the followers of the humble Jesus. And it has been both surprising and pleasant to see how some younger people have put off the bravery of their ornaments, as the effect and indication of their seeking the inward glories of the king's daughter. Religion is now much more the subject of conversation at friends' houses than ever I knew it. The doctrines of grace are espoused and relished. Private religious meetings are greatly multiplied.—The public assemblies (especially lectures) are much better attended: and auditors were never so attentive and serious. There is indeed an extraordinary appetite after the sincere milk of the Word. It is more than a twelvemonth since an evening lecture was set up in this town; there are now several; two constantly on Tuesday and Friday evenings; when some of our most capacious houses are well filled with hearers, who, by their looks and deportment, seem to come to hear that their souls might live. An evening in God's courts is now esteemed better than many elsewhere. There is also great resort to ministers in private. Our hands continue full of work; and many times we have more than we can discourse with distinctly and separately."

January 11th, 1741-2, most of the associate pastors of this town agreed on a course of days of prayer in their several churches; as the Rev. Dr Sewall well expresses it, in his sermon on that occasion, preached in the South Church, February 26th, 1741-2, "to bless the name of God for spiritual blessings already received in the remarkable revival of his work among us in many other places; to seek of God the more plentiful effusion of his holy Spirit; that the Lord would preserve us and his people from everything that hath a tendency to quench his Spirit and obstruct the progress and success of his good work; and that it may go on and prosper, till the whole land shall be filled with the blessed fruits of the Spirit." And in his sermon he says, "We ought to praise the Lord that he has not left us without a witness of his Divine power and grace in the wonderful operations of his Spirit in our times.—Let the success which God hath of late given to the ministers of the Word above what we have known in times past, animate us to the labour more abundantly.—And let not any pervert what has been said, to prejudice themselves or others against that wonderful work of grace, which, I verily believe, God has wrought in this town and other places."

In some this further work of conviction and effectual calling was clearer, in others more obscure, in others less or more doubtful. And so various likewise were joys and consolations arising from the various changes or exercises in them, or their various applications to Christ for mercy. But herein their pastors laboured to preserve them from mis-

takes, to discover their dangers on every side, to lead them to a thorough conviction and humiliation, and through these to right views of Christ, and closing with him in a saving manner, that they might not be deceived with joys or consolations that belonged not to them.

Of those who came not into full communion with our churches—some who were under strong convictions and in a hopeful way, have since sadly lost them; the Spirit of God has ceased striving, and they are more blind and hard than ever: "The dog has turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire: 2 Pet. ii. 20, 22. And some who had fair resemblances both of saving grace and holy joy, whereby they for a time deceived both themselves and others, after high appearances have fallen away; as some who first followed Christ himself, yet, after left him; and as he has represented the various events of impressions made by his own, and his successor's preaching, in the parable of the sower, Matth. xiii. Mark iv., and Luke viii. But though their faithful ministers, both in private and public, both in preaching and print, fairly warned, and from the Word of God foretold, of these apostacies, yet they give occasion to the prejudiced against the work, to cast a slur on the rest in general, to multiply and magnify the instances, and pronounce them all imposters. So I remember when thirty years since I lived and preached in England, if but one of our congregation, and much more of our communion, fell into any scandal, all the country round would ring and echo with it, and the looser people would take occasion to triumph with their reproaches; crying out,—“We were all alike, and though we were so precise we would not curse or swear, yet we would lie and cheat, and steal, and commit any private wickedness:” and the profane would call us all a pack of hypocrites. And, indeed in every party, where there is always more or less of blindness and partiality, and a powerful bent on all occasions to misconstrue, cavil, misrepresent, defame, and vilify. So were the ancient puritans, with the pious fathers of this country, treated in the reigns of King James I. and King Charles I., until they came over hither between 1620 and 1640: and so were the pious nonconformists in the reign of King Charles II. I believe there scarce ever was a set of men more reproached and stigmatized than those pious puritans and nonconformists; and this not only by looser people, but even by learned clergymen of note and figure, as their writings to this day show. And any man who knows them, may see the same aspersing and reviling spirit and way of writing in the present day against the instruments and subjects of this work in general. So the Papists have traduced the Protestants in general, especially Luther, Calvin, Beza, Knox, &c., and deny there has been any reformation at all; yea assert, that those who embraced the pretended reformed religion, grew insolent, censorious, turbulent, and worse in morals. So I have heard an Egyptian traveller, who once sailed with me, most zealously represent the Christians, from the numerous instances he knew, as the vilest sect on earth. And so was their glorious leader counted a deceiver, and his “apostles were despised, buffeted, reviled, persecuted, defamed, made as the filth of the world, and the outscouring of all things:” 1 Cor. iv. Some, after all, have, no doubt, deceived both themselves and others in the extent of the convic-

tion, humiliation, applying to Christ, and in the spring and nature of their comforts. Some I was afraid of at the time, as not being duly convinced, humbled, broken-hearted, self-condemned, devoted to God, concerned for his glory, or having a due reverence of him: and some few have given too much occasion for our fears since. Though until persons, who seemed to be converted, fall into a course of some sin or other against the common light of conscience, I am not willing to lose my charity. But the generality of those whom I judged to have passed through a right conviction and humiliation to faith in Christ, seemed to come to consolation in him, in a way agreeable to Scripture: the very nature and reason of things, and common experience of those who are thoroughly subdued to Christ, savingly enlightened, are satisfied in him, rest on him, and feel themselves in a new state, happily changed and brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God; as I apprehend those were: and one or other of these are common springs of joy or consolation, especially at the first conversion. The consolations of some were weaker, of others stronger: in some they rose to joys, in some few, to joy unspeakable and full of glory, as the apostle speaks; though I never saw one, either in town or country, in what some wrongly call a vision, trance, or revelation. And where those few instances have happened in some places, appeared but a little while and vanished: by what I have heard I apprehend that where they were unfeigned, they were only natural effects of an extraordinary intense exercise of soul; though a divine influence might be the original of the exercise. Nor do I apprehend such effects a sign either of the person's being unsanctified or sanctified; sanctification being to be judged of by the frame of the whole soul and nature of its exercises while fully awake, and not by such dreaming ideas; yea though it were possible they should be inspirations, they would be no more signs in themselves of sanctification, than the genuine visions of Balaam or Belshazzar. And I know of none but is of the same opinion with me.

But as for spiritual joys and consolations; whoever has a large experience in his own heart, or a large acquaintance with the various experiences of others, has found those joys arise from such like various causes as these that follow: 1. Some in the progress of their conviction towards the depths of humiliation; while their souls were quarrelling with the holiness, justice, law, wrath, curses, truth and sovereignty of God, so as to throw them into the utmost tumult; they have been at length, and sometimes suddenly subdued, so as to yield, submit and resign into the sovereign hands of Christ; upon which their quarrels and tumults ceasing, a divine and wondrous calm and pleasure have immediately and genuinely succeeded. 2. Some from a lively view of the exceeding number and heinousness of their sins and vileness of their hearts, whereby they thought themselves the worst of sinners; and seeing the all-sufficiency of Christ in every thing but willingness to save such horrid wretches, were in great distress; but upon seeing his willingness to save even them in particular, have been overcome with joy at the view, and with such joyful vows fled into his arms. 3. Some finding themselves under the

4. I never heard of above one or two in this town; and I do not remember I have heard of one in this province to the southward of us, though there has been a remarkable revival in several places in that part of the land.

love and power of sin, in wretched bondage to their lusts, to horrible suggestions, temptations, oppositions, and utter impotence to free themselves and serve the Lord with pleasure; being unexpectedly delivered and brought into the glorious liberties of the Son of God; they have been like those in Psal. cxxvi. "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream; then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing; the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." 4. Some labouring under such blindness of mind, that they could see nothing of the loveliness of Christ, have been exceedingly troubled, when they came, especially on a sudden, to see his perfect and transcendent loveliness, it has raised them into a transport. 5. Some who have found their hearts as hard as a rock, that they could not mourn in the least as they could perceive for their horrid sins and sinfulness, and were in the way of despair; upon their hearts dissolving with godly sorrow for their piercing Christ, and even the smallest sins and heart-impurities, have been greatly affected with pleasure and gladness. 6. Some after all their genuine changes, their exercise of faith in Christ, of love unto him, repentance, and other graces, have not yet been able to see whether these have been any other than superficial changes and common graces, and been in great perplexity; until the Spirit of Christ has shone so clearly on them as to give them joyful satisfaction. 7. Some having all the likely marks of conversion, and even some of their graces in some exercise, though very faint and low, and their hearts exceeding cold, flat and deadened, have been greatly discouraged; but ere they were aware, their souls have been made as the chariots of Amminadib, to their great rejoicing. 8. Likewise some have been so greatly troubled with their lamentable distance and estrangement from the blessed Jesus, as they could enjoy no rest; until he has taken them into his banqueting house, exalted them to sit in heavenly places with him, and so shown his glories and love unto them (his banner over them was love) as have most powerfully drawn out their hearts to an holy and transporting intimacy with him; that in the believing views of Christ and sensation of this communion, they have rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory. I here write what many souls, who have had communion with Christ, by their experience, well understand.

As for spiritual pride, and rash judging;—some lately wrought upon, especially in hours of temptation, have grievously exceeded; yea, some whom we judged to be effectually called, as well as many more who had been under very powerful and far advanced, but ineffectual operations; and who ought not to be blended with, as is the way of the prejudiced, but distinguished from the other. Yet some of the hopefully renewed are freer than others from those excesses. But with the common mixture of their remaining infirmities and corruptions, I have generally seen attending their joys, high, humble, and affectionate admiration of the wonderful grace of God, and astonishing pity and condescension of the Son of his love, in becoming incarnate, dying to save them, bearing so long with them while they have been spitting and trampling on him; and after all their abuses, sending them his ambassadors and tenders of grace, employing his Spirit, overcoming their hearts, and opening his arms to receive them: and with these joys I have also seen all the proper

expressions of their lively gratitude, love, praise, devotion to God their Saviour, zeal for his glory; love to his word, truths, ordinances, and those in whom the meek, humble, and holy image of Christ appears, and concern for others. And as they soon found the activity of their love subsiding, the fountain of corruption in them rising, and their spiritual impotence in a sad degree returning; the Holy Spirit has given them further views of their remaining vileness; and they have generally grown more humble and jealous of themselves, more sensible of their depending on Christ continually, and more meek and tender in their carriage to others.

And thus successfully did this divine work, as above described, go on in town, without any lisp, as I remember, of a separation either in this town or province, for above a year and a-half after Mr Whitefield left us, viz. the end of June 1742; when the Rev. Mr Davenport of Long-Island came to Boston. And then through the awful providence of the sovereign God, the wisdom of whose ways are past finding out, we unexpectedly came to an unhappy period, which it exceedingly grieves me now to write of, though with all convenient brevity. Friday evening, June 25th, he came to Charlestown. Lord's-day forenoon he attended the public worship, and at the Lord's-table there; but the afternoon staid at his lodgings from an apprehension of the minister's being unconverted, which greatly alarmed us. Monday afternoon he came over the ferry to Boston; which the associate pastors in this town and Charlestown, then at their stated course of meeting, hearing of, sent to signify, that we should be glad to see him; whereupon he presently came, and we had long and friendly conferences with him about his conduct, on this and the following day.

On Thursday, July 1, we thought ourselves obliged to publish a declaration of our judgment concerning him: wherein we owned, "That he appeared to us to be truly pious, and we hoped that God had used him as an instrument of good to many souls; yet we judged it our duty to bear our testimony against the following particulars:—1. His being acted much by sudden impulses. 2. His judging some ministers in Long-Island and New-England to be unconverted; and his thinking himself called of God to demand of his brethren from place to place an account of their regenerate state, when or in what manner the Holy Spirit wrought upon and renewed them. 3. His going with his friends singing through the streets and highways, to and from the houses of worship on Lord's-days and other days. 4. His encouraging private brethren (*i. e.* who are not probationers for the ministry) to pray and exhort (*i. e.* like ministers) in assemblies gathered for that.—We judged it, therefore, our present duty not to invite him into our places of public worship, as otherwise we might have really done. And we concluded thus—And we take this opportunity to repeat our testimony to the great and glorious work of God, which of his free grace he has begun and is carrying on in many parts of this and the neighbouring provinces; beseeching him to preserve, defend, maintain, and propagate it, in spite of all the devices of Satan against it of one kind or other; that however it may suffer by the imprudence of its friends, or by the virulent opposition of its enemies, yet it may stand as on the rock, and the gates of hell may never prevail against it."—*Boston, July 1, 1742.* William Welsteed, Joshua Gee, Hull Abbot,

Mather Byles, Thomas Prentice,¹ Ellis Gray, Andrew Elliot, Benjamin Colman, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft, Samuel Checkley.

Upon publishing this declaration on Friday, many were offended: and some days after Mr Davenport thought himself obliged to begin in his public exercises to declare against us also; naming some as unconverted, representing the rest as Jehoshaphat in Ahab's army, and exhorting the people to separate from us; which so diverted the minds of many from being concerned about their own conversion, to think and dispute about the case of others; as not only seemed to put an awful stop to their awakenings, but also on all sides to raise our passions, and provoke the Holy Spirit, in a gradual and dreadful measure, to withdraw his influence. Now a disputatious spirit most grievously prevailed among us; and what almost ever attends it, much censoriousness and reflection; which had a further tendency to inflame and alienate, and whereof many of every party were sadly guilty. It was, indeed, a lamentable time; wherein we seemed to fall into such a case as the Christian Church at Corinth in the Apostle's days: which had shared such a large effusion of the Holy Spirit, that the Apostle calls them "sanctified in Christ; and thanked his God always in their behalf for the grace of God which was given them by Jesus Christ, that in everything they were enriched by him in all utterance and all knowledge, even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in them, so that they came behind in no gift." And yet he complains there were risen among them "contentions, envying, strife, divisions, one saying, I am Paul, another, I am of Apollos.—And they were carnal, and walked as men," &c. 1 Cor. i. and iii.

Of all who resorted to me from all the congregations in town, I remember no more than three or four who talked of their impulses; and but one or two of these a subject of the late revival: the other two had been communicants in two of our churches, and used to speak of those things before. Nor, in all the preaching of the instruments of this work in town, did I ever hear any teach to follow impulses or any religious impressions but of the Word of God upon our minds, affections, wills, and consciences; and which, agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, the most famous reformers and Puritan ministers, both in England, Scotland, and New-England, have in their writings taught us. As to the doctrinal principles of those who continue in our congregations, and have been the subjects of the late revival, they are the same as they have been all along instructed in, from the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism; which has generally been received and taught in the churches of New-England, from its first publication, for three hundred years to this day; and which is therefore the system of doctrine most generally and clearly declarative of the faith of New-England churches.

However, the sovereign Spirit, in his awakening influences in the unconverted, and his enlivening efficacy in the hopefully renewed, in this town, has seemed these two last years in a gradual and awful manner to withdraw. For a twelvemonth I have rarely heard the cry of any new ones—What shall

I do to be saved?—But few are now added to our churches, and the heavenly shower in Boston seems now to be over. Of those who were in the late effusion wrought on, divers are sometimes repairing to me with sad complaints of their spiritual dullness, darkness, and decays; but I hope are working out their salvation with fear and trembling, while some have now and then a fresh revival to grace and comfort.

Thus have I endeavoured a brief and plain account of the late revival in this town, especially among the people who resorted to me, and more particularly those of the assembly I belong to, according to my observation and intelligence. I leave it as a grateful public testimony of the memorable work of the Divine power and grace among us in my day, which my eyes have seen and my ears have heard with pleasure; that God the Father, Son, and Spirit, may have the more extensive praise, to whose blessing I consign it; and that others may thereby receive eternal benefit. THOMAS PRINCE.

Boston, November 26, 1744.

As Mr Davenport's errors and imprudencies are mentioned in the above letter as the great occasion of the declining of the revival at Boston, we shall here subjoin his confessions and retractions, as published in the above *Christian History*, No 82, 83, with the Rev. Mr Williams's letter enclosing them.

To the Rev. Mr Prince of Boston.

The enclosed, which comes open, you will see is a confession and retraction of Mr James Davenport, which he left with me yesterday, and desired me to inclose in a letter to you; praying that you would see that it be according to his desire forthwith published, and made known in the most open manner. He desired me to assure you that the whole of the paper, and every interline, was made and written with his own hand. And he is full and free in it, and seems to be deeply sensible of his miscarriages and misconduct in these particulars, and very desirous to do all he possibly can to retrieve the dishonour which he has done to religion, and the injustice to many ministers of the Gospel; and in this, as well as in any other way, to promote the service of religion, and prevent any further prejudices against the work of God, which he may have been the occasion of raising or increasing. I must needs say, for my own part, I desire to bless God for that humble and Christian-like temper he appears to be in; and cannot but hope that God designs to use him as an instrument of greater service to the honour of Christ, and the good of his Church. I am, &c.

SOLOMON WILLIAMS.

Lebanon, August 2, 1744.

Mr Davenport's Retractions, &c.

Although I do not question at all but there is great reason to bless God for a glorious and wonderful work of his power and grace in the edification of his children, and the conviction and conversion of numbers in New-England, in the neighbouring governments, and several other parts, within a few years past; and believe that the Lord hath favoured me, though most unworthily, with several others of his servants, in granting special assistance and success; the glory of all which be given to Jehovah, to whom alone it belongs. Yet, after frequent meditation and desires, that I might be enabled to appre-

¹ Messrs Abbot and Prentice of Charlestown, the rest of Boston.

hend things justly, and, I hope I may say, mature consideration, I am now fully convinced and persuaded that several appendages to this glorious work are not essential parts thereof, but of a different and contrary nature and tendency; which appendages I have been, in the time of the work, very industrious in and instrumental of promoting by a misguided zeal; being further much influenced in the affair by the false spirit; which, unobserved by me, did (as I have been brought to see since) prompt me to unjust apprehensions and misconduct in several articles, which have been great blemishes to the work of God, very grievous to some of God's children, no less enaming and corrupting to others of them, a sad means of many persons questioning the work of God, concluding and appearing against it, and to the hardening of multitudes in their sins, and an awful occasion of the enemies blaspheming the right ways of the Lord; and withal very offensive to that God, before whom I would lie in the dust prostrate in deep humility and repentance on this account, imploring pardon for the Mediator's sake, and thankfully accepting the tokens thereof. The articles, which I especially refer to, and would, in the most public manner, retract, and warn others against, are these which follow, viz. 1. The method I used for a considerable time with respect to some, yea, many ministers in several parts, in openly exposing such as I feared or thought unconverted, in public prayer or otherwise; herein making my private judgment, (in which also I much suspect I was mistaken in several instances, as I believe also that my judgment concerning several was formed rashly, and upon very slender grounds). I say, making my private judgment the ground of public actions or conduct; offending, as I apprehend (although in the time of it ignorantly) against the ninth commandment, and such other passages of Scripture, as are familiar; yea, I may say, offending against the laws both of justice and charity; which laws were further broken. 2. By my advising and urging to such separations from those ministers, whom I treated as above, as I believe may be justly called rash, unwarrantable, and of sad and awful tendency and consequence. And here I would ask the forgiveness of those ministers, whom I have injured in both these articles. 3. I confess I have been much led astray by following impulses or impressions as a rule of conduct, whether they came with or without a text of Scripture; and my neglecting also duly to observe the analogy of Scripture; I am persuaded this was a great means of corrupting my experiences and carrying me off from the Word of God, and a great handle, which the false spirit has made use of with respect to a number, and me especially. 4. I believe further that I have done much hurt to religion by encouraging private persons to a ministerial and authoritative kind or method of exhorting; which is particularly observable in many such being puffed up and falling into the snare of the devil, whilst many others are thus directly prejudiced against the work. 5. I have reason to be deeply humbled that I have not been duly careful to endeavour to remove or prevent prejudice, (where I now believe I might then have done it consistently with duty) which appeared remarkable in the method practised, of singing with others in the streets in societies frequently. 6. I would also penitently confess and bewail my great stiffness in retaining these aforesaid errors a great while, and unwillingness to examine into them with

any jealousy of their being errors, notwithstanding the friendly counsels and cautions of real friends, especially in the ministry.

Here may probably be added a paragraph or two, taken out of a letter from me to Mr Barber at Georgia; a true copy of which I gave consent should be published lately at Philadelphia:—"I would add to what brother T—— hath written on the awful affair of books and clothes at New London, which affords ground of deep and lasting humiliation; I was, to my shame be it spoken, the ring-leader in that horrid action; I was, my dear brother, under the powerful influence of the false spirit almost one whole day together, and part of several days. The Lord shewed me afterwards that the spirit I was then actuated by was in its operations void of true inward peace, laying the greatest stress on externals, neglecting the heart, full of impatience, pride and arrogance; although I thought in the time of it, that it was the Spirit of God in an high degree; awful indeed! my body, especially my leg, much disordered at the same time,¹ which Satan and my evil heart might make some handle of.

And now may the holy wise and good God be pleased to guard and secure me against such errors for the future, and stop the progress of those, whether ministers or people, who have been corrupted by my words or example in any of the above-mentioned particulars; and if it be his holy will, bless this public recantation to this purpose. And oh! may he grant withal, that such as by reason of the aforesaid errors and misconduct have entertained unhappy prejudices against Christianity in general, or the late glorious work of God in particular, may by this account learn to distinguish the appendage from the substance or essence, that which is vile and odious from that which is precious, glorious, and divine, and thus be entirely and happily freed from all those prejudices referred to, and this in infinite mercy through Jesus Christ: and to these requests may all God's children, whether ministers or others, say Amen. JAMES DAVENPORT.

July 28, 1744.

P. S.—Inasmuch as a number, who have fallen in with and promoted the aforesaid errors and misconduct, and are not altered in their minds, may be prejudiced against this recantation, by a supposition or belief, that I came into it by reason of desertion or dullness and deadness in religion; it seems needful therefore to signify, what I hope I may say without boasting, and what I am able through pure rich grace to speak with truth and freedom; that for some months in the time of my coming to the abovesaid conclusions and retractions, and since I have come through grace to them, I have been favoured a great part of the time with a sweet calm and serenity of soul and rest in God, and sometimes with special and remarkable refreshments of soul, and these more free from corrupt mixtures than formerly: glory to God alone. J. D.

He likewise sent an explanation of some passages in the above retractions, in a letter to Mr Williams of Lebanon, dated August 30, 1744, as follows:—

R. D. B. You will please (if you think best) to send what is under-written to the Rev. Mr Prince of Boston, that so, if my retractions be printed again, they may be corrected accordingly: and if it is

¹ I had the long fever on me and the cankerous humour raging at once.

thought proper, my desire of this correction intimated in the margin. Yours in the dear Jesus,

JAMES DAVENPORT.

Upon the Rev. Dr Colman's observing that the use of a word in the first edition of these retractions is liable to be understood in a sense different from what I intended in the use of it, I desire, if they be printed again, that instead of what is now between these words, "I am now fully convinced and persuaded that;" and those words, "much influenced in the affair by the false spirit:" the following words may be inserted, viz., "Several things which in the time of the work I was very industrious and instrumental in promoting by a misguided zeal, were no parts of it, but of a different and contrary nature and tendency; and that I was"—and instead of those words, "the appendage from the substance or essence" let these be put, viz., "what is no part of the work from the work itself." Thus far Mr Davenport's retractions. We now return to the revival in 1740.

SECTION VI.

A NEW REVIVAL AT NORTHAMPTON.—REMARKABLE EFFECTS OF A SERMON AT A PRIVATE HOUSE.—AND OF EXHORTATIONS TO YOUNG CHILDREN.—THE MOST WONDERFUL WORK AMONGST CHILDREN THAT EVER WAS IN NORTHAMPTON.—THOSE PERSONS WHO WERE OF AGE UNDER THE FORMER REVIVAL, SEEMED NOW TO BE ALMOST WHOLLY PASSED OVER.—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS AND THE FORMER WORK.—MR BUEL AND A NUMBER OF THE ZEALOUS PEOPLE OF SUFFIELD CAME THERE.—MR BUEL PREACHES ALMOST EVERY DAY.—A PUBLIC RENEWAL OF COVENANT WITH GOD.

From a Letter from Mr EDWARDS, Minister at Northampton, to Mr PRINCE, Minister at Boston, December 12th, 1743, in PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 46, &c.

EVER since the great work of God that was wrought here about nine years ago, there has been an abiding alteration in this town in many respects. There has been vastly more religion kept up in the town, among all sorts of persons, in religious exercises, and in common conversation: there has been a great alteration among the youth of the town, with respect to revelling, frolicking, profane and unclean conversation, and lewd songs: instances of fornication have been very rare: there has also been a great alteration amongst both old and young with respect to tavern-haunting. I suppose the town has been in no measure so free of vice in these respects, for any long time together, for this sixty years, as it has been these nine years past. There has also been an evident alteration with respect to a charitable spirit to the poor (though I think with regard to this, we in this town, as the land in general, come far short of Gospel rules). And though, after that great work nine years ago, there has been a very lamentable decay of religious affections, and the engagedness of people's spirit, in religion; yet many societies for prayer and social religion were all along kept up; and there were some few instances of awakening and deep concern about the things of another world, even in the most dead time.

In the year 1740, in the spring, before Mr Whitefield came to this town, there was a visible alteration; there was more seriousness, and religious conversation, especially among young people: those

things that were of ill tendency among them were forborne; and it was a more frequent thing for persons to visit their ministers upon soul accounts: and in some particular persons there appeared a great alteration about that time. And thus it continued till Mr Whitefield came to town, which was about the middle of October following; he preached here four sermons in the meeting-house (besides a private lecture at my house), one on Friday, another on Saturday, and two upon the Sabbath. The congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon; almost the whole assembly being in tears for a great part of sermon time. Mr Whitefield's sermons were suitable to the circumstances of the town; containing just reproofs of our backslidings, and in a most moving and affecting manner, making use of our great profession and great mercies as arguments with us to return to God, from whom we had departed. Immediately after this the minds of the people in general appeared more engaged in religion, shewing a greater forwardness to make religion the subject of their conversation, and to meet frequently for religious purposes, and to embrace all opportunities to hear the word preached. The revival appeared chiefly among professors, and those that had entertained the hope that they were in a state of grace, to whom Mr Whitefield chiefly addressed himself; but in a very short time there appeared an awakening and deep concern among some young persons that looked upon themselves as in a Christless state; and there were some hopeful appearances of conversion; and some professors were greatly revived. In about a month or six weeks there was a great alteration in the town, both as to the revivals of professors, and awakenings of others. By the middle of December a very considerable work of God appeared among those that were very young; and the revival of religion continued to increase; so that in the spring an engagedness of spirit about things of religion was become very general amongst young people and children, and religious subjects almost wholly took up their conversation when they were together.

In the month of May, 1741, a sermon was preached to a company at a private house; near the conclusion of the exercise, one or two persons that were professors, were so greatly affected with a sense of the greatness and glory of divine things, and the infinite importance of the things of eternity, that they were not able to conceal it; the affection of their minds overcoming their strength, and having a very visible effect on their bodies. When the exercise was over, the young people that were present removed into the other room for religious conference; and particularly that they might have opportunity to enquire of those that were thus affected what apprehensions they had; and what things they were that thus deeply impressed their minds: and there soon appeared a very great effect of their conversation; the affection was quickly propagated through the room; many of the young people and children that were professors appeared to be overcome with a sense of the greatness and glory of divine things, and with admiration, love, joy, and praise, and compassion to others, that looked upon themselves as in a state of nature; and many others at the same time were overcome with distress about their sinful and miserable state and condition; so that the room was full of nothing but outcries, faintings, and such like. Others soon heard of it,

in several parts of the town, and came to them; and what they saw and heard there was greatly affecting to them; so that many of them were overpowered in like manner; and it continued thus for some hours; the time being spent in prayer, singing, counselling, and conferring. There seemed to be a consequent happy effect of that meeting to several particular persons, and in the state of religion in the town in general. After this were meetings from time to time attended with like appearances. But a little after it, at the conclusion of the public exercise on the Sabbath, I appointed the children that were under sixteen years of age to go from the meeting-house to a neighbouring house, that I there might further enforce what they had heard in public, and might give in some counsels proper for their age. The children were there very generally and greatly affected with the warnings and counsels that were given them, and many exceedingly overcome, and the room was filled with cries; and when they were dismissed, they, almost all of them, went home crying aloud through the streets, to all parts of the town. The like appearances attended several such meetings of children that were appointed. But their affections appeared by what followed to be of a very different nature; in many they appeared indeed but childish affections; and in a day or two would leave them as they were before; others were deeply impressed; their convictions took fast hold of them, and abode by them; and there were some that from one meeting to another seemed extraordinarily affected for some time, to but little purpose, their affections presently vanishing, from time to time; but yet afterwards were seized with abiding convictions, and their affections became durable.

About the middle of the summer, I called together the young people that were communicants, from sixteen to twenty-six years of age, to my house; which proved to be a most happy meeting; many seemed to be very greatly and most agreeably affected with those views which excited humility, self-condemnation, self-abhorrence, love and joy; many fainted under these affections. We had several meetings that summer of young people, attended with like appearances. It was about that time that there first began to be cryings out in the meeting-house; which several times occasioned many of the congregation to stay in the house, after the public exercise was over, to confer with those who seemed to be overcome with religious convictions and affections; which was found to tend much to the propagation of their impressions, with lasting effects upon many; conference being at these times commonly joined with prayer and singing. In the summer and fall, the children in various parts of the town had religious meetings by themselves for prayer, sometimes joined with fasting: wherein many of them seemed to be greatly and properly affected, and I hope some of them savingly wrought upon.

The months of August and September were the most remarkable of any this year, for appearances of conviction and conversion of sinners, and great revivings, quickenings, and comforts of professors, and for extraordinary external effects of these things. It was a very frequent thing to see a house full of outcries, faintings, convulsions, and such like, both with distress, and also with admiration and joy. It was not the manner here to hold meetings all night, as in some places, nor was it common to continue them till very late in the night: but it was pretty

often, so that there were some that were so affected, and their bodies so overcome, that they could not go home, but were obliged to stay all night at the house where they were. There was no difference that I know of here, with regard to these extraordinary effects, in meetings in the night, and in the day-time: the meetings in which these effects appeared in the evening, being commonly begun, and their extraordinary effects, in the day, and continued in the evening; and some meetings have been very remarkable for such extraordinary effects that were both begun and finished in the day-time. There was an appearance of a glorious progress of the work of God upon the hearts of sinners in conviction and conversion this summer and fall; and great numbers, I think, we have reason to hope, were brought savingly home to Christ. But this was remarkable, the work of God in his influences of this nature, seemed to be almost wholly upon a new generation; those that were not come to years of discretion in that wonderful season nine years ago, children, or those that were then children: others that had enjoyed that former glorious opportunity without any appearance of saving benefit, seemed now to be almost wholly passed over and let alone. But now we had the most wonderful work among children that ever was in Northampton. The former great outpouring of the Spirit was remarkable for influences upon the minds of children, beyond all that had ever been before; but this far exceeded that. Indeed as to influences on the minds of professors, this work was by no means confined to a new generation; many of all ages partook of it; but yet, in this respect it was more general on those that were of the younger sort. Many that had been formerly wrought upon, that in the times of our declension had fallen into decays, and had in a great measure left God, and gone after the world, now passed under a very remarkable new work of the Spirit of God, as if they had been the subjects of a second conversion. They were first led into the wilderness, and had a work of conviction, having much greater convictions of the sin of both nature and practice than ever before, (though with some new circumstances, and something new in the kind of conviction) in some with great distress, beyond what they had felt before their first conversion: under these convictions they were excited to strive for salvation, and the kingdom of heaven suffered violence from some of them in a far more remarkable manner than before: and after great convictions and humblings, and agonizings with God, they had Christ discovered to them anew, as an all-sufficient Saviour, and in the glories of his grace, and in a far more clear manner than before; and with great humility, self-emptiness and brokenness of heart, and a purer and higher joy, and greater desires after holiness of life, but with greater self-diffidence and distrust of their treacherous hearts. One circumstance wherein this work differed from that which had been in the town five or six years before, was that conversions were frequently wrought more sensibly and visibly; the impressions stronger, and more manifest by external effects of them; and the progress of the Spirit of God in conviction, from step to step, more apparent; and the transition from one state to another more sensible and plain; so that it might, in many instances, be as it were seen by by-standers. The preceding season had been very remarkable on this account beyond what had been before; but this more remarkable than that. And in this season

these apparent or visible conversions (if I may so call them) were more frequently in the presence of others, at religious meetings, where the appearances of what was wrought on the heart fell under public observation.

After September 1741, there seemed to be some abatement of the extraordinary appearances that had been; but yet they did not wholly cease, but there was something of them from time to time all winter. About the beginning of February 1741-2, Mr Buel came to this town; I being then absent from home, and continued so till about a fortnight after. Mr Buel preached from day to day, almost every day, in the meeting-house, (I having left to him the free liberty of my pulpit, hearing of his designed visit before I went from home) and spent almost the whole time in religious exercises with the people, either in public or private, the people continually thronging him. When he first came, there came with him a number of the zealous people from Suffield, who continued here for some time. There were very extraordinary effects of Mr Buel's labours; the people were exceedingly moved, crying out in great numbers in the meeting-house, and great part of the congregation commonly staying in the house of God for hours after the public service. Many also were exceedingly moved in private meetings, where Mr Buel was: and almost the whole town seemed to be in a great and continual commotion, day and night; and there was, indeed, a very great revival of religion. But it was principally among professors; the appearances of a work of conversion were in no measure equal to what had been the summer before. When I came home, I found the town in very extraordinary circumstances, such, in some respects, as I never saw it in before. Mr Buel continued here a fortnight or three weeks after I returned: there being still great appearances attending his labours; many in their religious affections being raised far beyond what they ever had been before; and there were instances of persons lying in a sort of trance, remaining for perhaps a whole twenty-four hours motionless, and with their senses locked up; but, in the meantime, under strong imaginations, as though they went to heaven, and had there a vision of glorious and delightful objects. But when the people were raised to this height, Satan took the advantage, and his interposition, in many instances, soon became very apparent; and a great deal of caution and pains was found necessary to keep the people, many of them, from running wild.

In the month of March, I led the people into a solemn public renewal of their covenant with God. To that end I made a draught of a covenant; and first proposed it to some of the principal men in the church, then proposed it to the people in their several religious societies, in various parts of the town, and then proposed it to the whole congregation in public, and then deposited a copy of it in the hands of each of our four deacons, that all that desired it might resort to them, and have opportunity to view and consider it. Then the people in general that were above fourteen years of age, first subscribed the covenant with their hands, and then, on a day of fasting and prayer, all together presented themselves before the Lord in his house, and stood up, and solemnly manifested their consent to it, as their vow to God. The covenant was as follows:—

A Copy of a Covenant entered into and subscribed by the People of God at Northampton, and owned before God in his House, as their Vow to the Lord, and made a solemn Act of public Worship, by the Congregation in general that were above fourteen Years of Age, on a day of Fasting and Prayer for the Continuance and Increase of the gracious presence of God in that place, March 16, 1741-2.

“Acknowledging God's great goodness to us, a sinful unworthy people, in the blessed manifestations and fruits of his gracious presence in this town, both formerly and lately, and particularly in the very late spiritual revival; and adoring the glorious majesty, power, and grace of God, manifested in the present wonderful outpouring of his Spirit, in many parts of this land, and in this place; and lamenting our past backslidings and ungrateful departings from God; and humbly begging of God, that he would not mark our iniquities, but, for Christ's sake, come over the mountains of our sins, and visit us with his salvation, and continue the tokens of his presence with us, and yet more gloriously pour out his blessed Spirit upon us, and make us all partakers of the Divine blessings he is at this day bestowing here, and in many parts of this land: we do this day present ourselves before the Lord, to renounce our evil ways, and put away our abominations from before God's eyes, and, with one accord, to renew our engagements to seek and serve God; and particularly do now solemnly promise and vow to the Lord as follows:—

“In all our conversation, concerns, and dealings with our neighbour, we will have a strict regard to rules of honesty, justice, and uprightness; that we do not overreach or defraud our neighbours in any matter, and either wilfully, or through want of care, injure him in any of his honest possessions or rights; and, in all our communication, will have a tender respect not only to our own interest, but also to the interest of our neighbour; and will carefully endeavour, in everything, to do to others, as we should expect, or think reasonable, that they should do to us, if we were in their case, and they in ours. And particularly we will endeavour to render to every one his due, and will take heed to ourselves, that we do not wrong our neighbours, and give them a just cause of offence, by wilfully or negligently forbearing to pay our honest debts. And wherein any of us, upon strict examination of our past behaviour, may be conscious to ourselves, that we have by any means wronged any of our neighbours in their outward estate, we will not rest until we have made that restitution, or given that satisfaction, which the rules of moral equity require; or if we are, on a strict and impartial search, conscious to ourselves, that we have, in any other respect, considerably injured our neighbour, we will truly endeavour to do that, which we, in our consciences, suppose Christian rules require, in order to a reparation of the injury, and remove the offence given thereby. And, furthermore, we promise, that we will not allow ourselves in backbiting; and that we will take great heed to ourselves to avoid all violations of those Christian rules, Tit. iii. 2. ‘Speak evil of no man.’ James iv. 11. ‘Speak not evil one of another, brethren.’ And 2 Cor. xii. 20. ‘Lest there be stripes, backbitings, whisperings.’ And that we will not only not slander our neighbour, but also will not, to feed a spirit of bitterness, ill-will, or secret grudge against our neighbour, insist on his real faults,

needlessly, and when not called to it: or from such a spirit speak of his failings and blemishes with ridicule, or an air of contempt. And we promise that we will be very careful to avoid doing anything to our neighbours from a spirit of revenge; and that we will take great care that we do not, for private interest, or our own honour, or to maintain ourselves against those of a contrary party, or to get our wills, or to promote any design in opposition to others, do those things which we, on the most impartial consideration we are capable of, can think in our consciences, will tend to wound religion, and the interest of Christ's kingdom. And particularly, that so far as any of us, by Divine Providence, have any special influence upon others, to lead them, in the management of public affairs; we will not make our own worldly gain, or honour, or interest in the affections of others, or getting the better of any of a contrary party, that are in any respect our competitors, or the bringing, or keeping them down, our governing aim, to the prejudice of the interest of religion, and the honour of Christ. And in the management of any public affair, wherein there is a difference of opinions, concerning any outward possessions, privileges, rights, or properties; we will not wittingly violate justice for private interest: and with the greatest strictness and watchfulness will avoid all unchristian bitterness, vehemence, and heat of spirit; yea, though we should think ourselves injured by a contrary party: and in the time of the management of such affairs, will especially watch over ourselves, our spirits, and our tongues, to avoid all unchristian inveighings, reproachings, bitter reflections, judging and ridiculing others, either in public meetings, or in private conversation, either to men's faces, or behind their backs; but will greatly endeavour, so far as we are concerned, that all should be managed with Christian humility, gentleness, quietness, and love. And, furthermore, we promise that we will not tolerate the exercise of enmity and ill-will, or revenge in our hearts, against any of our neighbours; and we will often be strictly searching and examining our hearts with respect to that matter.

"And if any of us find that we have an old secret grudge against any of our neighbours, we will not gratify it, but cross it, and endeavour, to our utmost, to root it out, crying to God for his help; and that we will make it our true and faithful endeavour, in our places, that a party spirit may not be kept up amongst us, but that it may utterly cease; that, for the future, we may all be one, united in undisturbed peace, and unfeigned love.

"And those of us that are in youth, do promise never to allow ourselves in any youthful diversions and pastimes, in meetings or companies of young people, that we in our consciences, upon sober consideration, judge not well to consist with, or would sinfully tend to hinder the devoutest and most engaged spirit in religion; or indispose the mind for that devout and profitable attendance on the duties of the closet, which is most agreeable to God's will, or that we, in our most impartial judgment, can think tends to rob God of that honour which he expects, by our orderly serious attendance on family worship. And, furthermore, we promise that we will strictly avoid all freedoms and familiarities in company, so tending either to stir up or gratify a lust of lasciviousness, that we cannot in our consciences think will be approved by the infinitely pure

and holy eye of God; or that we can think, on serious and impartial consideration, we should be afraid to practice, if we expected in a few hours to appear before that holy God, to give an account of ourselves to him, as fearing they would be condemned by him as unlawful and impure.

"We also promise, with great watchfulness, to perform relative duties, required by Christian rules, in the families we belong to; as we stand related respectively, towards parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, masters or mistresses and servants.

"And we now appear before God, depending on Divine grace and assistance, solemnly to devote our whole lives, to be laboriously spent in the business of religion: ever making it our greatest business, without backsliding from such a way of living; not hearkening to the solicitations of our sloth, and other corrupt inclinations, or the temptations of the world, that tend to draw us off from it; and particularly, that we will not abuse an hope or opinion that any of us may have of our being interested in Christ, to indulge ourselves in sloth, or the more easily to yield to the solicitations of any sinful inclinations; but will run with perseverance the race set before us, and work out our own salvation with fear and trembling. And because we are sensible that the keeping these solemn vows may hereafter, in many cases, be very contrary to our corrupt inclinations, and carnal interests, we do now, therefore, appear before God, to make a surrender of all to him, and to make a sacrifice of every carnal inclination and interest to the great business of religion, and the interest of our souls. And being sensible of our own weakness, and the deceitfulness of our own hearts, and our proneness to forget our most solemn vows, and loose our resolutions, we promise to be often strictly examining ourselves by these promises, especially before the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and beg of God that he would, for Christ's sake, keep us from wickedly dissembling in these our solemn vows; and that he who searches our hearts, and ponders the path of our feet, would, from time to time, help us in trying ourselves by this covenant, and help us to keep covenant with him, and not leave us to our own foolish, wicked, and treacherous hearts."

In the beginning of the summer 1742, there seemed to be some abatement of the liveliness of peoples' affections in religion; but yet many were often in a great height of them. And in the fall and winter following, there were at times extraordinary appearances. But in general the peoples' engagedness in religion and the liveliness of their affections have been on the decline; and some of the young people especially, have shamefully lost their liveliness and vigour in religion, and much of the seriousness and solemnity of their spirits. But there are many that walk as becometh saints; and to this day, there are a considerable number in the town that seem to be near to God, and maintain much of the life of religion, and enjoy many of the sensible tokens and fruits of his gracious presence.

With respect to the late season of revival of religion amongst us, for three or four years past, it has been observable, that in the former part of it, in the years 1740 and 1741, the work seemed to be much more pure, having less of a corrupt mixture than in the former great outpouring of the Spirit in 1738 and 1736. Persons seemed to be sensible of their former errors, and had learned more of their own hearts,

and experience had taught them more of the tendency and consequences of things : they were now better guarded, and their affections were not only greater, but attended with greater solemnity, and greater humility and self-distrust, and greater engagedness after holy living, and perseverance ; and there were fewer errors in conduct. But in the latter part of it, in the year 1742, it was otherwise ; the work continued more pure till we were infected from abroad ; our people hearing, and some of them seeing the work in other places, where there was a greater visible commotion than here, and the outward appearances were more extraordinary ; were ready to think that the work in those places far excelled what was amongst us ; and their eyes were dazzled with the high profession and great shew that some made who came hither from other places. That those people went so far beyond them in raptures and violent emotions of the affections, and a vehement zeal, and what they called boldness for Christ ; our people were ready to think was owing to their far greater attainments in grace, and intimacy with heaven : they looked little in their own eyes in comparison of them, and were ready to submit themselves to them, and yield themselves up to their conduct, taking it for granted that everything was right that they said and did. These things had a strange influence on the people, and gave many of them a deep and unhappy tincture, that it was a hard and a long labour to deliver them from, and which some of them are not fully delivered from to this day.

The effects and consequences of things amongst us plainly shew the following things, viz., that the degree of grace is by no means to be judged of by the degree of joy, or the degree of zeal ; and that indeed we cannot at all determine by these things, who are gracious and who are not ; and that it is not the degree of religious affections, but the nature of them that is chiefly to be looked at. Some that have had very great raptures of joy, and have been extraordinarily filled, (as the vulgar phrase is) and have had their bodies overcome, and that very often, have manifested far less of the temper of Christians, in their conduct since, than some others that have been still, and have made no great outward show. But then again there are many others, that have had extraordinary joys and emotions of mind, with frequent great effects on their bodies, that behave themselves stedfastly, as humble, amiable, eminent Christians. It is evident that there may be great religious affections, that may in shew and appearance intimate gracious affections, and have the same effects on their bodies, but are far from having the same effect in the temper of their minds, and course of their lives. And likewise there is nothing more manifest by what appears amongst us, than that the goodness of persons' state is not chiefly to be judged of by an exactness of steps, and method of experiences, in what is supposed to be the first conversion ; but that we must judge more by the spirit that breathes, the effect wrought on the temper of the soul, in the time of the work, and remaining afterwards. Though there have been very few instances among professors amongst us, of what is ordinarily called scandalous sin, known to me ; yet the temper that some of them shew, and the behaviour they have been of, together with some things in the kind and circumstances of their experiences, make me much afraid at least there be a considerable number that

have woefully deceived themselves. Though on the other hand, there is a great number whose temper and conversation is such as justly confirms the charity of others towards them ; and not a few in whose disposition and walk, there are amiable appearances of eminent grace. And notwithstanding all the corrupt mixtures that have been in the late work here ; there are not only many blessed fruits of it in particular persons, that yet remain, but some good effects of it upon the town in general. A party-spirit has more ceased : I suppose there has been less appearance these three or four years past, of that division of the town into two parties, that has long been our bane, than has been these thirty years ; and the people have apparently had much more caution, and a greater guard on their spirit and their tongues, to avoid contention and unchristian heats, in town-meetings and on other occasions. And it is a thing greatly to be rejoiced in, that the people very lately have come to an agreement and final issue, with respect to their grand controversy, relating to their common lands ; which has been above any other particular thing, a source of mutual prejudices, jealousies, and debates, for fifteen or sixteen years past. The people also seem to be much more sensible of the danger of resting in old experiences, or what they were subjects of at their supposed first conversion ; and to be more fully convinced of the necessity of forgetting the things that are behind, and pressing forward and maintaining earnest labour, watchfulness and prayerfulness as long as they live.

SECTION VII.

IN THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1741, THE CONCERN APPEARS AT BRIDGEWATER, IN THE MASSACHUSETTS.—ONE OF THEIR MINISTERS, MR PORTER, BENEFITED BY HEARING MR WHITFIELD.—MR TENNENT PREACHES.—RELIGIOUS MEETINGS.—THE SUBJECTS PREACHED ON.—TWO YOUNG MEN WHO HAD SEEN THE REVIVAL IN CONNECTICUT.—ITINERANT MINISTERS EMPLOYED.—HAPPY FRUITS OF THIS WORK.

From a Letter from MR PORTER, Minister at Bridgewater, to MR PRINCE, Junr., October 12th, 1743, CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 50.

DIVINE Providence has cast my lot in Bridgewater, in the county of Plymouth, about thirty miles southward from Boston ; a town settled in the year 1652, by a number of serious Christians, wherein there was a church gathered, and Mr James Keith, a Scottish gentleman, ordained the pastor of it in 1663, who continued with them preaching the Gospel about fifty-six years.

And as to the people of the town, I may further observe, it was remarked of them by strangers, as well as persons in the neighbourhood, at their first settling, and sometimes after, that they were a people of the greatest modesty and seriousness, and most exact, punctual, and conscientious in discharging first and second table duties, of any they were acquainted with. But this high character (with lamentation let it be spoken) was not given them long ; for a number of the first planters (pious men, and experimental Christians) being deceased ; their posterity (not having their holy examples, pious instructions, and faithful admonitions) soon began gradually to depart from the God of their fathers. And thus they went on for several years ; until religion was almost

sunk into a mere form : few had more than a name to live : little of God, of Christ, of heaven, of the soul, was to be found in the conversation of those that passed for the best of Christians. Experimental religion, and the power of Godliness, seemed to have taken their flight from Bridgewater. This I had a great advantage and opportunity to know, by reason of Providence calling me to keep school in all the parts of the town, before this remarkable revival of religion. Now in these days of declension, neither ordinances nor providences, had much effect on the people. Indeed, by some sore distempers with which God was pleased to visit them, and the ministers in the town improving them, by adapting their discourses to such seasons of mortality ; some, through the blessing of God, were awakened to a concern about the salvation of their souls. But I have reason to think that few of their convictions issued in conversion, or their distress in the joy of the Lord, or comfort of the Holy Ghost : but that most of them rested in various duties, short of a saving closure with Christ. And so in general they remained very secure, and unconcerned about the great and momentous affair of securing the salvation of the soul ; until sometime in the beginning of the year 1741, after Mr Whitefield and Mr Tennent had been at Boston, and through the province, preaching the everlasting gospel with such unweariedness and success. Whose names, especially the former, I shall always mention with respect and honour, whatever others may think or say to him, from the benefit one of the meanest and most unworthy of Christ's ministers hopes he received by his holy and fervent ministrations while at Boston. Be sure I knew nothing rightly of my sin and danger, of my need of a Saviour, of the way of salvation by him : neither was established in the doctrines of grace ; (though a preacher, and one who endeavoured to instruct others in the way) till I heard that man of God. And if the Lord had permitted me to have took the oversight of a flock, as I had a call to do, and had given my answer ; the blind would have led the blind, and so it is like both would have fallen into the ditch.—But he did not. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name," for what he did for me, through the instrumentality of that man ! And I was quickened and strengthened very much by Mr Tennent's excellent sermons, and was desirous all should hear them, as I had done, and urged many to it.

Few of the people in Bridgewater heard Mr Whitefield : but the most did Mr Tennent ; for, upon his return home, and passing through a neighbouring town in March 1740-1, some of the ministers in Bridgewater, with myself, went to see him ; in order to invite him to visit Bridgewater, that we and our dear charges might partake of his gifts and graces, and that he might have some seals of his ministry with us, as well as in other places. And after some entreaties (for he was determined another way, viz., to Freetown and Tivertown) we gained a promise from him, that (God willing) he would visit us next day. Accordingly he came, and preached three sermons in Mr Perkin's meeting-house in the western precinct ; two in the day, one in the evening. And though the warning was short, the people in general not knowing it, till that morning, and the season very difficult, by reason of the snow ; yet there was a large and crowded assembly. They came from all parts of the town, (for you must note though in good

Mr Keith's day, there was but one society, now there are four ; to which the reverend Messrs Daniel Perkins, John Angier, John Shaw, and myself, stand severally in pastoral relation)—and many I believe went away blessing God for the opportunity ; though some mocked. It appears that some close hypocrites were detected, some secure awakened, and many of our young people convinced of the sin of spending away days and nights in singing and dancing, and other youthful sins, which they were much addicted to before, and greatly delighted in. After this, religion was more talked of in our town ; particularly the great doctrines of our holy religion were often the subject of conversation, not for strife and contention, but information and edification. The people now through the town were very inquisitive to know how things were, having heard of the revival of religion in some places. They appeared of a very teachable disposition ; they were swift to hear the word ; an uncommon thirst after it appeared in them. Our lectures (which were almost every week in one part of the town or another) were more generally attended than before, and with much greater seriousness and solemnity ; which encouraged us the ministers in the town, to set up evening lectures, to be attended in all parts of the town ; which (excepting one) are upheld at this time ; beside all our lectures in private houses, which have not been a few ; and occasional lectures from strangers who came to visit us : which I believe God has blessed to the good of many souls. Spiritual clouds seemed to be gathering apace ; a shower of divine and heavenly blessing seemed nigh being rained down on Bridgewater, and the whole town becoming a mountain of holiness. O the delightful prospect we now had ! But I shall say no more with respect to the other societies in conjunction with our own, or of the promising appearances in them, and what God has done for them. But leaving this for their reverend pastors to do ; I come to declare more particularly what great things the Lord hath done for the little society, called the North Precinct, consisting of near sixty families, over which I was ordained the 15th of October, 1740.

And as I observed, in the beginning of the year 1741, there was a visible appearance of a religious concern on the minds of many, especially the young people ; which brought them to leave their youthful practices of singing, dancing, company-keeping, which before they esteemed lawful recreations, and took abundance of pleasure in. And some came to resolutions, not only to leave spending away evenings this way, in which they had so much dishonoured God, and injured their immortal souls ; but to spend them in religious exercises ; particularly the Sabbath evening, which was spent before in vanity, they proposed to meet on, for the service of God : as I found by a letter directed to, and given me by one of the young men of our society, signed by himself and several others : wherein they signified their concern of soul, and design to set up evening meetings, and desire that others would join them : as also my direction in, and approbation of the affair, and that I would favour them with a sermon to encourage them to hold on, and encourage others to join with them. This good symptom did put gladness in my heart ; and I readily complied with their desire : and accordingly they spent every Sabbath evening in singing, praying, reading, and such like religious exercises. And now, being in the Spring 1741, there appeared a

considerable external alteration in most of the young people in the place; which was observed and spoken of by diverse in the neighbourhood. Now things looked very promising and hopeful. All things seemed to be concurring to bring about a glorious and remarkable revival of religion: to make our sons as plants growing up in their youth, and our daughters as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace. But nothing so remarkable and gracious, as what followed. The best wine was not yet bestowed, as we found by happy experience afterward.

About this time, through the infinite compassion of God, I had a very lively sense of divine and eternal things on my mind from day to day. My meditations run very much at this time on the awful state man had plunged himself into by the fall: on regeneration, its instantaneity, greatness, and necessity: on man's weakness and inability to help himself and effect this change: on man's unworthiness of mercy: and the justice of God should he damn him after he had done his best: on Christ the only way to the Father; on his mediatorial fulness and transcendent glories; on his perfect righteousness, as the only matter of a sinner's justification before God, exclusive of all works; on receiving it by faith: on the change of heart that followed thereupon, how it left the impress of the divine image on the soul: on the unspeakable sweetness and satisfaction in a life of religion and communion with God: on assurance of the love of God: its attainableness and privilege: on having our conversation in Heaven: on living like creatures made for eternity, and accountable to God: on our capableness of enjoying God the chief and only soul-satisfying good for ever and ever. These with some of the like nature and tendency, were much in my mind. And I was therefore under some constraint to insist on them from Sabbath to Sabbath. Which I urged and pressed with as great a warmth as I was capable of. And have reasons to believe that these discourses, thus delivered, on these gospel subjects; (though it may be not with such accuracy and correctness as some might have insisted upon, and so to them might have appeared foolishness) were blessed to the good of souls, and were to them the wisdom of God and the power of God.

Though but few, I believe, were as yet savingly converted and brought home to Christ, yet the concern on the minds of most continued and increased through the succeeding Summer. The most were uncommonly thoughtful about the salvation of their precious souls. But as I remember in the beginning of the Fall 1741, convictions seemed at a stay, if not declining and wearing off from some. But upon this, two young men of Bridgewater, who had been for a time in Connecticut (one had passed through his academical learning and was keeping school there; the other was then a member of Yale College) and had seen the great things God was doing for his people there; and in a judgment of charity had felt and experienced much of the power of Divine grace on their own souls; returned to Bridgewater to visit their friends. And O the concern they appeared to have (and we have no reason to think but it was real) for their town's folks, especially fellow youth, is not easily to be expressed: which they manifested in all suitable and proper ways. They told our young people that on such a day, if they were willing, they would meet with them and sing and pray, and

give them a relation of the great things God was doing in Connecticut, and what he had done for them since they saw them last. To which they readily consented. When the day came, young and old went: and I believe I should have gone, had I not been providentially absent. Accordingly they did pray and sing with them, and gave them a friendly Christian exhortation. And the Lord was with them, I doubt not. Some were awakened; and those under concern, had their concern increased by means thereof. And seeing such effects following, they went on in this way for a while; if not at the advice, yet at the connivance of some of the ministers in the town. And whether their practice or our connivance was justifiable, as things were then circumstanced, I shall not take upon me now to say. But this I think I am obliged to say; that if I believe the work going on so remarkably to be divine, as I most firmly do, they were greatly serviceable in promoting it in my dear charge. Here I would observe, that these were the only exhorters we have had. I think we have had no appearances of them since.

After this that grand and important question was in the mouths of most of my people, especially young people, "What must we do to be saved?" Salvation seemed now to be the main concern of their souls, and the main business of their lives. Their secular affairs were at this time, in appearance, made a by-business. Meetings on account of religion were sought after, longed for, frequently attended, exceedingly thronged. And at almost every meeting about this time (which were very frequent) it evidently appeared God was with us in the convincing and converting and comforting influences of his Spirit. Some were awakened, many crying out under a sense of their sin and danger. Some hopelessly converted: and some transported and over-borne with a sense of the love of God. I make not the least doubt, but there was joy in Heaven among the angels, as well as among the saints on earth, in seeing and hearing of the glorious displays of the infinite power and sovereign free grace of God at our religious meetings. O it looked probable now that the whole society, old and young, black and white, would have been seized by the Almighty power and free grace of God; and would have been brought to have submitted to a sovereign God in Christ, and received a whole Christ with a whole soul. My soul did leap within me with joy at the blessed prospect I now had of all joining heart and hand in travelling in the way to eternal glory, and of arriving there at last. But this blessed shower did not long continue. It was not long before God (for our sin in not improving and our ingratitude under these showers of divine and heavenly grace) did depart from us as to the convincing and converting influences of his Spirit. And many of those that were under good impressions, and had not received comfort in Christ, which many had, gradually lost them, and began to be somewhat careless and secure again. Now and then, it is true, I had the joy of seeing and hearing one convinced and converted, and it has been to this time; but it is rare, like gleanings after the vintage.

Now all along in this time I did freely invite and gladly improve as I had opportunity, all my zealous fathers and brethren in the ministry, living in the neighbourhood, and that travelled (who had been remarkably blessed by God in promoting this work, to preach to my people. I think I can truly say,

(though the spirit of man lusteth to envy) I am willing God should send by the hand, by whom he would send; should carry on his own work in his own way, by such means and instruments as pleases him; willing I am, at times especially, with John the Baptist to decrease, in name, success and all, so that Christ may increase his kingdom and interest be advanced in my charge, and through the world. And I do not yet repent of this my conduct, but greatly rejoice in it. For as far as I can learn, every one that has been with us preaching the everlasting gospel, have been instrumental of doing good to some souls: and who would mourn at that? I will acknowledge that they have been greatly serviceable to the people of my charge: they, and not I, are the spiritual fathers of many of my flock. Nor do I see any of the bad effects of such conduct, which many talk of; my people, such of them as have been converted by the instrumentality of strangers, love me their unworthy pastor better than ever, I doubt not: and therefore I have reason to think, that had ministers been more free in inviting and improving neighbouring ministers, and them that travelled to their people; the work of God would have gone on more gloriously, and would have prevented the unhappy jars, divisions, and separations that have arisen in some places. But I'll return, and say, that in the judgment of charity, through the infinite compassions of God, the number is not small that have been savingly wrought upon among us in this great day of grace, and that are become real lively Christians. I believe it is not proper to say how many: though I believe by what I can learn as many in proportion to the bigness of the place, as almost any place that has been remarkably visited at this day. We have had added to the Church between seventy and eighty; beside a considerable number that have owned the covenant and been baptised, that have not seen their way clear to come to the ordinance of the holy supper. The most of which are able to give to every one that asks them with meekness, and fear all the satisfaction that can rationally be desired or expected, that they are real Christians. They can give a clear, distinct account of a preparatory law-work in all parts of it; of their discovery of Christ in his ability and willingness to save them in particular, and every way suited to their perishing circumstances, to make them completely and eternally happy; of their closing in with him as offered in the gospel; of the change of heart; and so consequently of principles, desires, inclinations and affections that perceptibly followed thereupon. And their lives and conversations, as far as I can observe myself, and learn from the unprejudiced, are corresponding and agreeing with their experiences: they live in general as becomes the gospel, and evidently adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. In a word, they appear to love God and men: which is expressed by a careful and conscientious discharge of first and second table duties: and so are truly religious.

And now these, God is through his abundant goodness, frequently visiting and refreshing by the gracious influences of his Holy Spirit. For although God has almost departed from us as to the convincing and converting influences of his Spirit; yet he has not, as to the quickening, sanctifying and comforting influences thereof: blessed be his name for it. God is verily with us in our religious meetings. It is frequent on lecture days and on Lord's days,

while we are supplicating the Divine Majesty, singing the high praises of God, hearing his Word, celebrating the Holy Supper, that we see some of the above-mentioned influences. Sometimes many of them have their frail tabernacles overborne with a sense of the great and distinguishing love of God the Father in contriving, Son in purchasing, and Spirit in making application of redemption to their souls. Sometimes they have such a sense of their perfections of God, his holiness, justice, mercy, faithfulness, &c., as greatly weakens and overcomes the body. They have often such sweet tastes of redeeming love, and such blessed discoveries of the glories of God, beauties of Christ, holiness and happiness of Heaven; as affects the body so greatly, that spectators have been ready to conclude that it would have dissolved the natural tie and union between the soul and body: and that their souls would have actually dismissed and left their bodies, and been conveyed by kind guardian angels in a chariot of love to the God and region of love. O to see them in these frames, is enough to make any new creature rejoice: methinks it is enough to warm the souls of all that have experienced a work of grace, and so know something of the enjoyment and employment of Heaven; to see them at these seasons, like the birds of Paradise, chanting forth the praises of our glorious Redeemer. They do in some low degree resemble the humble worshippers of Heaven. I am almost sure that none that had given them a small, a little taste of the special grace of God, (it is so sweet) will with the elder brother in the parable, stumble and wonder, though others are feeding on the fattest calf, or have larger measures; but will be able to account for the music and dancing, the joys and rejoicings of returning prodigals, and will come in, and rejoice with them. For it is undeniably true, that by a little here, we can tell what a great deal means. And to see the effects these discoveries have on them; how humble, holy, heavenly, loving, and weaned from the world they are for a considerable time after, is abundantly refreshing and satisfying, and confirms further that their discoveries are true and genuine. Thus they are frequently visited and taught by the Holy Spirit; so that they are growing Christians, in grace and knowledge. In grace, every true visit evidently transforms them more and more into the divine image and likeness: in knowledge, it is wonderful to see how their knowledge is increased, as to God, Christ, the doctrines of grace: and as to themselves, their own hearts, the pride, envy, hypocrisy, deceit and ingratitude to them: they see and know so much of their own vileness, that every one looks on himself as the most unworthy, and greatest miracle of mercy, and most beholden and indebted to the free grace of God: they are labouring after progressive holiness, to be perfect as their heavenly Father is. God grant their path may continue to be as "the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

Now of this number, many of them were, before this day of God's searching our Jerusalem, as exact and strict in the performance of the externals of religion, (as far as would be observed by man), as any among us, and had gained the charity of their neighbours: but now see they built upon the sandy foundation of their own righteousness; and so had perished eternally notwithstanding their blazing professions, and the good opinion of others, had not God in mercy opened their eyes, to see the way of sal-

vation by Christ, and enabled them to embrace it. O may all Professors everywhere examine the foundation they build upon for eternal happiness; and see they do not deceive themselves, as some did among us until this day of grace! The rest that have been wrought upon amongst us have been mostly young people, who were not professors in the full sense before. As to children, under ten; I durst not say any are included in the abovesaid number; though they were, at first when the work began, under some concern of soul; yet it seems worn off, they are children still. As to the vicious and immoral; we had some, though I believe as few as in most places. But I do not observe any remarkable change and alteration in them. Though the revival of religion seems in some measure to check and restrain them from that boldness in sinning that appeared in them before. We are generally, through the goodness of God upon us, united and agreed in the belief of the work being divine; and are using such methods as God directs to, and blesses in promoting and carrying of it on. O how good and pleasant it is for brethren of one society to dwell together in unity. As to trances, visions, &c., we have none, and I think have had none from the beginning. And now I would thankfully acknowledge and heartily bless God for his distinguishing goodness to me in my charge: in giving us to see, and live in a day of such great grace as this is; and in making so many of us partakers of his special grace whom, I make not the least doubt, all the saints of God will e're long see, clothed in white, at the right hand of Jesus, and with him entering into everlasting habitations; to join the heavenly choir, in tuning their golden harps in songs of praise to the eternal Three; the Father for his mercy, the Son for his merit, and the Holy Ghost for his efficacy, for ever and ever. Lord Jesus be like a rose or a young hart on the mountains of separation.

JOHN PORTER.

P.S.—The above account, as far as it relates to the rise, progress, and continuance of the work of God among us was read to our Church, and voted by them to be a true and faithful account according to their judgment.

JOHN PORTER.

SECTION VIII.

ON THE 25TH OF FEBRUARY 1741, IT APPEARS AT WRENTHAM IN SUFFOLK, IN THE MASSACHUSETTS.—UNDER THE MINISTRY OF THEIR ORDINARY PASTORS, MESSRS MESSENGER AND HAVEN.—THE TEXTS, ECCI. XII. 10. AND JER. XXVI. 13.—GREAT ATTENTION.—MANY TEARS.—DESIRE OF LECTURES.—LONGING FOR THE SABBATH.—FREQUENT PREACHING.—RELIGIOUS MEETINGS AND CONFERENCE.—SOME BROUGHT UNDER CONCERN BY HEARING SERMON.—SOME BY HEARING OF OTHERS, FEARING LEST THEMSELVES SHOULD BE LEFT.—SOME A LONG TIME UNDER CONVICTION.—A SECOND REVIVAL.—DISTRESS FOR THE SOULS OF OTHERS.

From MESSRS MESSENGER and HAVEN's Account, dated August 12th, 1743, in PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 30, &c.

OUR blessed Lord's observations in Matt. v. 14, 15, are indeed verified with respect to many places in this land and elsewhere in late months and years; "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but

on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house." A man must be a very stranger in our Israel, who doth not know, that Almighty God hath done such wonders of grace in many of our towns and churches, the same whereof has been spread far; and the news whereof hath been very refreshing to many pious souls, at a distance. We should surely be unwilling, as we are unable to conceal such glorious things from the churches abroad, and from the world. Nay, we cannot but think it the duty of those who are so highly favoured of the Lord, "to publish the goodness of the Lord with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of his wondrous works;" by which he is doing honour to his own name, to his Son, and to his Spirit; and greatly promoting the kingdom of Christ in the souls of men. And since the God of all grace hath shewn much of the power of his grace in our parishes, which neither can, nor ought to be concealed; we think it our duty to give the public an account thereof with as much distinctness and brevity as we can.

It is now about fifty years since the first Church of Christ was gathered in the town of Wrentham; and since the Rev. Mr Samuel Man was ordained pastor thereof, whose name is still precious to many here, who laboured in this part of Christ's vineyard till March 1719, and died the 22d of May following, and left a very mournful family and people, bereaved of their worthy and highly esteemed Shepherd. But the goodness of the great Shepherd was very remarkable, in keeping the sheep from scattering, and in speedily uniting them in the choice of the senior subscriber to this account, to be their second pastor, whom God in his holy providence, and without the design of either Mr Messenger or the people, sent to preach with them on the next Lord's day after the death of their former pastor. And it afterwards appeared that then the hearts of many of the people were knit to him in such love as hath not yet been broken; and proved a kind Providence to promote his speedy settlement among them, viz., on the 9th of December 1719. The town has mostly, from its infancy, been greatly smiled upon by Divine Providence, and is greatly increased; so that, on the 23d of December, 1737, the general court was pleased to divide it into two parishes; and on the 16th of February, 1737-8, a second Church of Christ was gathered in the town. On the 8th of November the junior subscriber of this account was ordained pastor of the said second Church in this town: and an happy correspondence has hitherto continued, blessed be God, between the two parishes, Churches and pastors. And this is the more properly taken notice of in this place, as it gives us very frequent opportunities to change pulpits on Sabbaths and lectures, public and private, without prejudice; to converse with persons of each other's charge, who are under spiritual difficulties, and with one another relating to any difficult and perplexed cases, that come under either of our observation: (a privilege which we pray may be commensurate with the life of us both.) All which give us opportunity to be acquainted with the state of religion through the town, and enables us to sign our names in conjunct testimony for the work of Divine Grace that is happily carrying on among us.

The people in this town (so far as we can learn, or have had opportunity to observe) have generally been externally sober and honest; have kept up a great deal of external religion, especially in their fa-

milies, and the house of God; so that the generations that have arisen up from time to time, have generally been instructed, from their very early youth, in the first principles of our holy religion. But, alas! for a long time past, and just before the descent of these late remarkable showers of Divine influence, religion was plainly in a languishing condition; even some externals of it began to be more and more neglected; inasmuch that in the year 1739, there were but two in the whole town admitted to the Lord's table: and vices of various sorts were much more prevalent than before. And though we have reason to think that some among us did sigh and cry for the abominations that were among us, and for indifferency about religion; yet we had awful reason to think that the wise virgins slumbered and slept too much with the foolish; and, as for us, our hearts were ready to sink to see religion dying, and were ready to mourn in the prophet's language, Isa. xlix. 4, "I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain."—But behold in the midst of darkness, light arose! and the great God was pleased to glorify the riches of his boundless grace, and visit the souls of many of his people with the powerful influences of his own Spirit: and many that were going their own sinful ways, we trust he hath turned about, and set their faces toward Zion. Blessed be God for his preventing goodness! "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream—The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the Lord!"

The first open and public manifestation of the Lord's return to us by the power of his grace, was on the 26th of February, 1740-1. It was the day appointed by the government to be kept with solemn fasting and prayer throughout this province to implore the blessing of Heaven on our nation in the war with Spain, &c., and the day in course for the public lecture preparatory for the administration of the Lord's Supper in the second Church in this town; where, on this double occasion, the minister preached from Zech. xii. 10. There appeared, especially in the afternoon, a very uncommon attentiveness unto the word, a wonderful tenderness upon the assembly: the tokens of a very serious concern were visible on many faces. And though there is sufficient reason to believe that many persons before this, were under considerable convictions, and abode so after the day abovesaid; yet they kept their concern very much to themselves, until some time in March following, when they could no longer conceal their distresses; they began to lament their own cases to one another, and to come frequently to their minister under soul trouble. It was agreeably surprising almost daily to hear of new instances of young persons (for the work of God's Spirit seemed to be chiefly on young people) in great concern, what they should do to be saved. The same thoughtfulness seemed to run from house to house, and from soul to soul; and their complaints against themselves were very much the same.

It was but a little while after this before the same Spirit's operations of the same kind were equally remarkable in the first parish and congregation in the town. Particularly on the annual fast, April 23d, 1741, was a very open and public display of Divine Grace there, very much as mentioned above (in the other congregation) when the minister preached from Jer. xxvi. 13, and many were brought under strong

convictions, and thenceforward many flocked to their minister, especially young people, under soul-distress. The powerful awakenings and convictions on person's minds spread from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, so that by midsummer there were instances in all parts of the town under great concern to know what they should do to be saved. Yea, it appeared to us, so far as we could observe in our respective parishes, that very few houses, if any in the town were passed by the left without some observable spiritual concern on some or other of the family. Our people, in general, became much more attentive in time of public worship; their countenances being generally solemn, listening and tender, shewed their extraordinary appetite for the word: and it became a very common thing with us to have a great part of the assembly in tears at hearing the word, and especially when they heard the glad tidings of the gospel, and they were invited to rest their weary souls in Christ the Saviour. While we endeavoured with great plainness to show unto sinners their guilt and danger, and to open the awful contents of the law to them, these truths would often have their proper effect, in alarming guilty consciences, and filling the minds of many with great concern for their own souls: and then the gospel news of a Saviour, and the freeness of Divine Grace would marvellously melt a great part of our congregations into tears, and persuade them, by Divine help, to seek the great salvation. Nor have we seen reason, as yet, to think any other than that many of these earnest seekers were sure finders of the Pearl of Great Price.

Our people grew very desirous of lectures: that they might have more frequent opportunities for spiritual instruction, to join in social worship; where we found God often bestowed his blessing. It was not rare to hear them confess that they used to be weary of the Sabbath; but now they longed to have it return, and that it seemed exceeding long to them, if they went from Sabbath to Sabbath without hearing a sermon. We used frequently to gratify their desires, and preach public or private lectures: though we have since seen cause to lament that we did not preach much oftener at the beginning of this very remarkable day of grace, than we did; when the Spirit was most evidently with the word, and the work of the Lord, through infinitely wonderful grace, did prosper in our hands. We have since, upon more observation and experience, been more frequent in our preaching, and see no reason to repent it, but to bless God for strengthening us unto and succeeding us, as we believe he hath, in our more abundant labours.

It is now above two years since our young people have generally and voluntarily done with their frolicking and merry meetings: many of them have appeared bitterly to lament their mispending of much precious time in such meetings: it hath been very agreeably surprising to observe the resentment of themselves, which some of the late ringleaders of their merriment expressed. Nor did they degenerate into melancholy, or refuse company, but frequently would associate themselves for religious exercises. Accordingly the religious societies of young people that were before formed in the town, grew much more numerous; and other societies were set up, and continue in various parts of the town, both among young people and heads of families. And both family meetings and young men's religious meetings are much frequented. We have great reason to rejoice

in the Christian conference that has long been one stated part of the exercise of our young men's meetings; there being evident tokens of their gain in spiritual knowledge thereby, discoverable when we had opportunity to converse with them and others, in private about the state of their souls. Upon which we can freely recommend it as a very proper part of the exercise of private meetings, where it has not yet been practised. As we have also abundant reason to recommend it unto young people to associate themselves for religious exercises, in proper time, and under due regulations; from what we have heard of the advantage thereof to many of our young people, when they have declared to us, and in the public congregation, what God hath done for their souls, at, and by such meetings. And, doubtless, private societies for religious exercises among heads of families, under equally proper regulations, might be proportionably beneficial; of which, we trust, God hath not left us without witness in this town.

Before this blessed revival of religion in the town, there was very little to be heard, among old or young, of pious discourse, when they were occasionally together; but it is now above two years since there has been a happy reformation in this regard, though it hath not yet been prevalent to the degree it ought in the town. It was very pleasant to see and hear the wonderful alteration in this matter among the youth, and some children of nine, ten, or twelve years of age. Many of our young people, too, who, whenever they visited one another or met occasionally, would spend their time in mere vain and useless discourse, if not worse, now grew much more desirous to be together than heretofore; and the Bible, or some pious author, must ordinarily, at such times, be one of the company, and their conversation would turn chiefly on the state of their souls, divine and eternal things; and many of their minds seemed much more intent on these things than formerly on vanity. Such as would before purposely avoid the company and discourse of the godly, would now industriously seek both, and would frequently apply to those, whom they thought more knowing and pious, with serious and weighty questions about the things of God. Many of our people living three or four miles or more from our places of public worship, are necessitated to tarry at or near about the meeting-houses, through the intermission between forenoon and afternoon exercises, and there used to be little else but vain and worldly talk among most; but upon the late remarkable divine influence on people's minds, there was a wonderful change in this regard among (we think) the greatest part of our people. It became a common thing for them to retire in small companies, to different places, for religious conferences, or reading; and sometimes these exercises were mixed. And more lately there are several societies that spend part of the intermission in praying, reading, and singing together. So that on many accounts the intermission, as well as time of public exercises of God's worship, is very remarkably holy to the Lord, esteemed honourable, and a great delight unto the more serious among us. And even the time of travel to and from our places of public worship has often been sweetly redeemed for pious discourse between two or three, as they walk in company together.

We are satisfied that the general concern upon people's minds which prevailed among us above two years ago, and has not ceased, did not arise from a disposition to conform to the prevailing custom of peo-

ple around us: for this was the first town which was so remarkably visited and blessed by sovereign grace within several miles: and it evidently appeared that many would be under the same concern at the same time, and would be agreeably surprised when they unexpectedly found one another uttering the same complaints relating to the state of their own souls. It is also very evident that this general awakening was not from the influence of travelling ministers, (though we are satisfied God has made use of some of them for the revival of religion in many places) for there was but one sermon preached in the town in such a way, and that to a small auditory, (the warning being very short) and this some months before the concern was very general through the town. And here it is very observable that there was a spirit of conviction on the hearts of many in the winter before it was externally very evident; when, by the extremity of the winter and depth of the snow, many of our people could not, for many Sabbaths together, attend on the ordinary and stated exercises of religion; so clearly was it the work of God. Nevertheless we are glad to own that the news of many conversions in Northampton and other towns in that part of the country some years before, and of some remarkable success of the gospel in some parts of England and America, were means of stirring up thoughtfulness in many, and encouraged godly persons to pray with the more confidence for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost also on us.

Many came to offer themselves to join in church-fellowship, whom we looked upon ourselves obliged to examine particularly of their experiences, which gave them reason to hope that they could in sincerity enter into solemn covenant with God and his people. Our times for the administration of the Lord's-supper in each church are two months apart; and into the second church in the town (which before consisted of sixty-three communicants, and the parish of about seventy families) just before the sacrament, May 3d, 1741, were admitted twenty-four more; and between the said third of May and the first of July following, were admitted thirty-seven more. And considerable numbers afterwards from time to time. Into the first church in the town (which before consisted of ninety-two communicants, and the parish of about one hundred and twenty families) were admitted just before the sacrament, June 7th, 1741, twenty more. And then before August 1st, thirty-eight more. And then before October 1st, eighteen more. And before the administration of the Lord's-supper there have constantly been a considerable number admitted ever since; (never less than five, except twice, and usually more at a time.) So that now one hundred and thirty-six communicants are added to the first church, and eighty-nine to the second, since April, 1741. Thus greatly are the numbers of our communicants increased, and we had opportunity to discourse with each of those admitted into the respective churches under our particular watch, of the state of their souls, and with many of them several times; as well as with a considerable number who were professors before, and came to us in this remarkable day fuller of concern about their souls than usual; and many that have been brought under some convictions yet stand off from the Lord's-table. Many (as each of us can declare relating to such as one or other of us discoursed with, and to others that both of us discoursed with, and many, of whose discourse with their neighbours and acquaintance we

had almost daily an account of) used to complain of their mispending of time, especially of Sabbath-time, and of their vain wandering hearts in time of religious worship; they would lament over their whole life, as having been filled up with sin, and complain of their own wicked hearts, as leading them to all manner of abominations naturally: they would frequently confess, with apparent mourning, that they had so long despised an offered and glorious Saviour: and express their wonder and amazement that God had spared them so long, that he did not cut them off in the midst of their wickedness: acknowledging that God would be infinitely just if he had done it, or if he should still cast them off for ever; professing their sense that it must, and would, be infinitely free grace, if ever they were saved; most wonderful grace. They would frequently complain of themselves as greater sinners than any they knew of: if others had been guilty of more open scandalous sins, yet they hoped that none had such wicked hearts as themselves. They would often express it, that the sinful ways, which they used to delight most in, were now the most loathsome and grievous to them; together with very earnest wishes, that they might be kept from all sin; and would lament, that they could not live without sin, because of in-dwelling corruption. Many would still express their hope of mercy through Jesus Christ, notwithstanding all their villainy, and that they hoped they were enabled to venture their immortal souls on that chief Corner-Stone for safety; and that they found a free acquiescence of soul in him, that they desired nothing so much as to submit to him, and to live to his glory.

Some could tell the time when they first became seriously concerned about their souls, and what was the sermon, or particular passage in a sermon, that pricked them to the heart: and some would assure us, that the news of many others brought under soul-concern, and as they thought bringing home to Christ, awakened them. It seemed as if almost all their acquaintance would be saved, and themselves left, which would look very awful to them. Some could give a distinct account of the time when, from great distress, their souls were enabled to venture upon an infinite Saviour, and (if they deceived not themselves) found gospel-rest in him. Others could give a less distinct account as to the time of their greatest distress, and first finding rest in Christ, and yet, perhaps, equally distinct, as to the genuine fruits of the Spirit in their hearts. Some have had, to appearance, much greater degrees of concern and conviction than others, and there has been a great variety as to the degrees of persons' rest and joy of soul in spiritual things. And we have been ever careful to advise persons to observe, rather the spring, nature, and effects both of terrors and joys, than the degrees of them; and that the heart of a sinner must be so broken for sin as to be broken off from sin; and that every true convert hath such a discovery of Christ as persuades the soul to choose him in all his offices. Some have been much longer under a spirit of bondage than others, before they have had any satisfying tokens of having received a spirit of adoption, whereby they could cry, Abba, Father. And some who were early under convictions of sin, seem still to remain so, without giving the distinguishing marks of a saving conversion; or without returning to their former way of living and frame of mind now for above two years. But we have awful reason to fear that some who were under considerable awakenings at the beginning of this remarkable

day, have unburdened themselves without finding rest in Christ, by a true faith.

There was about a year ago, some decay among us. There seemed to be less solemnity and liveliness in the countenances and behaviour of the generality of our congregations while in the house of God; less earnestness after divine instructions, both public and personal; not so much savouriness in private conversation; but a greater eagerness after the things of the world, than in months before. Some who had seemed to be under some small awakening, seemed to lose their concern and tenderness; though we think that very few, if any such, have returned to so great a degree of lewdness and vanity as they formerly lived in. Some that appeared to be under great awakenings, as well as some that appeared to be hopefully converted, seemed to lose much of the sense of divine things which they had before; and many were sensible of this decay. But, blessed be God, among all those that we looked upon, in a judgment of charity, to be born from above, there has not one turned an open apostate, nor evidently and impudently scandalous in his behaviour, nor have the generality of those who have been in any considerable measure awakened, returned, in this time of decay, to their former heedless and airy way of living, their frolics or vain and merry meetings; nor did they cease from their religious meetings, nor drop any of them, unless on occasion of an extraordinary busy season, and short evenings, and that only in one part of the town where they live remote from one another, and for a short time. Although religion for some months about that time did not seem to be so reviving as before, nor the word to have such power, nor convictions nor conversions to be multiplied; yet neither did the state of religion among us, nor the face of the town, appear to be at all the same as three years ago. And we have reason to think, that all this time conversions were more frequent than for some years before 1740. We have reason to hope that many prayers were ascending from among us daily to the throne of grace for a greater plenty of divine and saving influences on the people of the town, as well as for the prosperity of Zion in general: and, we trust, that many of the people of God were (and are still) praying for these things.

And the Lord, the overflowing fountain of grace, hath been pleased to visit us with another plentiful shower of grace, and so strengthen that which he had wrought for us. It is now above half a year since a second revival of religion began to be very observable in the town; first, in the first parish in the town, and very soon after in the second. As to the substance of the work, it appears to us to be the same as was remarkably among us above two years ago, of which there has never since been a cessation. But there are a few things observable, which are circumstances attending the work of God's grace now among us, in which there is some difference. There have not been so great numbers brought under convictions, and the spirit of bondage now as before, according to our observation. Some who have of late been under strong convictions, have been more suddenly pricked to the heart, and brought into greater distress than before. Some, who, we have reason to hope, were sincere converts unto God before the time which we are now speaking of, have now been brought into exceeding great distress, at renewed and clearer discoveries of their own hearts, and a more bitter remembrance of their sins. Not a few of real Chris-

tians have been more remarkably quickened now than before, in their Christian walk. Some who we charitably hope have been lately converted to God, as well as some who we hope were converted a year or two ago, and some who have been looked upon as sincere Christians for a considerable number of years, have in this time been very much filled and feasted with the consolations of God, (as we judge from what they say, and their after-life.) There have been not a very few among us within seven or eight months past that have cried out with great agonies and distress, or with high joys on spiritual accounts, and that in time of religious exercises. But these two things we would observe relating to what we have seen of this nature, viz. 1st, That we are persuaded that very few if any among us have cried out in such a manner while they could refrain : and we have ever cautioned persons against making any outcries in time of religious worship, if they could avoid it, without doing too much violence to their nature, or turning their thoughts from divine things ; though we have not thought it ordinarily proper to leave off speaking, or to have the persons so affected removed out of the house. And, 2d, That we by no means account crying out in time of worship, falling down, or the degrees of their joys and sorrows, that might occasion these effects on their bodies, to be any sign of their conversion, when separately considered ; and have carefully warned our people against such a way of thinking : though at the same time we cannot but think that most who have so manifested their sense of things, were under the operations of the Holy Ghost at the same time, which occasioned these outcries ; and that their inward experiences were substantially the same as theirs, who have been savingly converted to God (as we hope) and have given no such tokens of their distress or joys.

People have within this time appeared as desirous as ever, or more so (as to considerable numbers) of sermons and social worship than ever before. There have been a variety of instances among us of persons appearing in very great distress, even unto agonies for others' souls, beyond what we have ever seen before. And some among us have not been so well satisfied, nor so much delighted with this late revival as they seemed to be two years ago ; and some that seemed something awakened then, have appeared to look something strange upon what we take to be the same work, now it hath been attended with some uncommon circumstances. And we are concerned lest some have been prejudiced against the powerful manner in which God hath been pleased to carry on his own work ; and so have lain the less open to convictions and benefit by gospel ordinances. We have not known trances, visions, revelation, or the like. We have had great freedom from the appearances of a censorious spirit in the subjects of this blessed work ; though some tender and compassionate expressions have been misconstrued. Christian conference hath been much encouraged and practised among elder and younger people.

To conclude ; we can, upon the whole, freely declare our opinion, That Almighty God hath begun, and now, for more than two years, been carrying on a glorious reformation and revival of pure and undefiled religion among the people of our charge ; convicting, hopefully converting, and greatly sanctifying, quickening and comforting many among us, by a wonderful effusion of the Divine Spirit, accom-

panying the Word, ordinances, and providences. And that God hath been exceeding good to us in preserving us from such errors, separations, and disorders, which we have heard have been in some other places. For which, may God have all the glory. Thus we have endeavoured to give a just account of the late remarkable revival of religion in Wrentham ; with an exact regard to truth, according to our observation and remembrance, of persons, conversations, and events. Now, earnestly wishing the prosperity of Zion, and begging the prayers of God's people for us, and the people under our immediate care, we subscribe

HENRY MESSENGER, Pastor of the first Church in Wrentham.

ELIAS HAVEN, Pastor of the second Church in Wrentham.

To this Letter may be added the following information from the Rev. Mr Cotton of Newton, referring to one remarkable instance, which fell under his observation, when occasionally at Wrentham in August, 1742.

From PRINCE'S CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 32.

The first person that cried out under the preaching of the Word, in the first parish of Wrentham, was a man more than forty years old, at a lecture, August 19th, 1742, when Mr Cotton was preaching from Matt. xi. 28. Towards the close of the sermon, the said person spake out with much concern and distress about the state of his soul. Soon after the congregation was dismissed, he went to discourse with Mr Cotton ; who asking him the reason of his crying out in the assembly, in the manner he had done, the man replied, That he could not avoid his doing so ; though he had often spoken against other people crying out, and had said that they might, if they would, refrain from it, and not disturb the congregation in hearing. He then added, that he went to that lecture with a more serious concern upon his mind than he had commonly done, that he might get good by that opportunity ; and he said, that the word he heard, came with such power to him, that he could not help crying out, and speaking as he did. When inquiry was made concerning his spiritual state, he declared he had been an honest, moral liver ; and prayed constantly in his family, though not so constantly in secret ; had made conscience of attending the public worship of God, loved to hear (as he thought) faithful preaching ; and he had been ready to conclude, that he was in a good and safe state, and all was well with him. But now he was brought to see his sin, misery, and danger, in a natural state, and his need of Christ to help and save him ; and to see that if a new and saving change was not wrought by the spirit of God upon his heart, he should be undone for ever !—And he expressed his fears that the day of grace was over as to him.—Upon which it was suggested to him, that now the Spirit of God was so striving with him, he might be assured, that there was hope concerning him ; and it looked as though God was waiting to be gracious, if such convictions were cherished. Mr Cotton gave him what advice and direction he thought needful for one in his state and circumstances, upon his first coming to him. He came again the next morning, and was in a great

distress as before, because of the provocations he had given to the Spirit of God to forsake him, and to strive no more with him; but yet declared, he was resolved to seek and plead (as he was able) for the Lord's compassion and mercy to him; and said, if God should not show him mercy now, he believed the Spirit would never so strive with him any more. After considerable time spent in conversing with him, he remained greatly concerned and distressed, lest he should not obtain mercy from God: but still resolved to seek and cry for it. And, upon inquiry, Mr Cotton has been informed there is now reason to hope and believe that God has heard prayer for this man, and not turned away his mercy from him.

SECTION IX.

IN MARCH, 1741, AT TAUNTON, IN THE COUNTY OF BRISTOL, AFTER MR TENNENT'S PREACHING THERE.—HIS TEXT, MATTHEW XI. 28.—INCREASE OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSATION.—MR CROCKER, THEIR MINISTER, EXCITED BY THE NEWS OF THE REVIVAL IN CONNECTICUT.—GOOD EFFECTS OF MR DANIEL ROGERS' OCCASIONAL PREACHING FROM JOHN V. 40.—AND MR WHELOCK'S, FROM MARK XVI. 16, WHICH WAS ATTENDED WITH GREAT POWER.—AWFUL SOLEMNITY IN HEARING.—A PARTICULAR INSTANCE OF ONE IN GREAT DISTRESS.—REV. III. 20.—THE DETECTION OF HYPOCRISY FROM JOB XXVII. 8.—WONDERFUL POWER ATTENDING MR WHELOCK'S LAST SERMON ON HOSSEA XIII. 14.—MR CROCKER PREACHES TO THE NEGROES.—YOUNG CHILDREN AFFECTED.—DISPUTES DID HURT.—PEOPLE OF ALL CHARACTERS BROUGHT UPON.—PROFLIGATES, FORMALISTS.—THE GOOD FRUITS IN THEIR LIVES.—THE DOCTRINES PREACHED DURING THIS REVIVAL AT TAUNTON.—THOUGH SOME MADE A CRY PEOPLE WOULD BE UNDONE BY SO MANY MEETINGS, GOD GAVE AS GREAT OR GREATER PLENTY THAN EVER.—MISTAKES RECTIFIED, AND OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

From a Letter from MR CROCKER, Minister at Taunton, to MR PRINCE, Minister at Boston, November 24th, 1744, CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 92, &c.

R. D. S.—According as you desired me some time since, I here present you with some account of the late remarkable visit which the Lord hath made us by a marvellous effusion of the Spirit of Grace, in his awakening, convincing, humbling, converting, sanctifying, and comforting influences. Whatever any may say or think, I freely declare my firm belief, that the great Jehovah has been remarkably present with his people and ordinances in Taunton, in reforming his people, and in reviving and carrying on the power of religion among them; as is plain to any, who are acquainted with things of a religious nature here; or unless their minds are blinded by infidelity and enmity, or awful and unjustifiable prejudices against the gospel, or the sovereign and free Spirit of grace, and his works of grace upon the hearts of his people. God has been with them of a truth: many have felt his power and seen his glory; the goings of our God and King have been glorious in the assemblies of his people in this part of his vineyard. And, indeed, I can never be enough thankful to our Divine Redeemer, I can never enough adore and magnify his holy name, for the late display of his Almighty grace in the midst of this dear people! If the reformation of one person is matter of great joy among all the real friends of religion; what then is the reformation of the generality of a town? If the effectual conversion of one sinner to God is matter of exceeding great joy among the

angels in heaven, and among the Bridegroom's friends here upon earth; oh, then, what matter of joy is there in heaven and earth, when numbers are effectually converted even in one single town?

Wherefore, for my own part, I desire with humility, delight, and gratitude, to acknowledge to the praise and glory of free sovereign grace, that whilst the Lord has been watering one part and another of his vineyard by the precious influences of his Spirit, in the late remarkable day of his people's visitation, he has not altogether passed us; but has wrought marvellous things in the midst of us; his right hand and his holy arm have gotten him the victory, over a number of souls among us.

Being diverted by one means and another, I have for some time delayed writing to you; but (as I think) duty and gratitude to the blessed God and our dear Lord Jesus, and likewise common justice, which we all owe to the world, and to the cause of Christ, and interests of vital godliness, in the late happy revival thereof, which has suffered so much by these among other things, viz., the repeated misrepresentations which by some seemed to have been devised and industriously spread, and by others unwarily received and published abroad concerning it, as if the whole, or most thereof, was nothing but a wild scene of enthusiasm, disorder, &c., whereby even some good people, who either have not had, or have neglected to improve opportunities, impartially to examine into the nature and evidences thereof, may either have been prejudiced against, or stumbled at it; whilst others may thereby have been confirmed in their infidelity and security, and in their natural enmity against the power of godliness, and so take up with a form, or nothing in the room thereof; being frightened at, and carefully avoiding the least appearance of it, lest they should turn enthusiasts, distracted, or catch what may be looked upon by some too much the prevailing distemper of the country, &c.:—I say, these things oblige me to declare and publish the conquests and triumphs of the Almighty Redeemer, in the midst of the dear people of my charge. It is, indeed, exceeding difficult to give a just, faithful, and impartial account of what the Lord has wrought among this people in the late day of his great grace, so as not to wrong the cause and interest of pure and undefiled religion, and the methods which a sovereign God has been pleased to take in reviving and propagating it among them, either on the one hand or on the other, either by attributing that to it which belongs not to it, but is rather of a contrary nature and tendency, or by taking that from it which belongs unto it, and is part of its real beauty and glory. But, relying upon the Lord for his gracious assistance, I shall endeavour to give a just, faithful, and impartial account of the rise and progress, nature, and effects, together with some circumstances, which have attended this work of God's grace among them; as in the sight and fear of God, before whom I expect quickly to appear and give up my account, and receive of him according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil.

That I may, therefore, give you a clearer and juster representation of the late surprising visit of the Spirit of Grace, it will be proper to give a brief account of the state of religion among them before the late happy revival thereof. The number of families belonging to this congregation is about two hundred and seventy or eighty. And the state of religion

among them before the happy revival thereof (as far as I have learned) appeared to be very dark and awful. The church was but small, considering the number of inhabitants; and deadness, dullness, formality, security, &c., too awfully abounded among them. Any who were wise virgins (as I trust there were a few) appeared to be slumbering and sleeping together with the foolish, and sinners appeared to be at ease in Zion. In a word, it is to be feared that there was but little of the life and power of godliness among them, and irreligion and immorality of one kind and another appeared awfully to increase. Tavern-hauntings, divisions, and animosities, contentions, merry meetings, and frolickings were much pursued and attended: yea, to that height of wickedness had they arrived, that (as I have been informed) they would even contrive them on the Lord's-days; and things of that nature were much the subject of their conversation upon holy time. Indeed vital and experimental godliness seemed to be almost banished from among both old and young. The holy Sabbaths were awfully mispent by the town in general; and their conversation chiefly turned upon worldly and vain topics, and much irreverence appeared in the house of God. From whence it is something easy to form a judgment how the remainder of the week was spent; in as much as the general and prevailing bent and temper of the minds and conversation of a person or people are more or less religious and spiritual, according as they are more or less strict and conscientious in their sanctification of the holy Sabbath. As to doctrines, perhaps it did not so openly appear what were the religious principles of many of them in the time of their security, till they came to be moved and roused by the powerful influences of the Holy Ghost, which have accompanied the plain preaching of a crucified Jesus. For persons may profess to believe and esteem the self-denying doctrines taught us in the gospel of Christ; yea, they may themselves think that they really believe and esteem them, until by the powerful influences of the Holy Spirit accompanying them, they are awakened and are led into some measure of an experimental acquaintance with their own hearts; and then they will find their natural unbelief, of and enmity against them; they will find their carnal hearts rising up against, and cavilling at them; yea, and come really and openly to appear against them, if the grace of God prevent not. Many may be able to bear with those doctrines of the Gospel in the theory, who cannot endure the power of them, who cannot endure to see them exemplified in practice, &c., as is too evident in this day. But, indeed, other doctrines prevailed: doctrines exceedingly agreeable to the natural blindness, pride, and haughtiness of human nature in this its lapsed and depraved estate; doctrines in their nature and tendency, contrary to the tenor and spirit of the Gospel, and destructive to the souls of men.

Thus had this people degenerated from the primitive piety of their ancestors! thus had they almost sunk into the very dregs of formality, irreligion, &c., and seemed, according to an human view, to be almost ripe for the signal execution of Divine vengeance upon them! but God (whose thoughts are not our thoughts) was pleased to take this time wherein marvellously to display the unsearchable riches and adorable sovereignty of Divine grace among this people! as God will be known by the judgments which he executes, so much more will he be known

by the astonishing acts of his grace among the apostate sons of men! oh, how glorious did the riches and sovereignty of Divine grace appear in visiting this backsliding and rebellious people by a plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit, in visiting them just at such a time when they had arrived at such a degree of wickedness, and in triumphing over all their sins and vilenesses! verily, grace thus manifested and displayed eminently appears to be the grace of God, boundless like himself, infinitely surpassing the understandings of men and angels! surely God is self-moved when he shews mercy to any person or people! he loves them from himself; he loves them because he will love them; and he has compassion on them, because he will have compassion on them: so that it is neither of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy! God gives not his grace to us either because we are good, or have done any good! no, verily. But he gives us his grace that we may be good and do good! it is all from infinitely free, self-moving, and sovereign grace!—See Ezek. xvi. at the beginning.

But to return—The people began to be somewhat reformed by the blessing of God upon the preaching of Mr Guild (who is since settled in the ministry in the Jerseys) and others; and before he left them there appeared to be somewhat more of a reconciliation among them in general. Now, in the time of his preaching among them, the Rev. Mr Tennent, in his journey from Boston to New-Port, in March 1740-1, visited and preached to them from Matth. xi. 28. He had a considerable number of hearers, considering the shortness of the warning, and the difficulties of the season. The effects of his preaching were not deep and lasting upon the minds of many of the people, as I have understood. Some were filled with wonder, as if they had heard strange things to-day, and some were brought under concern of soul; but I have not found that it was deep and abiding, excepting upon one or two. Now from about this time religious conversation increased more and more among some of the people, by the blessing of God upon the means of grace; some, at least, appeared to be more thoughtful, and to consider their ways; public exercises were attended with more apparent diligence and seriousness, &c. About this time (I think) their frolics were abandoned, and a number of young persons formed themselves into a society for religious exercises; which societies had been neglected for a long time since. Thus there appeared to be some external reformation among many. Sometime also this summer, as I remember, one was awakened by a special dispensation of Providence, whose awakenings, I hope, issued in effectual conversion.

In the beginning of August 1741, they sent for me to come and preach with them a few Sabbaths upon probation; and I accordingly engaged with them for two or three. I went and preached my first sermon to them upon August 16th. I found that the people generally attended the public worship with some measure of heedfulness and seriousness. They were much reformed in this respect. Some as I remember were affected. I also heard of some who were under more concern of mind than they used to be: but I then observed but very little appearance of vital and experimental religion among them, though indeed my observation was short and narrow. One Sabbath evening, I visited, exhorted and prayed with

the before-mentioned society of young persons : and they seemed to be seriously affected and concerned, though not under deep and clear spiritual convictions, as I could learn. About this time, by rumours of religious stir and commotion abroad, and especially at Bridgewater, many of them were probably stirred up to talk more about these things, some for and some against them. At length the church came to a choice of me for their pastor. And about this time hearing how religion flourished in many places in Connecticut, (though, indeed, I was sometimes stumbled at some things which I heard reported from thence concerning some parts of their conduct, yet I believed there was a glorious remarkable work of God's grace revived and carrying on among the people there, and also in some other places in the land, and hope I was in some measure enabled to rejoice therein) I had some sense of the awful state of religion in Taunton ; and on a particular time especially was filled with distress on that account, together with earnest desires that God would also visit them with his special grace, that he would revive and propagate the power of godliness among them, and had some hopes raised in me that he would. After this, sometime in October, the Rev. Mr Daniel Rogers, having been preaching at other places, came and preached a sermon at Raynham, a town adjoining to this. I was there with some of this people and heard him. There appeared to me to be a savour of the Holy Spirit in his ministrations, which made me desirous that he should preach here also. Accordingly I invited him to go home and preach a lecture for me the next day in the forenoon, to which he consented, and notice thereof was given among the people as generally as might be. People began now to be more swift to hear, and there was a considerable number attended the lecture, with some from other neighbouring towns. There were some who came from Middleborough West Precinct, who being awakened before, appeared to be under clear and deep spiritual convictions of their sin and danger, and in great distress and agony of soul therefore, whom Mr Rogers observing, he spake to them, as I remember. I also spake to the people, desiring them not to be affrighted or disturbed in their attention by these convinced and distressed persons, their agonies and groanings. Having observed these things to the people, (because they had never seen the like before) he proceeded. And he gave us a sermon, from John v. 40. His discourse appeared to be very spiritual, and, I trust, was attended by the power of the Holy Ghost. In his discourse, he opened to us and confirmed the state of legal and spiritual death, wherein all mankind naturally lie, as is implied in the text : he, moreover, shewed us what that life was for which we were to come to Christ, as it consists in a freedom from condemnation, and in a conformity to the moral communicable excellencies of the blessed God : he also mentioned some of those reasons why sinners will not come to Christ, or believe on him that they might live, &c. He applied his discourse ; urging upon sinners the absolute necessity of coming to Christ, or believing on his name, that those which were naturally dead in trespasses and sins, might live a life of justification and sanctification, &c. A solemn and awful seriousness appeared among the people, and those before-mentioned who came from the Precinct appeared to be in awful distress and anguish of soul, &c.

The Rev. Mr Wheelock of Lebanon having preached at Norton (a town adjoining) on the same day, and, after exercise was over, being invited by one of our deacons, came to Taunton ; he appointed to preach a lecture at the meeting-house the next day. Before meeting he sent for me, but I being out of town, at the time appointed he went to lecture, and preached to a considerable number of people, from Mark xvi. 16. In his sermon, among other things, as I have been informed, he opened the nature of gospel faith ; gave some marks and evidences of it ; shewed the awful danger of a state of unbelief, &c. A considerable number, as I was informed, were awakened and pricked in their hearts under his preaching : some were constrained to cry out, their convictions of sin, and of their exposedness to the immediate and actual execution of the Divine anger upon them being so sudden and piercing. The first who manifested their distress, by crying out this day, and indeed the first who did so of this people, had been much stumbled at the religious distresses expressed in our cries, &c., which she had heard of from abroad. The reports which she had heard, together with what people said to her at home, tended much to prejudice her against these things. She said, she was brought to think that it was an evil spirit or a sort of enchantment which caused them. However, when she heard that the Rev. Mr Wheelock was come to town, and was to preach a lecture in the meeting-house ; notwithstanding the prejudices which were raised in her mind against these things, she was resolved to go and hear him if she could. Accordingly she went ; and as she was going, she says, she secretly wished, that if these things were right, she might partake in them. (Here observe that she had for some time been under some concern, but not under any clear distinct spiritual convictions, as I could learn of her.) Accordingly, in sermon-time her eyes were immediately opened to see her guilt and danger : and it appeared to be all blackness and darkness unto her : so that she knew not which way to turn, that she might escape the wrath of God, which she saw hanging over her. She says that she had a sort of knowledge and belief that Christ was able to save her, but durst not believe in him, being such a sinner. She was afraid of going to hell every moment, as she deserved ; but yet had a secret hope kept alive in her soul, in all her distress, that it might be God would have mercy on her, &c. On the Sabbath after she was very much distressed, especially in the afternoon, trembling under the word ; distressed under conviction of sin and awful apprehensions of the wrath of God due to her for sin. After the exercise was over, she came to Mr Wheelock, as he stood out of the doors, inquiring what she should do, &c. Her distress and anguish of soul because of her sin and danger continued with many awful temptations, as she says, till the Sabbath se'enight ; when being at meeting in the afternoon, she thought she had Christ discovered to her by some passages in the sermon. Upon which discovery, she says her distress was all removed immediately : " I saw (says she) Christ was a complete Saviour ; just such an one as I would have chosen, were I to choose a thousand times. Oh, then, I thought I should have lived a heaven upon earth for the time to come ; a blessed life indeed ! My sins seemed to be subdued and gone. After this I was not angry and fretful under crosses and oppositions as I used to be before." But, by and

by, she finds her corruptions stirring in her; complains of them, says she is burdened with them, hopes she hates sin, her heart-sins, and longs after purity in heart and life. She is examining herself, and inquiring lest she should be deceived; though at the first illumination she thought herself sure, she still has her ebbs and flowings; her light and her dark hours; sometimes distressed, at other times rejoicing, &c. She appears to live like a Christian for all that I have heard: God alone knows and searches the heart! One also received comfort this day (who had been under more or less concern of soul for some time before) breaking forth in the language of the spouse, Cant. ii. 8. She appears to walk answerably, and to have her conversation as becomes the Gospel; to live near to God. A far greater number, who seemed to be seriously concerned and distressed, did not manifest their distresses in such a public manner; whilst some perhaps were inquiring what these things meant. There was also a word of exhortation given by a young candidate, after Mr Wheelock was gone. Upon the whole, I do verily believe, that this day was a day wherein God remarkably displayed his power and grace in the assembly of his people here.

Upon my coming home that evening, and hearing what the Lord had done among this people the day past, my thoughts were fixed upon Rev. iii. 20, first clause (although I had designed to have preached from another text I had wrote from.) Accordingly, I minuted down some thoughts that evening, and hope had the gracious assistance of the Holy Ghost. The subject appeared to me to be reasonable; it being a time in which the glorious Redeemer was remarkably knocking at the doors of sinners' hearts, in this town, for admittance and entertainment. I think, indeed, it is my duty to study my sermons as well as I am able, and to labour to feel the power of them upon my own heart before I deliver them to the people; yet I believe ministers may sometimes be called in Providence to preach when they have not had an opportunity for such preparatory studies as might be their duty at other times, and then they may humbly look up to the Holy Spirit for, and expect his gracious assistance answerable to their necessities. And as ministers should be co-workers with God; so, with humility, do I desire to say, that I would always endeavour carefully to observe the particular frames of my people, the particular dispensations of Providence they may be called to pass under, times of any special and remarkable visitation from the Spirit of grace; the truths which, through grace, I may at any time find peculiar light, liberty, strength, sweetness and refreshment in feeding upon, and adapt my discourses accordingly. The next day (which was the Lord's-day) I went to meeting, and preached to a large, serious, and attentive assembly. I have reason to believe that some were under spiritual and scriptural convictions of their sin and misery, and under deep and serious concern of soul, others who, I believe, were under more than usual thoughtfulness and concern of mind either from what they had seen or heard, or from both, might perhaps still be enquiring what these things meant. In my sermon, among other things, I endeavoured to speak to sinners of the astonishing grace and condescension of the dear Lord Jesus in knocking at the door of their hearts for admittance and entertainment; of their own particular and great concernment therein; that now was the day of Christ's

patience with them, which would quickly be over unless they opened to him; that sinners' hearts were naturally barred and bolted against the Lord Jesus; mentioning some of those bars and bolts which kept Christ out of their hearts, and which must be removed if ever he came in; shewed them what it was to open to Christ; and improved the discourse, giving them some rules and marks of trial, whereby they might examine themselves, whether they had opened to Christ, yea or nay, and applied it as closely and pathetically to saints and sinners, according to their particular concernments therein, as I could.

The word was attended with power, and some were pricked in their hearts by it, as I afterwards learned. Though indeed I observed no visible manifestations of their conviction of their sin and distress of mind in the time of public exercise, other than an awful concern and solemnity which was evident in most, or all of their countenances. I think I never saw such an assembly before; such awful reverence, such serious concern of mind, under the Word. Let all the praise and honour be given to the God of all grace, whose glory filled the temple, and the power of whose Word most or all felt in a greater or less degree this day! I desire not to speak of these things, and others of the like nature which may hereafter be mentioned, that either I or others may have whereof to glory save in the Lord, who was pleased to magnify his grace and strength in the weakness of the instrument! Oh, may I continually be humbled and broken under the workings of latent pride, &c. May I for ever be made and kept humble under a spiritual conviction of my own nothingness, vileness, and unworthiness, and be enabled to give the God of all grace all the honour and glory of any thing he has been pleased, or may still be pleased, to work in me, by me, or for me. It is the plain preaching of the Gospel of a crucified Jesus, not with words and reasonings which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, that God has been pleased to honour and bless in the late remarkable day of his people's visitation in this town, and in other places so far as I have been acquainted with them.

At noon I went to my usual place of retirement. Some of the people came to the house also, and appeared to be under concern of mind. I gave them a word of exhortation, and hope it was not in vain. About this time, nothing which was said to people seemed in vain. In the afternoon, at the usual time, I went to meeting, and Mr Wheelock preached to a crowded assembly, from Job xxvii. 8. In his sermon, he endeavoured to detect the hypocrite; to shew how far a person might go, what he might do, and what he might experience, and, nevertheless, be nought but a very hypocrite; to represent to them the awful danger and folly of hypocrisy, &c., to urge it upon them that they would be willing to know themselves before it was too late; that whatever they might gain by their hypocrisy in this world, as credit among men, &c., would be all lost in that day, when God should take away their souls, and they be stripped and stand naked before the enlightened and awful tribunal of a holy God, to their everlasting shame and contempt, &c. His sermon was close, searching, experimental, awful, and awakening. The visible effects of it upon the people were an awful concern and solemnity which appeared in

their countenances in general, and one or two trembled under it. Surely God was with him; he appeared to speak of spiritual and divine things as awful realities. Many, I doubt not, could witness to the truth of his sermon, by finding their hearts discovered and read to them therein. The kingdom of darkness trembled, I trust, before the Gospel of Christ, dispensed by this his dear servant. He appointed to preach another sermon after a small intermission, and accordingly did. Many of this people tarried to hear him. He preached from Hosea xiii. 13. He opened the connection and the text itself, and then observed, that inasmuch as he was about to leave them on the morrow, and there were a number under convictions, he would point out some things which were oftentimes means of hindering person's convictions from issuing in conversion. Accordingly, he mentioned some of them; as the world, and putting off convictions till a more convenient season, &c. He gave some account of the various workings and lustrings of the sinner's heart whilst under convictions towards forbidden objects, towards false resting-places. He was delivering his discourse very pleasantly and moderately; but, oh, an uncreated power and authority accompanied it, a power and authority too big, awful, and majestic, for any creature; it was the voice of God which is powerful and full of majesty! The great Comforter, whose office it is to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, to teach his disciples all things, and bring all things to their remembrance, accompanied the Word with his almighty and efficacious grace! Oh, it discovered the secrets of men's hearts to them with irresistible energy, light, and evidence! Indeed, he spake in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power, so that one must say, God was with him of a truth! By and by, some began to cry out both above and below in awful distress and anguish of soul: upon which he raised his voice, that he might be heard above their outcries; but the distress and outcry spreading and increasing, his voice was at length so drowned that he could not be heard. Wherefore, not being able to finish his sermon, with great apparent serenity and calmness of soul (having mentioned it to me) he called to the distressed, and desired them to gather themselves together in the body of seats below. This he did that he might with more convenience converse with them, counsel, direct, exhort them, &c. Oh, how were sinners in Zion afraid! How did fearfulness surprise the hypocrite! Whilst they saw their state, and saw no way opened to them, how they could dwell with the devouring fire, how they could inhabit with the everlasting burnings, whilst they saw no way how they could approach unto the holy and jealous God! Oh, the distress and anguish of their souls! Oh, the pains that were upon them, like as of a woman in travail; whilst they saw their just deserts at the hands of the great God; whilst they knew not but what, yea were awfully afraid lest, they must eternally dwell with devils and damned souls in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, and bear the fury of God, with whom now they saw was terrible majesty! Seeing somewhat of the awfulness of hell, and that they deserved it; seeing also that nothing but the mere uncovenanted good pleasure of God, who was very angry with them, kept them out of hell every moment: no wonder that they cried out, they should go to hell,

they were going to hell, "What shall we do to be saved?" &c.

Mr Wheelock left the people generally, if not universally, impressed with a serious and awful sense of invisible realities; conversing about the important concerns of their immortal souls; searching into their state towards God; fearing, complaining, and inquiring what they should do; longing after the word and ordinances. In a word, their thoughts seemed almost wholly taken up about the great things of another world, endeavouring in all appointed means to secure the one thing needful. I found a few who had received comfort; and many others appeared to have such deep convictions of their sinful condemned state by nature, and such awful apprehensions of the anger of God due to them for sin, that they seemed like persons who had received a sentence of death, and had a gloominess overspreading all their worldly enjoyments which they had so inordinately placed their affections upon and eagerly pursued after. They seemed struck with amazement at their danger, and the awfulness of a Christless state, and their past blindness and stupidity therein, and were seeking after Jesus, after pardon, acceptance, &c.

This morning I, with the Rev. Mr Wales, went to Middleborough first precinct, to a stated lecture, where there was a sermon delivered. The sermon was plain, searching, awful. Its chief tendency was to discover the danger of a Christless state—to open and explain the Gospel-way of salvation by Jesus Christ—to show them that now was the day of Christ's patience with them—to give some characters of those who had opened to, or believed in Christ—and to invite and beseech all to open to, or believe in Christ, that they might be saved. There was a plentiful shower of Divine grace which fell upon the assembly. Numbers had their sins set in order before their eyes, having the sins of their lives, and the plague of their hearts discovered to them, fearing, trembling, complaining, and enquiring, what they should do to be saved. They seemed, from their natural legal spirit, ready to catch hold of any thing that they might be delivered from the wrath which is to come, and to be opposite to submitting to the righteousness of God, as all natural men are. Numbers, yea, even some young persons, had such discoveries of their sin and misery by nature, as could be given them by none save the Holy Ghost, whose office it is to convince of sin. Indeed, almost the whole assembly appeared to be impressed with a serious concern for the salvation of their souls; but some had clearer and deeper convictions than others, &c. Oh, how feelingly did they speak and complain of their sins, especially the sin of their nature, such as pride, &c. Oh, how earnest and solicitous were they in their inquiries after Jesus Christ, and an interest in him. How did they fear lest they should fall short of Christ; lest their convictions should wear off, &c. We tarried, after the exercise was over, some time with them in the meeting-house, that we might converse and pray with them. We left them that evening, and returned home.

The spiritual concern still remained upon the minds of this people, and increased, if anything. There were presently several societies of young persons formed in town for prayer, reading God's Word and good books, singing God's praises, and some or all of them agreed to meet twice a-week steadily, besides other occasional meetings, lectures, public and private. There were also in a little time one or

two family meetings set up in town for religious exercises. I found little, if any, open opposition as yet among the people; though afterwards the religious concern among some of the people wearing off, or at least abating, they began to stumble at and oppose more freely and openly these appearances.

On Friday, being desired by the negroes, I preached to them, with many others that attended at my lodgings, from Rom. viii. 1, "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." In my sermon, I endeavoured to open and confirm the state of condemnation in which all mankind naturally lie; to open the way provided for the salvation of sinners by God, and exhibited to them in the Gospel, viz., through the righteousness of Christ imputed to them and received by faith alone; to show them the safety and happiness of those that were in Christ by faith, and the sin and misery of those who were unbelievers, and in a state of condemnation, &c.; to give some marks and characters of believers; and to urge upon sinners to give themselves no rest until they had secured an interest in the righteousness of Christ, by a faith of God's operation. We had a crowded assembly, and much of the gracious presence of God. The whole assembly seemed to be under the influences of the Holy Spirit. They appeared to come and hear the Word, in some measure convinced of the great necessity they were under of securing an interest in Christ. They appeared not to be careless hearers, but to hunger after the Word; looking and waiting critically and earnestly for a word suited to their particular cases, and waiting for the power of the Holy Ghost to accompany and make it effectual for their salvation. Some were under consolation, joying and rejoicing, and appeared to be filled with love to a precious Christ, and to all men, especially those who they hoped were of the household of faith, for Christ's sake. Others appeared to be in deep distress for sin, and, for fear of the wrath to come, enquiring what they should do? Now Sabbaths were prized and seriously regarded. More or less of the power of God accompanied the public and private assemblies of his people. There was often much of the Divine presence with them in their private meetings, when they had preaching, and also when they had not. I could and did preach frequently with the people. They appeared to be swift to hear, especially young people—they seemed to hear as for their lives. They were wakeful, serious, reverent and attentive in God's house; and gladly embraced opportunities of hearing his word. Oh, it is sweet preaching when people are desirous of hearing! sweet feeding the flock of Christ, when they have so good an appetite; yea, sweet seeing it fed, if one is not permitted to feed it. In those days surely the Word of the Lord was precious; many, like new born babes, desiring the sincere milk of the Word, that they might grow thereby. Their merry meetings were turned into praying and singing assemblies; their vain, foolish, and frothy conversation into religious and experimental discourse. When people occasionally visited one another, or providentially met together, their conversation turned on religious topics. When I visited them, or they me, they would be conversing about religion, and asking serious and important questions about their souls; about doctrinal and experimental religion. What a wonderful reformation was there in this town! it is impossible fully to describe it. Moreover, I labour under some peculiar disadvantages, so that I cannot give so full and par-

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ticular an account of things of a religious nature, especially in the time of the greatest outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as otherwise I might have done; being but a stranger among and unacquainted with them, and not committing particular accounts of things to writing in the time of them; and, labouring under many perplexities, particularly awful spiritual darkness, desertion, and temptation, for the most of that fall and winter; my memory also being impaired thereby. Indeed, it was a wonder of the power and grace of God, that I was carried through the service I was called unto.

Sometime in November, on the Sabbath, I preached to a full assembly. There appeared to be an awful concern continuing upon the minds of the people in general; though I feared not so great as had been; and was fearing lest God was about to depart from us; but, when the afternoon exercise was over, some were in great anguish of soul. Being obliged to set out on a journey the next day, I appointed to preach another sermon at the meeting-house in the evening. Accordingly, at the time appointed I returned to the meeting-house, and found that many were in great distress. I preached to a considerably large assembly, from Rom. viii. 1. Many among the assembly were deeply affected, groaning and sobbing; though not as to disturb the people or hinder them from hearing, as I remember. After the exercise was concluded, the distress among the people appeared greater; many groaning or crying out, complaining of their sins and danger, of their blindness, hard-heartedness, &c.; a great weeping and mourning. The whole assembly, old and young, seemed to be concerned in a greater or less degree; though, indeed, some were rejoicing in Christ, in hopes of their interest in him, and also to see others in distress for their miserable and sinful state by nature; because of the reasons of it, and because they hoped it would issue well. I prayed several times with the people, and exhorted them, &c. I conversed particularly with many young and old, as they were brought to me. We tarried in the meeting-house till nine of the clock, for what I know, and then retired. It was, indeed, a wonderful evening of the outpouring of the Spirit, as a Spirit of grace and supplication upon his people.

In the time of my absence there was a stated monthly lecture among this people, preached by the Rev. Mr Tobey of Berkley. I heard that God was graciously present. Upon my return the next week, or the week after, as I remember, (having supplied the pulpit in my absence,) I found people were stumbling at these things and more openly cavilling, and I found more disputing, &c., which was a disservice to the work of God, as it grieved the Holy Spirit, and kept people more from conversing with their own hearts.

I continued preaching and conversing among them until the latter end of January. But difficulties arising and increasing about my settlement, and more appearing openly against me; being sent for by a relation of mine, I went to Ipswich to take his advice. Upon my coming to Ipswich and conversing with him, he said he would go to Taunton and preach for me a fortnight or three weeks, and see how things were circumstanced there, and I should tarry and supply a winter parish which he had the charge of. Accordingly I consented. But I was detained much longer from Taunton than I expected by reason of the difficulties of the season; so that it

was towards the latter end of March when I returned to Taunton. Here I would just observe, that in this time I had opportunity to see much of the glorious work of God's grace which he was carrying on at Ipswich and other places at the eastward. And surely there was a remarkable and plentiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit there. Upon my return to Taunton, I found the religious concern upon people not to be so great in general as it was when I left them, as I could learn: though the people in general appeared still to be serious and thoughtful, to be seeking to secure the one thing needful. The preached Gospel was fully attended, especially on the Lord's-day, and attended with general seriousness, concern, and a seeming appetite. Things remained much the same until May 19th, 1742, upon which day I was solemnly ordained to the pastoral office over them. Since that, there have been several times of refreshing, and some revival of God's work. Several sacramental occasions have been special seasons of refreshment to the people of God: especially the first sacrament I administered, I believe was a sweet and soul-reviving feast to many souls; many I believe were brought into Christ's banqueting-house: his banner over them was love. Also, at a catechising of the children (after I had catechised them) I discoursed to them from Prov. viii. 17. and in as familiar a manner as I was capable, taught them the love of God to those who love him, and urged the necessity and advantage of early piety. Some of them were affected while I was discoursing, and in prayer their distress increased. After which several cried out in great distress of mind. They complained of fears of hell, want of love to God, and that though Christ was willing, they were unwilling, &c. I spake scarce any terrible words to them, choosing rather a soft and gentle method of treating them. I spake little of hell and damnation; but chiefly of the love of God, his readiness to receive little children, the advantages of loving him. Their concern appeared not to proceed from an affrightment but from a conviction of sin; though it is to be feared that their convictions have not issued savingly. And as to some, perhaps, the unkind neglects, if not discouragements of their parents, have had an awful influence into their losing of their convictions. Nevertheless, in the general, people have been growing more cold, dull, and lifeless in religion. There have been but few hopeful conversions since my ordination, the most who were brought home having been brought home in the fall and winter. So that generally speaking, there has been an awful withdrawal of the Divine influence both from saints and sinners. An occasion of which might be the disputes about my ordination, and also for and against these things; as also false reports and prejudices thereby raised in the minds of people; whereby the Holy Spirit was grieved, and the spiritual concern of many abated. Some of our private meetings have come to nothing, though others are still attended. Many who have been under the divine influences have fallen away, and some I fear are more blinded and hardened then ever, cavilling and mocking. Some still remain under convictions. Some, it is to be feared, who have reformed and returned, have not returned to the Most High, but to some refuge of lies. Others in a judgment of charity, have experienced a saving and thorough work. Some few who were professors, I trust, have been plucked off from their false foundations, and have been savingly converted

to God. An hundred and two have joined in full communion with this church, though none lately. A few others of this people in the time of the vacancy (who have been wrought upon in this day of God's great grace) joined in full communion with other churches. Three or four have renewed baptismal covenant. Three or four more have been baptised. So that upon the whole it is evident to the glory of the God of all grace, that there has been a remarkable shower of divine grace among this people; the Holy Spirit has been poured out in his common and special influences upon them; the most or all of them have first or last been under serious concern of soul and searchings of heart.

Thus I have given you some general and imperfect account of what the Lord has wrought among this people in the late day of his great grace. But, before I conclude my account, I beg leave to speak more particularly to some things, viz., before the Lord wrought in such a marvellous manner among this people, some of them had, by degrees, been brought to be more serious and thoughtful, and to consider their ways, (as I have before observed) which in some sort prepared them for such a surprising visit from the Spirit of grace, as they were thereby excited to give the most diligent heed to the things which were spoken to them in the name of the Lord. The late work among this people, I am fully persuaded (according to the best judgment I am capable of forming of things of this nature both from Scripture and reason) is the same as to its essence and substance, which has been in all ages in the application of the purchased redemption to the souls of sinners by the supernatural and almighty operations of the Holy Ghost. Though it has been attended with some circumstances which have not been so common. The Holy Spirit has acted like himself with a sovereign freedom, as to the suddenness of his opening the eyes of secure sinners, and letting them into a knowledge of their sin, misery, and danger by nature; some being led into the knowledge of their sin and misery more gradually than others. As to the measure and degrees of their conviction of sin and wrath; some having clearer and more awful convictions thereof than others. As to the length of time; some remaining longer under a spirit of bondage than others. And so as to the degrees of consolation he gave them upon their flying for refuge to Jesus Christ; some having stronger consolation than others, &c. But they say they were convinced of their sins, original and actual; had their sins set in order before their eyes in a clear and convincing light, with particular application; were convinced of the plague of their hearts, of their blindness, pride, self-righteousness, enmity, opposition to God's sovereignty, and the way of life by Jesus Christ, unbelief, &c., of their being under the wrath and curse of Almighty God, and being continually exposed to the immediate and actual execution thereof upon them in hell; of their utter inability to deliver themselves from this wretched estate; of their lost and undone estate in and of themselves, their duties, tears, repentings, &c., and being convinced of God's righteousness, though he should cast them off for ever for all they had done or could do; having their way hedged up, and being brought into the wilderness, they were brought to God's sovereignty with an "Who knows but God may be gracious," &c. Upon their submission they felt a calmness in their souls, having done with quarrelling

and disputing with the justice of God. Upon this, they say, they had a discovery of Christ, and the new-covenant way of life in and through him; saw his glory, all-sufficiency, suitableness, and readiness to save even the chief of sinners, according to the Gospel; (these discoveries were generally given them in and with some texts of Scripture: or if they had no text of Scripture as they remember at first, there immediately came many flowing in upon their minds) had their hearts sweetly and freely drawn out to receive Christ, and rest upon him, and him alone, for salvation, according to the Gospel; being brought to renounce all self or creature dependencies, accounting their own righteousness as filthy rags, they were brought to joy and delight themselves in Christ, and in his whole salvation; found peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost, according to the measure of their knowledge of and faith in Christ, and the new covenant way of life in and through him; had their mouths filled with praises of Christ, glorifying in him, commending him to others; had their love drawn out to God and to all mankind, but especially to those who they thought belonged to the household of faith, for God's sake—loving and forgiving their enemies, being filled with a concern for the salvation of precious and immortal souls, mourning for and hating sin as against God, and as dishonourable to him.

Some, who we charitably hope are really converted to God, do not give so clear and distinct an account as some others: some passing through more temptations and exercises than others; some perhaps not so distinctly observing or not remembering the various steps of the Holy Ghost upon their minds as others, &c. But yet their accounts agree in the essential parts. They were brought to see themselves sinners, and lost in themselves: to see their natural impotence and enmity; see God's righteousness though he should cast them off for ever; brought to submit to God's sovereignty; had the way of salvation opened up to them; brought to renounce all confidence in themselves, and rejoice in Christ Jesus. Most of those who have been wrought upon were young, and had been very ignorant; and, therefore, they scarce knew how to express their conceptions of spiritual and divine truths, so as properly to convey their own sense of things to others; and did one but captiously converse with and examine some of them (without making due allowances) one might gather strange accounts from them, though they might intend honestly and orthodoxly. And, perhaps, some of those frightful accounts which are told of abroad concerning some of the subjects of this work have their rise here. Some give such a clear and distinct account of the work of the Holy Spirit upon their hearts as a spirit of bondage, and a spirit of adoption, enabling them to cry, Abba, Father, and of their after experience, &c. that they even command our charity; others leave me in more suspense; and others, for all the account they gave of their experiences, give awful grounds to conclude that they had but a common work. But God is the searcher and judge of hearts; yet there is a judgment of charity, we may, and, upon some occasions, ought to form concerning the states of others. When I find a person habitually and visibly sinful in his life and conversation, or ignorant of the internal operations of the Holy Spirit on his heart, I do not look upon it to be a breach of charity to fear, or conclude that he is unconverted, and in a proper manner to tell

him so. "By their fruits you shall know them," says Christ. And I believe much of the rash judging wherewith the subjects of this work have been accused and branded about the country, has been only such a judging as this. Not but that there has been too much rash and unseasonable judging of persons' interior state. Those who I charitably hope have experienced a saving change among this people having been generally very ignorant, and being but babes in Christ, having but little experience in the spiritual and divine life, having their affections much raised and inflamed with a new glorious and ravishing view of spiritual and divine things. No wonder that at first they might, some of them at least, be carried out too rashly and unseasonably to judge the interior state of others who were not in their frames, or especially if they appeared luke-warm and indifferent in the present day, or to speak against these things. But, further, experience teaches them their absolute inequality for such an important work as infallibly to judge the interior state of others, and may, and does so more and more. But some of their judging was only a judging those who were visibly irreligious, or unacquainted with the internal operations of the Holy Spirit—arising from a love to their souls, though they may not always have acted with that wisdom herein as might be desired. But do you expect children to act like men?

As for the character of those who have been savingly wrought upon in this day,—some were openly vile and profligate, others moralists, and others formalists. If you now inquire into the reasons and grounds of the terrors and distresses of those amongst us;—those I have conversed with, say, they had their eyes opened to see their sin and misery, their lost and undone estate by nature, &c., agreeable to the Scriptures, as far as I am capable of judging. If you enquire into the grounds and reasons of the joys of many among us, they say they were from discoveries of the all-sufficiency, suitableness, and readiness of Christ to save even the chief of sinners; they beheld the transcendent glory and excellency of Christ, and were constrained to joy and rejoice in him; the dying love of Christ, the glory, excellency, and safety of the way of salvation by Christ; a gospel-hope and persuasion of their deliverance from hell, from the guilt and spiritual defilement of sin through Jesus Christ, of their living a life of communion and fellowship here, by faith, with the Father and his Son, Jesus Christ, and of the everlasting vision and fruition of God in the coming world, &c. These are some of those grounds which they give me of their joys, &c. Oh, how feelingly and experimentally do they sometimes speak of precious Christ! How do they exalt, admire, and adore him! How do they commend him to others! As to outcries, &c., I would observe that they might be occasioned by one of these things:—either by the suddenness of the discovery of divine things; or the clearness and greatness of the discovery; or their particular constitutions; or by these several things co-operating. And I verily believe, from particular conversation with many of them, that the distresses and joys of most, if not of all those who cried out, &c., as well as the distresses and joys of others, arose from a scriptural representation of truth to their understanding, and the application thereof to their own consciences. Many, or most of whom, I hope, were converted, &c., did not manifest either their distress or consolation by outcries.

But what fruit of all these things? Why, a choosing and esteeming God's laws as holy, just, and good, and delighting in them according to the inward man; accounting Christ's yoke easy, and his burden light; accounting wisdom's ways, ways of pleasantness, and all her paths peaceful; as new-born babes desiring the sincere milk of the Word, that they may grow thereby; searching and delighting in the Scriptures, and in such books as are the most searching, and experimental, and awakening; longing for, and attending upon ordinances, and hungering and thirsting after communion with God in them, delighting in Sabbaths, and endeavouring to sanctify the Lord God in their hearts; examining and trying themselves by the Scriptures, and by what the most searching and experimental authors have written upon that subject; restitution made to any they have wronged; prayerless persons turned prayerful; the swearer fearing and reverencing that great and dreadful name, the LORD our GOD; the thief honest; the merry and jolly turned grave and sober; the dull formalists made spiritual, and breathing after communion with God in ordinances. As far as I can learn, they are seeking after knowledge in the use of all appointed means: they are thirsting after a speculative and experimental knowledge of such doctrines as cast contempt upon the natural pride and haughtiness of man, and exalt free grace; setting the crown on the head of the Lord Jesus Christ, where God has placed it.

And though many, who were awakened, have fallen away to their former security; yet what wonder is it? is it anything new? or what might not have been expected? Is this, therefore, a reason for concluding, that either those were not under scriptural convictions, or that others have not been converted? And though, further, a few that received joy and comfort give awful proof that they never experienced a saving change, and even some that made a public profession of Christ give awful grounds to fear lest they are strangers to him, yet are these things so strange and unheard of as to give warrant to conclude that none of them are any better? There are, and have ever been, hypocrites and stony-ground hearers in the Church; and shall we act agreeably to Scripture or reason if we say that therefore none are sincere? Indeed, there is abundant reason to bless God, that so few of the professed subjects of this work appear to apostatize in proportion to the great numbers who give all the evidences of a supernatural and abiding change that we can reasonably expect. And though two, as I remember, for a few hours, whilst under convictions of sin and wrath, were so overpowered as to lose the free exercise of reason; yet is this so anti-scriptural, as to warrant us to conclude the persons were not under the convictions of the Holy Spirit, though distracted by Divine terrors, as Heman was? And though, I believe, some have been tinctured with enthusiasm, which, I believe, they are come or coming off from, as they grow more experienced; yet is it at all wonderful that true Christians should be thus tinctured, when we consider the remaining darkness of their understandings, the malice and subtlety of Satan, with our natural proneness to run from one extreme to another? As to what has been reported of the subjects of this work, that they neglect their secular business by going to so many meetings, I would say, it has not been so with us; but they have generally, and I know not but universally, worked as much or

more than ever, and with more cheerfulness and delight, and, I trust, some of them from Gospel principles. They have, indeed, been more conversant in the duties of religion, but they have redeemed their time for these purposes from idleness, tavern-haunting, frolics, merry meetings, and vain conversation; and where is the harm of this to the Church or commonwealth? Indeed, some, whilst under great convictions, or strong consolation, might, and I believe did, in some measure neglect their business; but what wonder of this? I would observe here, that for all the cry there may have been about so many meetings of late years, as if such and such places or persons would be undone, God has been pleased to load us abundantly with his benefits—to give as great or greater plenty of provision these few years past than ever. As for what is reported about divisions being occasioned by this work, I would say, it has been, I believe, the accidental cause thereof, which, I think, is no just ground of prejudice against it. It cannot be expected that the power of godliness should flourish in such a degree as it has done, and not be opposed by the devil and the lusts of men. But the doctrines insisted on and blessed here in carrying on this work have no other than an accidental tendency to create divisions; the subjects of the work, and such as appear friendly to it, are united by these things.

To sum up all in a word:—There are many things reported of the subjects of this work, about their imprudencies, irregularities, &c., some of which are false or gross misrepresentations, or charging those things upon all which some pretended ones are guilty of; or may, I think, be accounted for by considering either that many appear friendly to this work who are unconverted, or that those who are converted are in a state of imperfection. But if persons will receive none as Christians, or as under a Divine influence, except such as they can see no fault in,—where will they find any Christians in their esteem then upon earth. And now, if, after the account I have endeavoured to give of the revival and progress of a work of God among this people in the late day of his great grace, any reject it for a wild scene of enthusiasm, give me leave to ask, "What true religion is, and where we shall find it?" If true religion is not to be found in these things, where shall we find any religion save the religion of nature? I freely confess, for my own part, that if these things are not true religion, I know not what it is, either in theory or by experience. But who is the author of these things, and what are their tendency? Is it not evident that they are from God, and lead directly to God? Who is He that opens the eyes of blind sinners to see their sin and misery by nature? Who awakens those who were at ease in Zion, making them earnestly solicitous to be brought out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son? Who discovers to men the secrets of their hearts, exactly answering to what is written in God's Word concerning them; humbles them at the feet of Divine sovereignty, and brings them to submit to the righteousness of God; opens their eyes to see the glory, all-sufficiency, suitableness, and willingness of the dear Redeemer to save even the chief of sinners who come unto God by him; giving them a spiritual view of these great truths according to the Scripture, effectually persuading and enabling them to receive him, and rest upon him, and him alone, for salvation, according to the Gospel? Who makes

sinner see and feel their spiritual poverty, and mourn under it, and vehemently and insatiably hunger and thirst after Christ and his righteousness, esteeming him as the chiefest among ten thousand, as one altogether lovely? &c. Who opens the eyes of sinners to see the odious nature and deserts of sin, and the real beauty of holiness, and makes them prize, and long, and seek after Christ's whole salvation? Who makes them complain of indwelling sin as their greatest burden, and long for perfect deliverance therefrom, for parity of heart and life? Who changes their tempers, so that they come to love and relish those things which once they hated and disrelished, and so *é contra*? Who makes them leave off their former sinful ways, and change their vain companions for the company of those who are most serious and spiritual; makes them delight in and attend diligently and seriously upon ordinances, and yet mourn if they only meet with empty ordinances? &c. Who is the author of these things, but the Eternal, Sovereign, and Almighty Spirit of Grace? for which for ever adored be his holy name.

And what is the natural tendency of these things but to make men holy, perfect, and happy, according to the account given us of the recovery of fallen man in the Gospel? If these things are only the effects of an overheated imagination, how shall I be certain of the reality of any thing, that I love any person, or delight in any thing? But I forbear—only, I would say to those who cavil at or reject these things as the work of Satan, idle dreams, or imagination, Come, taste and see; candidly and impartially examine, and let Scripture be judge. It seems, if they would do thus, their minds would be changed. But, perhaps some will say that these things which you have given us an account of, and call a work of God, are right and Scriptural. You have nothing against these things. Well, I have endeavoured to write the truth. I have conversed with the subjects of this work, and am bound in charity to believe what they say they have been convinced of, upon which their lives were changed; which things I have endeavoured to give you an account of. My prayer to God has been, that I might do it with uprightness and sincerity, as in his sight, and I hope I have had in some measure his gracious assistance. May God accept of it as a testimony for him, and accompany it with his blessing, mercifully forgiving me all my infirmities which I have been guilty of in writing it, for his name's sake; and thus desiring your prayers for me, that I may make full proof of my ministry, &c., for my charge, that God would graciously revive and carry on his own work here more gloriously—that He would plead his own cause and work when men make void his law. I subscribe myself your younger and unworthy fellow-labourer in the Gospel of the dearest Jesus,

JOSIAH CROCKER.

P.S.—I have been in some measure acquainted with the late revival of religion in many other places,—as in Middleborough, both parishes, in Plymouth, some of the parishes in Bridgewater, Raynham, Berkeley, Norton, Attleborough, Martha's Vineyard, and other places,—and, as far as I am capable of judging, the revival appears to be the same for substance in every one of these places. They appear to have the same grounds of delights and joy—the same after-complaints and delights, evidencing that it is the same Omnipresent Sovereign and Eternal Spirit of Grace, who is the author of

these things, who gives forth his influences to what person or people, and whensoever He will, and none may stay his Almighty hand, or say unto him what dost thou, or why dost thou thus. The same Spirit our forefathers and we have been praying for. As the personal coming of the Messias in the flesh, which the Jews had been praying and waiting for, was not according to the expectations of the carnal Jews; yea, his own disciples laboured under much ignorance, and had many gross apprehensions of his person, manner of coming, kingdom, &c.; may we not, therefore, justly expect that Christ's coming to his people, according to his promise by his Spirit, though they have been praying for it, should be mistaken by many of his professed people; John i. 12. We are so prone to limit the Holy One of Israel, through our natural ignorance, pride, &c., that we are for rejecting him when He comes not to us, and works not according to that plan we have laid out in our own minds for him to work by. O, let us judge of God and his works by faith, according to the Scriptures.—Yours, &c.,

JOSIAH CROCKER.

SECTION X.

ON THE 29TH OF MARCH, 1741, AT LYME, IN CONNECTICUT, WEST PARISH.—WHILE THEIR MINISTER, MR PARSONS, NARRATES TO HIS CONGREGATION WHAT HE HAD SEEN AND HEARD OF THE REVIVAL IN OTHER PLACES, FROM ISA. LX. 8.—MR TENNENT PREACHES ON EZEK. XXXVII. 9, AND LUKE XIII. 4.—REMARKABLE POWER ATTENDING A SERMON OF MR PARSONS ON MAT. XXIV. 37, 38, 39, ABOUT OUR LORD'S COMING TO JUDGMENT.—MINISTERS SEND FOR EACH OTHER TO PREACH.—A CONCERN AMONG THE CHILDREN IN TIME OF SERMON AT NEW-LONDON. MR PARSON'S ITINERANCY BLESSED IN SEVERAL PLACES.—AND WHEN HE RETURNED TO HIS OWN CHARGE, SOME MANIFEST TOKENS OF THE PRESENCE OF GOD ACCOMPANYING EVERY SERMON FOR A TIME.—THE SINCERE COMPLAINTS OF SOME WERE A MEANS OF AWAKENING OTHERS.—EDIFYING DISCOURSES IN THE STREETS, FIELDS, AND PRIVATE HOUSES.—EVIDENCES OF A CHRISTIAN TEMPER.—A WONDERFUL DAY OF CHRIST'S POWER AT A COMMUNION.—THE WORK CHIEFLY AMONG THE YOUTH; BUT SOME VERY OLD, TWO NEAR SEVENTY, AND ONE NINETY-THREE.—MR DAVENPORT BLESSED AMONG THE INDIANS.—SOME IRREGULARITIES.—DEFENCE OF THE WORK ITSELF.

From a Letter from MR PARSONS, Minister of the West Parish of Lyme, to MR PRINCE, Minister at Boston, April 14th, 1744.—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 67, &c.

LYME is a town, I suppose, near seventy-seven years old: it was originally the same with Saybrook, and is that part of it which lies on the east side of Connecticut river. They called the Rev. Mr Noyes to preach among them; soon after they had town privileges bestowed upon them. I was ordained among them in 1731. The summer following my ordination, there was a great effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the people. There appeared to be an uncommon attention to the preaching of the Word, and a disposition to hearken to advice; and a remarkable concern about salvation. It was a general inquiry among the middle-aged and youth, "What must I do to be saved?" Great numbers came to my study, some almost every day for several months together, under manifest concern about their souls. I seldom went into a house among my neighbours, but they had some free discourse about religion, or were searching after the meaning of some texts of Scripture. Many of the young people were greatly

reformed; they turned their meetings for vain mirth into meetings for prayer, conference, and reading books of piety. There was a number of them kept a religious society about two years; and they not only behaved soberly, but took pains to dissuade others from levity and frothy conversation. But, although there was such a fair prospect of a considerable harvest of souls, I have no special reasons to make me think that many were savingly converted to God in that season of concern.

In that day, I myself was greatly in love with doctrines that tend to gratify the pride of men, to give them exalted thoughts of their own duties. I had a zeal of God, but not a laudable one, because it was not according to knowledge. Being ignorant of God's righteousness, I endeavoured to get others to establish their own righteousness, and to keep them from submitting unto the righteousness of God. It is now more than ten years since I have seen cause to renounce such principles, and turn quite about in some of the most important doctrines of the Christian religion; and, consequently, you may well think, that there was as great an alteration in my preaching; for I have all along preached (as I suppose other ministers do,) agreeably to my own sentiments. But God knows with how little success I insisted upon the things which I had learned and been assured of. Nothing seemed to make any deep and lasting impressions for good upon the minds of people in general; it looked to me, they lived easy without Christ, and without God in the world. Our young people took unwarrantable liberties; night walking, frolicking, and lewd practices, some grew bold in, and encouraged and corrupted others thereby; others fell into party quarrels and grew uneasy with the plainness of the preaching, and were pleased sometimes to call it censoriousness, especially if I told them "that I could not, upon our practice, reckon conversions by the number of those that had joined to the church, or that I feared very few had been converted since my ministry amongst them; and when I insisted upon it that an external profession of the true religion, joined with a good degree of doctrinal knowledge, external devotion, negative blamelessness, and the like, were not good evidences that a person was a real Christian; but insisted upon it that all were spiritually dead by nature, must have a principle of spiritual life implanted, must be converted to God, have sensible communion with Christ, and live a life of faith, as they would entertain well-grounded hopes of Heaven." These were hard sayings, and many would not receive them. Thus it was with us for several years, until I was awfully deserted of God, and got into a very dull legal frame myself, and then some were better pleased.

It is now almost four years since it pleased God to strengthen and enlarge my desires after the increase of Christ's kingdom, and to stir me up to more ardent endeavours after the eternal welfare of immortal souls. Christ and his cause grew exceeding precious, and one soul appeared of more worth than a thousand worlds. The souls that were committed to my charge lay with vast weight and tenderness upon my mind. The state of religion looked dismal; but few instances of persons that I could meet with among them, that seemed to be suitably affected with the miseries of a perishing world, and the decaying state of religion. The news of Mr Whitefield's rising up with great zeal for holiness

and souls, had great influence upon my mind: God made use of frequent accounts about him to awaken my attention, to humble me for past deadness, and rouse me up to see my own standing, and sound an alarm in some poor sort, to a drowsy, careless people. When he came to Boston, Dr Colman wrote me an account of his zeal and success in his daily ministrations among them, which I freely communicated to one and another as I had opportunity, hoping that such accounts from a father of the country, so justly esteemed, might have a happy effect; and, doubtless, it was made use of by a gracious God to draw the attention of many among us, and stir up their diligence in hearing the Word preached. Some time after Mr Whitefield had been through this colony, (though he came not by the way of Lyme,) our people were more generally roused up to bethink themselves, and converse about religion. Probably, the frequent accounts of the success he had in many places were serviceable among us. But more especially my going to hear him at New-Haven and some other places; this gave me a different turn of thought about him and his preaching, and satisfied me more fully that there were many misrepresentations of him and his views, and, I believe, served as a means to take off the prejudices that some among us had conceived against the effects of his ministry.

A little after he left New England, I heard of a very great concern upon the minds of many people at Hartford; especially among the children and youth. The various accounts we have had about them stirred me up to take pains, that, if it might be, I should understand the true spring of all their concern. To this end, I frequently conversed with persons that told me they had seen very surprising effects of some cause; they also told me the effects; and, some of them told me of many questions they asked the persons under the surprising operations, and the answers they gave them; which gave some considerable hope, that there was a glorious work of God's grace among them. But I could not be easy still for want of a further light; and, therefore, I wrote several letters to gentlemen in that town, who I thought were judicious and prudent, desiring particular accounts of the most extraordinary facts observable among them; and one of them wrote me a prudent and discreet answer, relating to some matters of fact, and added, that it was his opinion the Spirit of God was poured out among them very gloriously. Yet, still I wanted further light if it was to be had; and, therefore, on the 11th of March, 1740-1, I set out upon a visit to that place and people, and to converse with the ministers there. Mr Whiteman, one of the ministers of that town, gave me a particular and surprising account of some things he had certain knowledge of; especially of the strong consolations of some persons, and the great distress of others. He kindly related some discourse of a number once at his own house; and some extraordinary distresses of many persons at a religious meeting; facts that he knew, and inquiries that he made to find out the rise of them; and when I asked his judgment upon the things he had related, he told, as I remember, that he did not doubt, but the persons in general, who had been thus affected were, at that time, under the influence of God's Holy Spirit, and that a very gracious manifestation of mercy had been made among them. This pains I thought necessary to take, and much more

that would be too tedious to relate at present. The enemy of souls was very busy, and much pains were taken to represent the extraordinary things we heard of from abroad, as the effect of an heated imagination, or mere enthusiasm and disorder. It was noised about, as if the country would be undone if such a spirit should have a general spread, and religion would be banished from all the churches. I observed that this was the cry especially among those that had been the looser sort, and seemed now afraid of any concern about their eternal state; and that gave me some grounds to think that, indeed, the Lord was about to do some great things for the church which had been so long sunk down into almost mere formality.

Upon my return home from Hartford, I had further accounts by letters from Dr Colman of the wonderful progress of the Gospel at Boston, and at towns round about, by the blessing of God, upon the ministry of Mr Tennent, and their own pastors. So that by the latter end of March I was furnished with a considerable history of the work from many places, attested by credible witnesses; and, from what I received from their mouths and their hand-writing, I was able to relate certain matters of fact, in a light vastly different from what they had been represented in among us; and to add the judgment of wise, prudent, and judicious ministers concerning them and the true spring of them. And, therefore, on the 29th of the month, I preached from Isa. lx. 8, from which my special design was to rectify those mistakes, about the religious affairs abroad, that had been spread among us; and to give an history of certain facts, together with the opinion of those ministers, and some others, concerning the rise of those things, that had been so much the conversation and amusement of the people. The history and application of it in this sermon had greater visible effects upon the auditory than ever I had seen before in the course of my ministry.

But, before I give a particular account of these effects, and other things that have more lately fallen under my observation respecting religion, either at home or abroad, I beg your patience a little, and your leave also just to mention four or five preliminaries which I have made use of in this season; and which, I am humbly of opinion, others ought to carry in their minds as true, viz., 1. I am humbly of opinion that it is not reasonable for any to conclude persons to be under the influences of the Holy Spirit, either in convincing of sin, or in sanctifying the soul, merely because they cry out aloud, faint away, or the like; even though this be observed under the faithful preaching of the most important truths of religion. Though it may look hopeful and encouraging, yet it is not sufficient to draw a conclusion: wherever men take upon them to judge in any matter, they ought, certainly, to look upon themselves obliged to get the best evidence of the truth that can be had. And who will pretend but that we may get clearer light of the reality of persons being under Divine influence than what springs from bodily agitations? nay, it is a clear case that persons may be thrown into hysterics, faintings, outcries, &c., and that, under the ministration of truth, by the mere power of imagination, a sudden fright, or bodily disease. And this I have seen to my satisfaction formerly, before ever I was a preacher of the Gospel, as well as more lately. As, then, these bodily seizures may arise from, or be occasioned by many more things besides

the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the soul, it is not reasonable to conclude that they do arise from that source, without some further evidence to convince us of it. Nor, 2, Is it reasonable, I think, for any to conclude, persons are not under the convincing or sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, because they tremble, cry out aloud, fall down as dead, or have great bodily disorders of such a nature. For although these bodily commotions may be from another source, yet they may also spring from the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the mind. Nor can I see any need that the reason of the greatest philosopher, or the most judicious divine should reproach him for believing a person to be under the influences of the Holy Spirit, merely because of such effects upon the body. Have not the soul and body mutual influences upon each other? do not the daily occurrences of life make this manifest? How common is it for persons to cry out, fall into hysteric fits, and bodily agonies, from worldly sorrow? Why then should it be deemed a strong presumption of delusion, merely because persons have these agonies under sermons? Is not the true discovery of sin, and the consuming vengeance of God more shocking and dismal, than any sad scene of temporal evils? If so, then it must be unreasonable for any man to argue against the reality of spiritual convictions, merely because persons are thrown into these bodily distresses. Certainly he would not shew himself a man, nor act the part of a philosopher. And so, how common is it upon some joyful occasions, for one to weep, another to faint and be overcome, and a third to cry out aloud? Who is at a loss for the reason? And why a quick and affecting sense of pardoning grace, and an interest in the favour of God, may not be supposed to have the like effects upon the body, is what no man, I believe, is able to say. And if philosophers cannot disprove a work of the Spirit of God from such bodily agitations, it is certain that a divine will be as little able to do it.

Whoever will read the accounts of conviction recorded, Acts ii. 37, 41, &c.; chap. xvi. 30; chap. ix. 4; Rev. i. 17, and other places, must allow that persons may be under all these bodily seizures when the spirit is convinced of sin, or reject the letter of the word. And so, if we read, Psal. lv. 32, 63, 42; Cant. ii., and many other portions of Scripture, we must conclude that persons may cry out, faint, and have other bodily distress, flowing from thirsting for God or rejoicing in him. But I forgot that I was only to hint at things here. And, 3d, Much less is it reasonable for many to argue that men are not under either the convincing and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit because they have none of these bodily agitations. God, by his Spirit, gives greater encouragements and supports to some men under convictions than He does to others; all have some gleam of hope that it is possible they may be converted; but some have great refreshings, and a great sense of the glories of Heaven; and hence they are not so much borne down as others; some have fainter views of the grace of the Gospel, and are less sensible of a work of grace wrought in their souls than others, and are proportionably less likely to be overcome or thrown into bodily agitations, though the discovery be effectual, and the grace special. Some have a work of the law and the gospel carried on more gradually than others, and, therefore, though they have a thorough work, their bodies are not so sensibly and suddenly affected. Others are

not so easily affected and made to tremble, faint, shriek, groan, or the like, under the same views of sin and the wrath of God; or the same views of a God reconciled in Jesus Christ, that would throw their neighbours into violent agitations of body or into a fainting fit. Various are the degrees of light; various also the length of time the Spirit takes to let in that light, and to give those influences which are necessary to prepare and bring a soul to Christ; various are the dispositions and constitutions of men; various are the encouragements, discouragements, and impediments they meet with. And hence they may be variously affected, though each one, or all, are brought to the same happy issue, respecting a law and gospel-work upon their souls. 4, I think it is not reasonable to suspect persons are not under Divine influence, or have not had a saving change, merely because we look upon them to be imprudent or irregular in some respects. Men are too apt to magnify every real or supposed wry step, and at once call it disorder, and represent it as wholly inconsistent with the being, or, at least, the exercise of grace. Thus, a glorious work or an excellent Christian may be trod upon, and many real excellencies overlooked, merely because of some real or fancied imprudencies and irregularities; yea, and in this way the innocent may be involved with the guilty, and a great multitude may suffer reproach for some imprudent measures of a single person; or a whole profession may be insulted because a few particular men are detected in an unwarrantable practice. If we take such measures as any of these on either side I cannot see where any bounds can be left to censoriousness. Is it to be supposed that all the objects of God's special grace must at once become wise philosophers, or judicious divines? If it were so, yet do not the wisest and best of men differ in opinion and practice in some circumstantial things, and those that are of lesser moment? And is the kingdom of God meat and drink? Nay, are they free, entirely free from all blame? But if they, the best of them, miss it in some things, and precipitate into real faults, why should others, of far less advantage and opportunity, be censured as enthusiasts, being led out by diabolical delusions, and what not, merely because there are some things in their conduct which we do not so well like? Indeed, if the course of a man's life was plainly immoral, there would be enough to shut my mouth from speaking favourably of his state. But, if that is the case, who are the persons? And if that is not the plea, why should every imprudent act be deemed a sufficient argument against the influences of the Spirit of God? Did our blessed Saviour tell his apostles that they had not sanctifying discoveries of God in Christ, when they were led into a great mistake of judgment, and were fired with false zeal? How common is it, nay, when is it otherwise, but that human mistakes and false fire mix themselves with our best services? Should we wait for the time when no disorder, no irregularity, no false step is to be found in such as may be called the subjects of God's special grace, we must never expect to see the day upon earth, when we shall be brought to confess that verily God is in the midst of us, working in us, and in others, that which is well-pleasing in his sight. "If allowances are to be made, doubtless, young converts claim our charity in the first place, especially when their distress has been great, and their joy proportional, like men coming into a new country, or rather a new

world, they are not yet acquainted with all the fashions and decencies of it;—it is no wonder every punctilio is not observed, which after-experience and cooler reflection will dictate. Shall we pardon the learned Archimedes, though going beyond all the bounds of decency, when transported with a mathematical discovery, and shall we make no allowance for illiterate countrymen, and others of small experience, when ravished with the discoveries of another world, and the knowledge of God in Christ, whom to know is life eternal." 5, If persons, in great numbers, are, in their general course, turned from a careless, vain, and carnal, to a careful and religious conversation; from an immoral and loose, to a moral and strict life; if they discover by all reasonable evidence that they have a deep sense of sin and the wrath of God, or, afterwards, the consolations of God; if they are apparently changed from worldly pursuits to things of everlasting importance; if, from resting in self-righteousness and blamelessness, they are made sensible of the necessity of faith and holiness, and cannot rest until they have what appears to us a good evidence of resting in Christ; if they are turned from an apparent irreverence to an apparent devout and reverent attendance on the institutions of the Lord; if, from spending Sabbaths in idleness, or much of their time in worldly conversation, or disputes, which gender strife, they are turned to spend Sabbaths in public and private exercises of worship with evident care and devotion, and in Christian conferences about the things of God; if there is, added to these things, a manifest reformation in relative duties, and persons apparently grow in Christian knowledge at an unusual rate, and really appear to have frequent and sensible communion with Christ; if it makes men better husbands, women better wives, fathers and mothers better parents, children more careful in their stations, people more prayerful for and loving to their ministers, (such as they think properly their ministers :) if this in general is true of any people, all in a few weeks or months, I think we must conclude that such are under Divine influence, and God has graciously poured out his Spirit upon them, even though they precipitate into many imprudent measures, or, through wrong judgment, they differ from us in many things that are not fundamental. What, if they cry out, faint, speak aloud, in a public assembly at an improper time, happen to think they should tell their neighbours their fears that they are strangers to Christ; what, if they think themselves called to stay as long from their families in the night to pray to and praise God, as they have heretofore tarried to revel and drink, and to make themselves merry with vain companions; what, if in these and some other things they believe differently from others; and in some other things they have, for want of due consideration, run into some indecencies, but upon serious reflection see the mistake and reform; I cannot think these things any good argument against their being under the influences of the Holy Spirit, either convincing or sanctifying. But I have exceeded my design in hinting at preliminaries, though I hope you will forgive me, and carry these things in your mind, while you read on in the subsequent part of my account.

The effects of that sermon I spake of, preached on the 29th of March, were then surprising. Indeed there were no outcries; but a deep and general concern upon the minds of the assembly discovered it.

self at that time in plentiful weeping, sighs, and sobs. And what appeared hopeful then, I found, upon conversing with many afterwards, to be true, as far as I could judge. Many told me that they never had such an awakened sense of the danger of putting off the grand concern of their souls to a future season before, as God gave them under that sermon: they were surprised at their own past carelessness, and astonished that God had borne with them so long. Several told me, that though they had lived thirty, forty, or fifty years under the preaching of the Gospel, they had never felt the power of the word upon their hearts, so as to be long affected thereby, at any time as they did then. Before it was the cry of their hearts, "when will the sermon be over, and the Sabbath be ended;" but now the minister always left off too soon, and the time between sermons was too long: they long for frequently returning opportunities to hear. Before, they did not love soul-searching discourses, but now never could hear too much of that nature; together with many other things of the like import.

On the beginning of the following month, Mr Tennent came through this place, and preached two sermons among us. The first was in the evening, from Ezek. xxxvii. 9., but he seemed to be very dull, and I thought several times he would have had nothing almost to say. Yet he got through, and, I believe, he preached the truth, though with no freedom; nor had the people in general much sense of what was delivered, according to the best observation I could make: yet it was not wholly in vain; one of our communion was convinced of sin, which, after some days, issued, I trust, in a saving conversion to God. The next morning he preached again, from Luke xiii. 24., to a very attentive and deeply affected auditory. Many that I heard lamenting their own folly, immediately after sermon, spake as one would expect those to do that had the arrows of conviction shot deep into their hearts. I was not, indeed, so sensible of the extensive effects of that sermon in the time of it (though there was so much visible concern under it) as afterwards. In a little while, a considerable number came to me and confessed that they saw themselves undone, and earnestly inquired what they must do to be saved, who dated their first awakenings from that sermon. From us, Mr Tennent went over to Saybrook, and many of the people of this place, and the neighbouring societies, went with me to hear him. There he preached a rational, searching sermon, suited to unconverted sinners and drowsy saints. I saw but few instances of persons much moved by it to appearance, in sermon-time, but found some very much enraged with the preacher afterwards. Some that went from this town spent their time upon the way home in cavilling, and finding fault with what had been delivered, and, I believe, did much hurt thereby. One especially, who shall be nameless, seemed exceedingly disaffected, and endeavoured to disaffect others. But still he could not forget the sermon, especially that part of it which was to backward Christians; and though he thought, or endeavoured to think, that it was a censorious discourse, yet, as he told me afterwards, it never left him until he was made to see that he was the very man to whose case it was suited above any sermon that ever he had heard.

After this, I observed that our assemblies were greater and more attentive at times of public worship than before. Sabbaths alone would not suffice for

hearing sermons, but greater numbers still urged for frequent lectures. I was well pleased to observe such a flocking to the windows, and a hearing ear become general; and, therefore, I readily consented, upon the request of the people, to preach as often as I could, besides the stated exercises of the Sabbath. Once every week I carried on a public lecture, besides several private ones in various parts of the parish; and I could not but observe, about this time, that an evening lecture I had set up the winter before in a private house, for the sake of a young man that was a cripple, though at first exceeding thin, (but seven persons, as I remember, besides the family,) was now greatly increased, and in about a month grew up to several hundreds, so that I was obliged to turn it into a public evening lecture. Now it pleased God to encourage my heart, give me unusual freedom, and such a firm state of bodily health, that I could go through three times the service I had been able to endure at other times, so that I was able to study and write three sermons a-week, and preach several others off my old notes, (for I seldom in all the time preached without writing.) Sometime in this month, Mr Griswold invited me to preach a lecture for him, and I consented. While I was preaching from Psal. cxix. 59, 60, I observed many of the assembly in tears, and heard many crying out in very great bitterness of soul, as it seemed then by the sound of voices. When sermon was over, I could better take notice of the cause; and the language was to this purpose, viz., Alas! I'm undone; I'm undone! O, my sins! How they prey upon my vitals! What will become of me? How shall I escape the damnation of hell, who have spent many a golden opportunity under Gospel light, in vanity? And much more of the like import. It is true, outcries were new and surprising at that time. But, knowing the terrors of the Lord, I was satisfied that they were but what might be reasonably accounted for, if sinners were under a true sense of their sins, and the wrath of a sin-hating God; and, therefore, I did not use any endeavours to restrain them at that time; but the greater number cried out of themselves and their vileness the more I rejoiced in hope of the good issue. As I was satisfied that it was the truth they had been hearing, so, by their complaints, it appeared to be the force of truth that made them cry out, and threw many of them into hysteric-fits; and, if I mistake not, every one that was so violently seized that night have since given good evidence of their conversion; but that the reverend pastor can give the best account of.

But my heart burned with love to and pity for the people of my peculiar charge. I had constant supplies of argument flowing into my mind, and zeal to urge a speedy answer. By the latter end of April, our young people were generally sick of that vain mirth, and those foolish amusements that had been their delight, and were formed into several religious societies for prayer and reading books of piety, under my direction. Many of them were frequently in my study for advice; the bent of their souls was evidently towards the things of another world; whenever they fell into companies, the great salvation was the subject of their conversation. They were so generally displeased with themselves for past carelessness, and spending time in revels and frolics, that several, at the desire of others, came to me, and desired me to preach them a lecture upon the 14th of May, (the day of our election in this colony,) which they had,

for many years, accustomed themselves to spend in feasting, music, dancing, gaming, and the like. I complied with the request, and preached to a great assembly, from *Matth. xxiv. 37, 38, 39*. Upon which I observed, "That Jesus Christ would certainly come to judge the world; and that, when He did come, He would find it overwhelmed in carnal security;" and from these considerations I applied myself to those that had been secure and unwatchful, both among Christians and unconverted sinners, in a manner which I thought proper to awaken and convince. Under this sermon many had their countenances changed; their thoughts seemed to trouble them, so that the joints of their loins were loosed, and their knees smote one against another. Great numbers cried out aloud in the anguish of their souls; several stout men fell, as though a cannon had been discharged, and a ball had made its way through their hearts. Some young women were thrown into hysteric-fits. The sight and noise of lamentation seemed a little resemblance of what we may imagine will be when the Great Judge pronounces the tremendous sentence of, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." There were so many in distress that I could not get a particular knowledge of the special reasons at that time, only as I heard them crying, "Woe is me! what must I do?" and such sort of short sentences, with bitter accents.

Now, those that could not restrain themselves were generally carried out of the meeting-house, and a second sermon was preached by Mr Jewet to others that were able to attend; after which the assembly was dismissed, and my house soon filled with wounded souls. And I took pains to satisfy myself and others, by inquiring into the reasons of the trembling, crying, fainting, and other signs of fear that were so manifest in the assembly; and they declared, in their own words, all to this purpose, viz., that a deep sense of past sensualities, and careless neglects of the concerns of their souls; their slighting frequent and solemn warnings, and withstanding the calls of the Gospel; together with a deep sense of their liability, every moment, to be arrested and cast into the prison of hell, where those sinners lay that refused to hearken to the warnings given by Noah the preacher of righteousness, was truly the spring of all these various signs of distress. Some run back upon the sins of riper years, (for there were several persons upwards of forty, and some of more than fifty years old, that discovered great concern, by their pale countenances, and tears, and trembling too.) Some cried out of the hardness of their hearts, others of their unbelief; some were crying, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and others entreated Christians to pray for them. Thus they continued at my house for several hours, and after I had taken what pains with them I thought necessary for that evening, and prayed with them, they were advised to repair to their own places of abode; and, accordingly, all that were able went home.

Now I thought the people in great danger, and especially those that were most deeply wounded. I knew, in all probability, that the Prince of darkness knew his kingdom shaking, and that he was in great danger of losing many of his obedient subjects, therefore, if possible, he would allure them back to former fidelity, persuade them to settle down upon the foundation of their own works, or drive them to utter despair of mercy; and, therefore, I dared not sit in my study the next day (though that loudly

called for me to be there), but spent my time abroad among distressed souls, and others that fell in my way that were more lightly touched. Nor were private Christians contented in their fields or shops at home, but some of them also, in their places, were helpers in the work that seemed necessary to be done. The following evening a religious meeting was attended in a private house: I went to it, though I could not pretend to preach a sermon. I offered a few words on the miseries of the unconverted, the prize that was now put into their hands, and the great danger of not improving it; but was obliged in a few minutes to desist, because the house was filled with outcries and bitter lamentation. The complaint was much the same with what it had been the day before. I continued to preach and exhort publicly, and from house to house, about six times a week through this month at home, besides attending upon distressed souls upon certain appointed days in my study. And though I spake to them with unusual moderation in my study (as well as in sermons about this time), that I might have greater advantage to instruct their minds, yet I was commonly obliged to make several stops of considerable length, and entreat them, if possible, to restrain the flood of affection, that so they might attend to further truths which were to be offered, and others might not be disaffected. Some would after a while recover themselves, and others, I am satisfied, could not. I have thought since, whether I did not do wrong in endeavouring to restrain them, the pains they took with themselves to keep from outbreaks were a greater hindrance to their hearing than their outcries were; and it was so far from satisfying others, that it was improved as an argument against the reality of their concern, if, upon the utmost violence used with them they could after some time hold in. I find no such restraints laid upon distressed souls in the apostles' days, though, we must allow, that they were as good judges of what is right in such a case as other men; and, indeed, why might we not expect some direction from the inspired writers if it was our duty to restrain them, and put them upon the torture to keep silence? If the Lord is pleased to make this open show of the victories of his grace, his will be done: let him take his own way. The same things that served for the conviction and conversion of many in our Saviour's and the apostles' days, were the occasion of blinding and hardening of others to their utter ruin; and the distressing outcries of awakened sinners were blessed to convince many, though others cavilled and found fault. Though, I think, none ought to speak or pray with a loud voice in the time of public worship, yet I am free to confess that I mistook my duty in taking so much pains to prevent outcries in the assembly. It is true, persons may, of design, cry out; but then, it is like, they would generally be detected, and have their madness exposed. However, if our blessed Lord is pleased to make bare his arm upon stubborn rebels, to the glory of his sovereign grace, why should I say that he shall not take this method to bear witness before the ungodly world of the dreadful miseries hastening upon them?

On the 20th of this month I preached a sermon for Mr Griswold of Nabauntuc, from *1 Tim. ii. 5*, upon the sufficiency and excellency of the mediation of Christ; under which, as far as I could observe, many Christians were sweetly refreshed with a deep

sense of the truth, and many sinners as full of anguish (though the sermon was not terrible) as at any time I had seen. The assembly in general were in tears, and near one half, I suppose, crying out aloud in distress. After sermon they gave themselves liberty to speak out the sentiments of their souls; some in thankful praises to God and the Lamb; others in bitter complaints of themselves for despising the blessed Mediator, and for the hardness of their hearts, and the like. Several were at that time shaken off from the foundation of their own righteousness, and afterwards hopefully converted.

I hope, Rev. Sir, you will pardon all my digressions: I choose to relate the few things that I give an account of, in that order of time in which I observed them and noted them in my diary. About this time, the Rev. Messrs Lord of Norwich, Owen of Groton, and other ministers in the eastern parts of this government, sent letters inviting me to visit them to see the work of the Lord and help them also (for it was common in that day for brethren to send for each other to preach.) After some struggles with myself, I consented to go; and accordingly set out on the 8th of June, intending to preach some few sermons before I returned. The same day I preached for Mr Lovett of New-Salem at his desire, and there I observed a solemn attention; concern in the countenances of some, and delight in others. I have had some acquaintance with the people in that place since that time, and believe that there is a considerable number of persons savingly converted in the late season of grace. From thence I went, the same day at evening, over to the North Parish of New-London, and June the 9th preached two sermons for Mr Jewett; under which, but especially the first, there was a great and general concern visible in the faces of the people: weeping, sighing, and the like, among the aged and the youth, while many of the children of about ten, twelve, and fourteen years old, cried aloud, and spake such sentences as these, viz., "What must I do? I never honoured this great King!" Lord Jesus help me!" &c. From thence I hastened over to Norwich, because Mr Lord expected me to preach a lecture for him that evening. And when I came there, there was a great assembly gathered, to which I preached from Psal. cxix. 59, 60. They gave very solemn attention, and there was a concern apparent, by tears and sighs, in almost every corner of the house. The next day I preached another sermon for Mr Lord, the visible effects of which were not so great as the first. I observed a great flocking of the people, not only to hear the Word, but to their pastor for advice. Mr Lord gave me several surprising accounts of conversions, which, I trust, he will favour the public with in his history of the late revival of religion among them. From thence I went forward to Stonington, and on the 11th of June, preached two sermons for Mr Eells: there seemed to be tokens for good; an attentive audience and much weeping in the assembly; but I do not remember any outbursts in the extraordinary manner that I had sometimes heard: yet Mr Eells informed me afterwards in a letter, that there were many instances of particular persons, unto whom the ministry of that day was blessed. I thought when I was with him, that he had the

blessing of some excellent Christians in his parish. It was formerly a place noted for profaneness^u and other vices, but he said (and so I thought) that there was a great reformation among them. From Stonington I returned back by way of Groton; and on the 12th of June preached a sermon for Mr Owen, to a great assembly of people. It pleased God to give me greater freedom of thought and expression than I had found in all my journey before. I preached from Isa. lxi. 1; and the people to all appearance were all attention. There were no outcries, but the countenances of many discovered sweet refreshment; and others discovered great distress. And I had some satisfaction afterwards, by accounts from divers persons, that the spring of comforts and concern was from the Spirit of God. I could not tarry indeed, to speak with many after sermon, because I had encouraged Mr Croswell to preach at evening for him. But I had the company of a considerable number up to Mr Croswell's parish, which is five miles distant from Mr Owen's. Upon the way they told what things were done, and how Jesus had been made known to them, and their hearts burned within them, while they spoke of him. Jesus seemed to be their delight, and humility their glory. At Mr Croswell's I found great concern upon the minds of people: it was apparent, in sermon time, by their weeping, and their looks; some cried out, and from after-conversation I was satisfied that many were very sensible of their sinful and undone condition, and some others were really converted. I remember two came to me, who had made themselves easy, for some time, with a way of conversion, that fatally settled persons down short of Christ; but now they had an awakened sense of their sin, and of the infinite hazard they were in of perishing; yea, that they must perish unless God was self-moved to pity and save them. From thence I returned to Norwich on Saturday, and kept Sabbath at Mr Lord's. On June 14th, being Lord's day, I preached again to a great, very attentive, and deeply affected assembly. The concern of some, and the delight of others, was manifest in their countenances: and by conversing with many afterwards, I was satisfied they were under the influence of God's holy Spirit. And so from time to time upon opportunities with that people, I believe, that Mr Lord has the blessing of many souls turned to righteousness among them; a considerable number of old Christians, and many newly born, that are feeding upon the sincere milk of the Word, and growing up in Christ. June 15th, I rode out to Mr Troop's, a new society in Norwich, and preached a sermon for him, to a full assembly. There seemed to be great listening to the Word; great concern appeared in the countenances of many; a great number were in tears, and several cried out; some fainted away, and one or two raged. After the sermon was over I took pains to find out the spring of that distress which appeared in many instances, and I think they gave grounds to judge it was from conviction of sin: except those instances that were distressed with their outrageous passions. One gentleman, who was a hearer, though he carefully avoided discovering his dislike before the congregation, expressed himself greatly dissatisfied to me after meeting, at the outcries and faintings in sermon time: he took some pains to convince me that the persons were under strong delusions: though, I thought, he did not take much pains, by discoursing with them, to convince himself of the rise of their distress. He

^u I was preaching upon the kingly office of Christ.

read me some extracts which he had taken out of the excellent Mr Flavel upon *Mental Errors*, which I was pleased with; but did not see that they were to the case before us.

Now I had accomplished the whole of my design in this journey, both in visiting and conversing with my fathers and brethren in the ministry, and in seeing the displays of rich and sovereign grace; and much exceeded my first design in preaching. The next thing was to return home as fast as I could; but the Rev. Mr Adams of New London sent me a letter, desiring that I would return that way, and give his people some exhortations. Having been there before in the time of the concern among the people, I was unwilling to deny his request, because I had found that there were peculiar difficulties rising up, and I feared my refusing might rather increase them than otherwise. There was a number of new converts with a flaming zeal, and jealous lest the labourers should not bear a proportion to the harvest: and some others, from what spring I don't say, (though some have imputed it to the imprudence of these new converts) who opposed themselves to the work going on among them. Thus the kingdom seemed to be dividing against itself: and I was the rather inclined to gratify Mr Adams on that account, not knowing but that I might be instrumental of some good. Accordingly I went; and, on June 16th, preached two sermons in that place, besides using some private endeavours to make things more easy, if it should please God to make use of me for that end: but the success was not according to my wishes. I found mutual rising jealousies, and, as I thought, groundless surmisings in some instances, prevailing among them. These difficulties increased afterwards; and for want of charity and mutual condescension and forbearance, they have produced an open separation. I doubt not but there are excellent Christians on both sides; and there has been a very great display of Divine Grace among them; but they are doubtless to be blamed for the manner of separation. What grounds they may have I do not know, but I am afraid they have gone off upon a wrong principle. Unhappy case, when Christians have such sharp contentions between them, as to part asunder from one another! Yet so it has sometimes been with the best of Christians, Acts xv. 38, 39.

Perhaps some will think strange that I should be so many days from my particular charge at such a critical season as this was, when a great number were under distressing concern, and the adversary was very busy: but the people were not left without preaching: and we found it of real service to have our people partake of the various gifts of ministers; some to reason with them out of the Scriptures; others to address their consciences; others to apply to the affections; and all in their manner and measure to speak of the things of God. I found it was eminently serviceable many times, when I could obtain the help of my brethren. Indeed, there is something natural in it, besides what I have observed already: new faces; new voices; a new method, all tend to draw the attention of hearers; and hence, they were sometimes caught by the same truths that had been offered them divers times before. I have reason to bless God that he has sent so many of his servants along by us, and inclined them to help us from time to time. I have not found it a disadvantage to keep open the pulpit doors to ministers; but

see many ill consequences of a contrary practice in other places. Those that have received spiritual benefit among us from the preaching of others, allow me as good a share of their good-will as those that have been more especially benefited by my preaching. But where all those that were looked upon as favourers of the extraordinary work in the land must stand off, or through vast difficulties liberty has been obtained for them to preach, I think many ill things have followed that strangeness, and fear many more are upon the back of them.

Being returned again to my own particular charge, I endeavoured to pursue the great ends of the ministry in the best manner that I could; and I do not remember that I preached a sermon through the month, without some manifest tokens of the presence of God in our assemblies. Many were awakened and convictions were deep: it plainly appeared by the distinct accounts given, that the concern was no sudden fright, nor the effect of fancy, nor yet the alone strivings of natural conscience, but a clear and real sense of sin and its direful consequences, raised in the mind from a realising sense of the majesty and holiness of God, the purity and strictness of the Divine law. People flocked to my study daily, and in great numbers, deeply wounded, and the errand was to lay open the state of their souls, and receive direction. Sometimes I had thirty in a day; and sometimes many more, all upon the grand affairs of their souls.

Many with the greatest freedom confessed, though they had a name to live they were dead in trespasses and sins: and this not only in private, but to numbers at once. They did not think it matter of importance, if their neighbours believed them when they said it: they spake sensibly of it, as we might expect a condemned malefactor would do if he was going to the place of execution. They would solemnly declare that they never knew what real union to Christ was; that they were strangers to sensible communion with the Father and his Son Jesus, and to the temper of the Gospel: and had rested easy with merely external communion, or the form of godliness. Their distressed countenances and free and frequent confessions that they were yet in the bonds of iniquity, together with their warnings to others, never to rest until they knew Christ was formed in them, proved awakening to many professors, and put them upon the search and inquiry into the reasons of their hope; and some were shaken off from their old foundation, supposing they had built upon the sand, whilst others had the more peace in believing. The like effects, sometimes more, and sometimes less observable, continued through the summer. There were also many instances, (and the number was daily increasing) of persons filled with great joy and comfort. It was common to hear of, and to see them overcome, and fainting under high discoveries of God reconciled in Christ. Some also I have seen overcome with concern for others; and sometimes their concern terminated on particular persons that they feared were in a state of sin.

The conversation of the people in general was religious. If at any time neighbours met, the great affairs of salvation were the subject of discourse. In the streets, in the fields, and in private houses the discourse was instructive: some inquiring the way to life; others in their proper sphere, endeavouring to help the distressed by their humble advice and counsel: some that knew the terrors of the

Lord, would persuade the careless, and modestly recommend the grace of God to their acceptance, from their own experience of its sweetness. And as there were frequent inquiries about the things of infinite concern, so there was a great increase of knowledge in religious matters. According to the best observation I could make, I believe the people advanced more in their acquaintance with the Scriptures, and a true doctrinal understanding of the operations of the Holy Spirit in conviction, regeneration, and sanctification, in six months' time, than they had done in the whole of my ministry before, which was nine years. Nor was this all, but many evidently looked upon sin with abhorrence: they appeared to be renewed in the spirit of their minds: bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, seemed to be put away from them, with all malice; their fruit was unto holiness; love to God and man, with their genuine fruits, were increasing. Rough and haughty minds became peaceful, gentle and easy to be entreated. Lowliness, long-suffering, forbearance, a courteous deportment, beneficence, and tender-heartedness, meekness, and moderation, to all appearance seemed to increase abundantly. And also delight in christian fellowship, in breaking of bread and in prayer. I think it cannot be expected that men, in their general course, should give clearer evidences of a Christian temper formed in them, than many did in that season; their faith worked by love, and discovered itself in acts of piety towards God, charity and righteousness towards men, and sobriety towards themselves.

We had some special seasons of Divine influence in that time, both upon converted and unconverted, which I must not now relate; it would make the account too long; but I cannot pass over our Pentecost, on the 11th day of the following October; I preached from Psal. ii. 12, upon the nature and necessity of faith in Christ, and then administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to near three hundred souls, as I judge. It was a day never to be forgotten; but, I think, ought to be remembered with holy wonder and gratitude by all that were present. The house of the Lord was full of the glory of the Lord. It pierces me to the heart, that any have ever attempted to throw darkness over the rich grace of God that was so clearly discovered; or to misrepresent the gracious effects of those discoveries that were made to many. Though we had enjoyed much of the gracious presence of God in our assemblies before, yet, I think, never saw so much at any time as on that day; especially, when the Lord's supper was administered, God poured out his Spirit in a wonderful measure. I spake a few things to the communicants, as I remember, concerning the mediatorial excellencies and the love of Jesus Christ, when I came down to the communion table, and began to break the bread, and then invited them all to come to him as well as to his table; and assured them in his name, that they should be welcome to the rich treasures of his grace which were open and free to all that would come. I had no sooner offered some things of this nature in a few short hints, but several of the church cried out in the most bitter accents of their piercing the Lord Jesus Christ by their unbelief, and showed the signs of distress in their countenances: whilst many scores were dissolving in tears. A considerable number trembled in the anguish of their souls, as though they had

heard the thunderings and seen the lightnings from the thick cloud, whilst many more began to put on immortality, almost, in the look of their faces. I could not but think that the Lord Jesus was come to his table, and feasting their souls with his love, discovering his mediatorial glories to them; letting them taste of his preciousness, and opening to them the mysterious wonders of his grace. Their looks were all love, adoration, wonder, delight, admiration, humility. In short, it looked to me a resemblance of heaven; where the shining hosts of angels and glorified saints are ever before the throne of God, in the lowest prostration, crying, Holy, holy, holy Lord God, "Thou art worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power, and blessing, and thanksgiving." Some of those in distress, about the end of the distribution of the bread, appeared to be in a calm, and before the cup was poured, they seemed to have a delightful sense of something upon their minds: their looks were changed from anguish, to pleasure and admiration, love and humility, and the like. I made minutes of my remarks and sentiments, in my diary; and find that, upon the best evidence I could gain by conversing with particular persons afterwards, I had fallen far short of my observations at the time, of what was really discovered to many souls, and the power of the gospel fell upon their hearts. Many old Christians told me they had never seen so much of the glory of the Lord, and the riches of his grace, nor felt so much of the power of the Gospel before: they had never seen so clearly the infinite ocean of divine love; never been so sensible of the love of God to them; nor had such strong love so clearly in exercise to him. Several of them had the full assurance of faith, who had been seeking after it for many years, but were denied until that time. New converts were greatly refreshed and quickened. I cannot doubt whether they had the presence of the Comforter: Christ then appeared more lovely than the princes of this world; they "sat under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to their taste:" they were seated in his banqueting-house, and his banner over them was love: they could not support themselves, many of them, under the weight of it, they were so deeply affected with it. Had not Christ put underneath his everlasting arms for their support, I know not but many would have expired under the weight of divine benefits. And besides all this, I think, we have a good evidence of the saving conversion of several of the communicants at the same time. The several discoveries they gave an account of, together with the effects these discoveries produced in a law-work, and a true closure with Jesus Christ, gave me considerable hope of it; and a long time since to observe their pious life and holy conversation, confirms my first hope that it was a reality, and no deception. I am persuaded the marvellous grace of God appearing at that season, is admired by hundreds among us here, in time, and will be much more admired by the armies of saints and angels throughout eternity. Christ came like a roe or a young hart, he looked forth at the window, and showed himself through the lattice! I never saw such a love-feast before! he spake the word, and it was done; he said, "Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away:" and lo, the winter was past, the rain was over and gone: all invited us to come and partake of the divine joys which the near approach of the Sun of righteousness

produce. O that he would "return like a roe, or a young hart, upon the mountains of Bethel!" that he would make haste to perfect his loving-kindness to us.

Since that time, we have had many refreshing seasons, both in public worship, and in more private assemblies; and many hopeful conversions. Nor are public and private meetings the only places of these influences and effects; the closet, the field, the shop, and the kitchen, are all witnesses to them. It was no uncommon thing for Christians to be overcome in their private retirements, as they have told me; in meditation at some times, and conversation at others. Divine truth has been set in a clear light, and they have been made to know the truth of the gospel of the blessed God. But the work has not appeared in a general way, so powerful since, as it did the first eight or nine months; indeed God gives witness to the truth of these things, at times, more or less, unto this day; and will, I trust, unto the end. The work, as I observed, began chiefly among the youth, and so it has been carried on chiefly among them: they left their sports, and grew sick of their youthful amusements: but it was not among them alone; the disease (as some call it in derision) did not stop here. Many of middle and old age were alarmed, and some of them, to appearance, savingly converted. Three or four upwards of fifty, two near seventy, and one ninety-three years old, I trust, were turned from darkness to light, from the power of sin and Satan unto God. Several persons that were noted for immorality, and some others that were not so openly marked out, were brought to confess their sinful deeds, not by constraint but of their own accord, and are now joined in our communion, and I hope, are Christians indeed. And there are some few instances of the conversion of those that bitterly opposed the work at first: such as have gone to hear sermons, with design, as they confess, to cavil and oppose, have been taken. One or two, that supposed themselves converted, greatly rejoiced in the work at first, when the people were under deep convictions: the concern they well understood, and thought it reasonable, and were pleased to see so much reformation, they themselves having gone so far; but when persons came to rejoice in God, and to be overcome with the love of God, and to tell of the excellencies of Christ, it was all foolishness to them; they grew all enmity and opposition; but were afterwards made to see that they settled down upon their reformations; were enemies to God themselves and strangers to Christ; and since then are brought to rejoice in God also. Some others who were under distressing concern at first, and very forward to promote everything that seemed a probable means of good, are since turned zealously averse to the work, especially to the comforts and joys of Christians. It has been observed by many, that such as were most eminent for religion before, have been friendly and forward to encourage this work; and they have been abundantly quickened and refreshed. Several of them are since dead, and went off triumphing over the king of terrors, in full assurance of hope. Many that were greatly affected and concerned for a while are grown easy and careless as formerly; though there is a number unto this day remaining under convictions. I do not remember any two instances among us that ever gave me satisfaction of their conversion, but what still manifest comfortable signs of the truth, and reality of it. And if we may give credit to the accounts persons give

of a clear law-work, and a work of effectual grace wrought upon their hearts; after it has been strengthened by frequent repeated accounts of their communion with God, and a spiritual conversation and good life, in a general course, for several years together, I have reason to hope above one hundred and eighty souls belonging to this congregation, have met with a saving change, since the beginning of the late glorious effusion of the Holy Spirit among us; besides the frequent, and more than common quickenings and refreshings of others that were hopefully in Christ some years before. And, perhaps, we have a confirming testimony of the truth of the work, above what some others have had, in the visible meekness, forbearance, love, forgiveness, and the like, with which they have generally behaved themselves in the time of injurious calumnies; when the work of God, and their personal conduct have been misrepresented. We have had times of singular trial and temptation: what would try every vein in a man's heart. But in all this day of difficulty, our new converts as well as others, in general, came forth as gold from the furnace. I would speak it to the praise of free and rich grace that has abounded to them; and hope they will ever carry it in their minds that the Lord has been their strength and their shield, and their helper in a time of trouble.

But perhaps you are ready to wonder, and say within yourself; What, is all pure at Lyme? Has there been nothing from whence these formidable accounts we have had among us about that people should arise? What means the unhappy representations that have been given of us? No doubt, Sir, there have been many things amiss, I thought so from the beginning, and I think so still. The Spirit of God has been grieved by questions and strife about words; by evil surmisings and perverse disputings; by many foolish and hurtful lusts. The work of God's grace has been opposed by persons under convictions, by their standing out against the calls given them to believe in the name of him whom he had sent, and by persons that have been disaffected to this rich grace. Some were disposed to cavil and find fault with the work and all the measures used for the carrying of it on from the beginning. Some I thought a little intemperate in their zeal at times, and for some things that it was hardly worth while to contend about. I have seen reason to alter my own conduct in several things. Particularly, to treat those that oppose the work with great candour and mildness, and to address myself to all conditions of men with more tenderness than I did several times.

But when I have taken the utmost care that none might be offended, I have reason to think that my unskilfulness in and unworthiness of the great honour God has put upon me, in making me the father of many spiritual children, has prejudiced many persons against it. Yet there was so much purity, prudence and care in the conduct of the subjects of this grace, and so little irregularity for four or five of the first months, that the most prudent, observing and judicious have mentioned it to me with wonder and pleasure, as well as with thankfulness to God, that they could observe nothing worth the notice of any, though watching to find an occasion. But towards the latter end of the summer I observed several things that some persons were disposed to, which stained the purity and hindered the progress

of the reformation. The vast esteem we had of Mr Davenport, in some measure prepared us to have a better opinion of his conduct when he came among us; though I do not remember that any of us were pleased with all his measures. Some things which I have heard of his practising in other places, I know nothing of his practising here. It was said that he judged of ministers, by name, as unconverted, in a public manner, but that I knew not of then, though I heard him do it in one instance since that time. It was said that he used strange methods to scare people into fits, and did not take pains to instruct their minds; but I cannot charge him with any such thing among us. I heard him preach several sermons which were as instructive and searching as any sermons, perhaps, that ever I heard in my life. His zeal was great, and so did his charity appear to be. Yet I have sometimes thought that his coming over to the Main that summer of general concern was the occasion of much hurt. To be sure I have repented of exchanging pulpits with him: many prejudices were stirred up and increased against the revival of religion thereby. But after all I see no more of a fault in that than in ministers admitting him into their pulpits: nor could that be deemed a matter of public complaint when he was in a good standing with all the churches. And though he did, I believe, miss it greatly in some points, and greatly prejudice persons against religion, yet it must be acknowledged that he was made a great blessing to many souls; but especially to the Mohegan and Nabauntuc tribes of Indians. Though much pains had been taken to win them to embrace the gospel before, yet nothing seemed to have any considerable effect until Mr Davenport came among them: But the pains he took were eminently blessed to incline them to receive instruction, and to awaken a great concern in many about their eternal welfare. I greatly love him for his eminent piety, but I cannot justify all his measures.

I perceive that there are great complaints of vast iniquities, error, discord, and enthusiasm generally prevailing among the new converts in the land. But I hope the complaints are generally groundless, and things have been misrepresented. No people, I believe, have had a larger share of such charges than those of this place: and knowing that the complaints are generally without grounds here, I would persuade myself that they are generally so in other places. The new converts are represented as guilty of monstrous uncharitableness and rash judging: some among us, I think, have been to blame in their judging of the state of others: but the error has been chiefly on that which is called the charitable side. Pretty much as it has been common in some places where relations have been offered by persons in order to their admission to communion: if persons could say anything almost, about a divine influence upon their souls, at once they were ready to vote them converted. But, generally speaking, there has been a great reformation of that evil: our new converts, as far as I can observe, are very prudent on that account: they suspend giving any judgment at all, on either side, before they have that which they think is the amount of two witnesses. They do not judge of their neighbours to be unconverted as the country has been amused (and as I suppose, Mr Davenport did some ministers) unless the course of their life is manifestly carnal and vicious. But as we do not look upon ourselves

bound to judge a man converted because he is a professor, and orderly in his life, (especially if he declares himself unconverted, and by discourse seems to show himself a stranger to Christ,) so neither do any that I know of allow themselves to judge a man unconverted, who is a professor, and of a good life and harmless conversation in his general course. The country has also been strangely amused with a notion of trances, visions, extraordinary missions, and immediate revelations. It has been represented as though these were common among the new converts. I have had a very extensive and personal acquaintance with the converts in the late season of grace; and, among the thousands that I have conversed with, I have not met with a score that pretended to any such things; yea, I doubt if half that number are to be found in all the churches of this government; but, however, there may be one instance of this nature among a thousand that are not chargeable therewith, we have been free from them, and I hope ever shall. It is insinuated as though the subjects of the late work were generally chargeable with error in the doctrines they hold, and those among us have been as severely charged on that account as any, perhaps, in the country. Therefore, I may be allowed to clear off that imputation, so far as they are innocent. I do not know of an instance among our new converts but who disapproves all those doctrines that lead to licentiousness, by highly approving such as inculcate holiness. It is true, since we have been told that there is a considerable harmony between the principles of new converts and some people that were pests to the churches a little more than an hundred years ago, there has been much art used to represent that to be the case with us: But salvation is of the Lord; and I trust He will save us from these groundless imputations. One complaint is, that unconverted ministers are incapable of being instruments of the conversion of others. This doctrine, I never met with more than one that would own it as his opinion, and he does not belong to this place. I am of opinion that some two or three persons went a little too near such doctrine, but as to our new converts the mistake was soon rectified. Yet, though we do not hold that saving grace is necessary to the being of the ministry, so that if he who is unconverted should administer ordinances, his administrations would be a nullity. Our new converts, and many others among us, are of opinion that the case of a person is very sad indeed, not only when their minister has not a good stock of knowledge, or is erroneous in his principles, or is not of good life and conversation, but also when he has not experienced a work of saving grace upon his own soul, and that for this reason, viz., because unexperienced ministers will be very unlikely to encourage the power of godliness, and very likely to keep their people easy, (*i. e.*, use their endeavours to do so,) with the dull form of religion. We have none among us that withdrew from ministers under a notion of their being unconverted; but some have declined hearing some ministers that have preached among us, because they had heard that they were generally cavilling against the extraordinary work. Nor do I know of any of our new converts chargeable with despising human learning, slighting schools or colleges, so depending upon the Spirit as to make it a shelter for idleness, or a neglect of the diligent use of means, or to reflect dishonour upon the written Word of God. When shall I have done? Do they

vilify good works too? This has been charged upon us as well as others, no doubt. And thus far in true, that some few have spoken of works before justification in unsuitable language, and a bold manner of expression; but even these instances have been rare, and are, I think, reformed. But as to good works, considered in a Gospel sense, I know of none of our new converts but speak highly of them, insist upon them as necessary, and, in their general course, are careful to practise them. They seem to have a godly jealousy lest they should at any time substitute good works in the place of Christ; but they seem to be saved from their sins, and to be zealous of good works. Suffer me to mention one thing more; our new Christians are charged with denying sanctification to be the evidence of a justified state. If any one has pleaded for such a tenet in the face of the world, let him answer for himself. I dare venture to deny that it is the principle of any of the new converts, so far as I know their opinion of such a principle, and have often heard many of them among us speak freely to the contrary.

Upon the whole, I am persuaded there has been a wonderful work of God's grace among us, and in many other places where I have been acquainted; and the sorrows and joys that have been so common, were produced in general by the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the souls of men. The joys were the joys of the Christian, and not wild enthusiastic whims. I have met with few, among the thousands that I have conversed with, (some at home and others abroad,) but could give a rational account of their joys. The foundation of them appeared to be laid in faith, which flowed out in praises to God, self-abasement, godly jealousy, &c. I must confess that I am a stranger to the religious joys of new converts among us, after the strictest inquiry, and long observation, if these are not the concomitants of their joys. And the same I may say of others in other places, (some few excepted,) where I have been most conversant with the subject of this grace. Perhaps, if those that have set themselves to speak and write against the times had acquainted themselves more intimately with the subjects of these sorrows and joys, and depended less upon accounts from those that never cared to converse much with them, they would have given juster representations of these things, and not have borne false witness against the glorious work of the late work of grace.

If you think it for the glory of the Redeemer to suffer the whole or any part of this account to be published, you have my consent. That you may have much of the presence of God, and a great blessing attending your labours in the ministry, is the prayer of your affectionate unworthy brother,

JONATHAN PARSONS.

ATTESTATION to the above Account by RICHARD LORD, Esq., and others of the Church in Lyme West-Parish.

WE, the subscribing brethren of the first Church of Christ in Lyme, having heard our reverend pastor read over the preceding account of the revival of religion, and being much acquainted with the subjects of the late work, as also with the circumstances of the most extraordinary particulars related in the account, (i. e. those which relate to this place,) do give our attestation to the truth of the account, so far as it respects this place, according to the best of our knowledge and judgment; though we cannot but be

of opinion that much more might have been added to show the glory of it among us.

RICHARD LORD.
ZECHARIA MARVIN.
JOHN DENISON.
MOSES NOYES.
JOSEPH MATHER the 3d.

SECTION XI.

ON THE FIRST OF APRIL, 1741, IN THE EAST PARISH OF LYME—BY MEANS OF MR TENNENT'S PREACHING.—AND MR PARSONS'.—CRYING OUT.—STRANGERS COME TO SEE AND HEAR.—SWEARING MINISTERS PREACH.—THE GREATER PART WHO GET BENEFIT DO NOT CRY OUT.—AN HUNDRED ENGLISH AND TWENTY INDIANS ADMITTED INTO CHURCH COMMUNION.—TRIUMPHANT DEATH OF A YOUNG MAN.—MR DAVENPORT SLEET TO THE NEANTICK INDIANS IN THIS PARISH.—TWENTY OR UPWARDS OF THEM HOPEFULLY CONVERTED.

From a Letter from MR GRISWOLD, Minister at the East Parish of Lyme, to MR PRINCE, Minister at Boston, April 3, 1744.—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 66, &c.

R. S.—ACCORDING to your desire, I shall endeavour to give you a short but true and just account of the wonderful work of God's grace in this parish. We, as well as the rest of the country, were grown very careless and stupid in matters of religion: but little of the life and power of godliness was to be observed among us; yea, as to sundry, the form was wanting. And I had reason to fear family and secret prayer was neglected by too many. Many were very slack in attending the preaching of the Word on Sabbath and other times; the communion was thin; the world and the follies and vanities of it prosecuted; besides open sins and vices that some run into. There was but little of good discourse to be observed on the Lord's-day. Thus things run, until the Rev. Mr Whitefield came into the country, and people began to talk of religion and the best things; but it did not seem to be with a feeling sense of it, and I do not know of any great concern about the state of their souls but in three persons who belonged to this place at that time, which, I hope, were converted in the latter end of the year 1740, or the beginning of the year 1741, before the remarkable concern began among us. It was observed, that in the winter 1740-1, there seemed to be a greater seriousness and thoughtfulness than usual in the minds of people about the state of their souls. This winter the Rev. Mr Gilbert Tennent went to the eastward, and, on his return, he preached two excellent sermons in this place, April 1st, 1741, and the people of this parish came generally together, and many from other places. These sermons were blessed to a great (if not a general) awakening among my people; and two or three were deeply wounded,—so that they plainly discovered it in their looks and behaviour. And the concern spread and increased, and was visible in the face of the congregation on the Lord's-days, and other times of public worship, and some were distressed that they were so stupid as not to be concerned. The concern spread and increased apace, and evening religious meetings were set up. The 14th of April, in the evening, the Rev. Mr Parsons, minister of the first parish in this town, preached at one of the evening meetings at a private house in this place. The Word fell with great power on sun-

dry, who were deeply wounded under a sense of sin and Divine wrath. Some had fits, some fainted, and it was observable that God made use of the concern in some to create a concern in others; and some that did not appear much concerned when the public exercise was ended, yet seeing others distressed, fell into deep distress, under a conviction of sin and the sense of Divine wrath due to them. Some hours were spent in praying with and counselling the distressed, and cautioning them that they did not grow careless as to the state of their souls, and to watch against the temptations of the devil; and to seek earnestly to God to convince, humble, and convert them. After this cryings-out at the preaching of the Word were frequent. These things being the first that had been so remarkable in any town or parish near us, were much talked of; and many persons from other places came to see and hear, and different were persons' apprehensions of it; some taking it for a work of the Divine Spirit; others suspending their judgments; very few, if any at this time, would say that they believed it to be a delusive spirit.

From the first appearance of it among us I was persuaded that, as to the substance of it, it was the work of God, though accompanied with some unusual circumstances. (1.) Because the distressed persons expressed the same conviction of sin and sense of the wrath of God, that I expected they would do if that God came to work savingly on them by the Holy Spirit. And as convictions were wont when in a lower degree to produce tears from the eyes and sadness in the countenance; I was satisfied that if God gave a clear discovery of sin and his wrath, it would have this effect to cause crying out, fainting, and fits. (2.) Because this concern put persons on seeking after and enquiring what they should do to be saved; the same thing that genuine convictions of the Spirit of God were wont to do. (3.) It stirred them up to attend to the means of conversion; as reading God's Word, hearing it preached, and prayer. And other reasons that might be offered, but I forbear; because my design is to give a brief account of the work, rather than now to confirm it to be a glorious work of the Spirit of God.

One thing remarkable was, that soon after this there was a great concern at a private house, among about ten persons, where there had been no preaching, praying, or any thing of that nature. And as I was riding by, I was called in to pray with and to counsel them; and some that came in to see them were struck under conviction, and the most of these persons were soon after hopefully converted. Upon the religious concern breaking out so powerfully among us, weekly lectures were set up, and sundry neighbouring ministers came and preached to crowded assemblies; and persons seemed glad to have opportunities to hear the Word preached; and evening lectures, and other religious meetings, were frequent. Now outcries, fainting, and fits were frequent in meetings, though the greater part of them that I hope experienced a saving change did not make any outcries, nor did they faint or have fits.

The work went on, and at the latter end of April, May, and June, I had reason to hope about forty persons experienced a saving change. Now persons' conversation at all seasons, but especially on the Lord's-day, was about religion and the concerns of their souls; though they did not neglect and throw

by their worldly business; but generally the labour went on as well as ever. Some from the depth of their concern were for a short time taken off their labour, though not many days. Now the greater part of the people seemed seriously to mind and discourse about God, Christ, and heavenly things. Now it was frequent to see and hear young ones conversing with pleasure about the eternal concerns of their souls and their Saviour, who but a few weeks before were serving their youthful lusts and vanities. Great was the visible change that was among us. Some that were church-members before and hoped they were converted, were thrown off their hopes, and it is to be hoped have been led to build on Jesus Christ received by faith. Some that it is to be hoped were converted before, have been much enlightened, enlivened, and comforted. And as the law-work in the heart in these days hath been more deep and sharp than usual heretofore; so, generally, persons have sooner passed through it; and when they have received comfort, their joys have for the most part been higher than formerly persons had. I have often observed persons in distress, greatly afraid that they should take up with a false hope, and so be eternally undone. And I have sometimes observed when persons have hopefully had a discovery of the grace of God in Christ, that they have said they saw such glory, such excellency and beauty, in Jesus Christ, that they could not express it; and their hearts have seemed to be raised up in a flame of love to Jesus Christ. The high experience of many in this day of grace hath caused sundry that were looked on as good Christians to question their own estate, and have thereby been put on a more careful examination of themselves. It hath been frequent for persons to be in great distress for others, so as to be overcome thereby. Many have had such discoveries of the love of God and Christ as to be overcome, and to lose their bodily strength thereby; not only persons hopefully converted since this remarkable religious concern, but those that have been formerly converted. Though the work hath been chiefly among younger people, yet some of all ages have been hopefully wrought upon. Sundry children seemed greatly moved, and some hopefully converted. From the 1st of April, 1741, for some months, seldom a sermon was preached here but there was some visible effect of it either in persons crying out, under a sense of sin and divine wrath, or overcome with a sense of the love of God and Christ. Persons long overcome with a sense of the love of God, so as to have their bodily strength taken away, have been a great stumbling to some. They could not see through such great joys they never had felt, and were ready to think it was not of God. And, indeed, to say there was not any false joy, I cannot; but I am persuaded from the account that sundry have given me as the spring of their joy, that they have been wonderfully filled with the love of God, and have had joy unspeakable and full of glory.

Since the remarkable concern, there have been admitted into the communion of the church in this small place an hundred English, and thirteen Indians; and all these except two or three, give hopeful signs of a saving work of God's Spirit on their hearts. A mercy for which God be adored.

Sometime about the latter end of August, 1741, to the beginning of winter, the work of conviction

ceased in a great measure; but in December it much revived again, and sundry were hopefully converted, and saints edified. Indeed the work has not been so powerful at any time as it was the first three months after it began so remarkably, April 1741. I have all along taken care to caution persons against laying weight on crying out, fainting, and fits, as signs or marks of conversion. Conversion may be and often is, without them; and people have been put in mind, that extasies of joy, considered in themselves, are not evidences of a saving change; and have been taught, "That true conversion is an inward work of the Spirit of God, turning the sinner from darkness to light, from Satan to God, and from sin to holiness; it brings the heart to embrace Jesus Christ." And if these things are not wrought in a person, he is not converted, whatever distress or joy he may have had. The great impression that divine things seemed to have on persons' minds, so as to engross all their conversation, seems to be much abated. I do not know that I have reason to think one soul hath been converted in this place for more than a year past. Those that I have reason to fear are unconverted, seem to be stupid and unaffected. And some of them to have lost the concern that they had when the remarkable concern first came among us. And the saints are not so often filled with divine light and joy as was common about two years past. So that the work seems to be declining, though means are used to prevent it. Weekly lectures and religious meetings are kept up in the parish; but people do not flock to them as they did two years and a half ago. I preach, and get some of my brethren in the ministry to preach in some part of the parish once, twice, or sometimes thrice in a week. The intermission between the public exercises on the Lord's days is generally filled up with praying, singing, and reading.

There hath been but little of enthusiasm and extravagancy among us. I have reason to bless God, that he hath so much preserved the people of my charge from extravagancies. I do not know of any of my people that are disposed to forsake the written Word of God to follow impulses and impressions. We have had no separations and divisions, neither do this people approve of or encourage them that I know of; though they have been disposed to think charitably of some that in other places have separated. We have had very few that have openly opposed or spoke against the work that hath been among us, except it be persons of other persuasions.

Here it may not be amiss to give a short account of a young man that belonged to this parish, and died here last August. He was one that was hopefully converted in the year 1741. He appeared for some time after his conversion very much engaged about religion; and then, by degrees, seemed to grow more cold and indifferent, but nothing inconsistent with grace appeared in him. Sometime in August last he was taken sick: great was the distress of his mind: he bitterly bewailed that he had so much forsaken God. Before his death, the Lord was pleased to lift up the light of his countenance upon him; great was the joy of his heart in the Lord. He sent for many of his acquaintances, and, in a very moving manner, warned them not to depart from the Lord as he had done. He desired his parents and relations not to mourn for him; for he was assured that he was going to possess a crown of glory that fades not away. For about twenty-four hours before

he died, he seemed to be in an extasy of joy, and so remained till he could speak no longer; and, when he was speechless, he, by signs, desired the company to sing praises to God; and, when they seemed backward, he was the more earnest, and took Dr Watt's Hymns, and turned them to the third Hymn of *The Second Book of Spiritual Songs*, and by signs urged them to sing, which they did; and he endeavoured to join them as well as he could; and then, with eyes and hands lifted up, fell asleep.

Seeing I have mentioned something of the Indians, and the head quarters of the Neantic Indians being within the limits of this parish, I shall write a few things of the wonderful work of God's grace among them: a poor ignorant people, that for ages past have lived without God in the world; that did not seem to have anything of religion among them; generally given to Sabbath-breaking, but especially to drunkenness, and thereby keeping themselves very poor and low in the world. Some years past there were attempts, by preaching the Gospel, and a school among them, to bring them out of their heathenish state, to the knowledge of the true God, and the embracement of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; but to so little good effect, that it was given over. After the remarkable concern among us, 1741, I made an offer to go among them, and preach to them; but not receiving any encouragement from them, that they would come to hear me, I did not go. About the beginning of August, 1741, the Rev. Mr Davenport of Long-Island came and preached to them, and some of them were hopefully converted by his ministry, and some others awakened. And after that, the religious concern not only continued among them, but increased for a considerable time; and there are twenty, or upwards, of this tribe of Indians that have been hopefully converted. And since that time, the greater part of them have been careful to attend the preaching of the Word on the Lord's day, and other opportunities. When the religious concerns came among these Indians, most of them, and that even those of them that have not been thought to have experienced a saving change, very much left off their excessive drinking and Sabbath breaking. Though of them that have not been thought to be converted, a few of them seem to be returning to their old habit of excessive drinking. And of them that have been hopefully converted and church members, there hath been two or three instances of excess; but they soon manifested deep repentance for it. Those of the Indians that have been hopefully converted, have seemed to live near to God, and to have much of the Divine presence with them; and have been often comforted and refreshed, and filled with admiration of the wonderful grace of God to them. It is to be observed, that the great sense of divine things seems to be in a great measure abated among those Indians as well as among the English. The Indians not living all of them constantly here (they not having a sufficient quantity of land to support themselves and families, but at times go from us where they can find work) some of them have joined to other churches. And of them that I hope have experienced a saving change, some, through fears and scruples of their own good estate, are not, as yet, joined with any church. Thus I have given a very short account of

1 Why do we mourn departing friends?
Or shake at death's alarms?
'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends
To call them to his arms, &c.

the wonderful and remarkable work of God's grace. Let God have all the praise and glory of it. And let us, with united hearts, supplicate the God of all grace, that he will not suffer his own to work languish and die: but that he will pour out his Spirit more plentifully than ever, in the awakening, conviction, and conversion of sinners, and in the enlightening, quickening, and consolation of saints. I desire your prayers for me, my people and the Indians; and subscribe myself, your friend and brother in Gospel bonds,

GEORGE GRISWOLD.

SECTION XII.

IN THE SAME SEASON (VIZ. SPRING, 1741), AT SUTTON, IN THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER, IN THE MASSACHUSETTS.—JUST WHEN THEIR MINISTER, MR. HALL, HAD THOUGHTS OF LEAVING THEM THROUGH DESPAIR OF SUCCESS.—THE OCCASIONAL PREACHING OF MR. EDWARDS, MR. PARKMAN, AND MR. PRENTICE, BLESSED TO THEM.—THE CONCERN SEIZED ON PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE, IN THE HIGHWAY, IN THE WOODS, &c., WHILE THINKING ON SPIRITUAL THINGS.—IMPRUDENT CONDUCT OF ONE OR TWO DID HURT.—ON MR. DANIEL ROGERS COMING, THE WORK WAS CONSIDERABLY REVIVED.—NOT THE WISDOM OF MAN'S WORDS.—THE SURE PROOF OF ITS BEING FROM GOD, IN ITS FRUITS.—PERSONS OF DIFFERENT AGES.

From a Letter from MR. HALL, Minister at Sutton, to MR. PRINCE, Minister at Boston, May 28th, 1744.—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 73, &c.

As to the matter you was pleased some months ago to write to me about, respecting the rise and progress of the work of God among us, more especially in the late remarkable day of the Lord's visitation of his people, I have drawn up a brief account, which is as follows:—

It is more than fifteen years since I was settled here in the ministry: when there were about eighty families in the town. When I first came among this people, which was in the year 1728, I was wholly unapprised of their condition, both as to their moral and religious character; but before I was ordained their pastor, the scene opened itself to my view, in sundry respects, very dark and melancholy, which filled me with many discouraging apprehensions as to my settling with them, and a sense of the greatness of the work in general, and of some peculiar difficulties and hazards attending my settling among this people, plunged me into deep distress. But, however, some days before my ordination, I was made to hope, that as dark as things now were, I should behold the glory of the Lord in this place, in the advancement of the kingdom of grace among this people, and I believe it was from God. And I frequently have experienced support and quickening from this hope, in the midst of some very gloomy passages of providence, that have since passed over me. There was, soon after my settling here, by the favour of God, some considerable abatement of that too common profaneness and some other vicious practices visible among us. And within the space of two years we had a very large addition to the church, more than doubling the number of communicants. After this there appeared a gradual abatement of religious concern; and for the space of five years there was little appearance of the spirit of conviction among this people. During this term, a raging fever swept away a considerable number in a sudden and awful manner. Yet few, if any, were observed

to shift their courses; the filthy were filthy still: or rather growing more so, to appearance; and a visible symptom of a spirit of slumbering attended professors among us.

In the year 1735, the great concerns of religion in some considerable degree appeared to move upon the hearts of many among us; at which time it came into my mind (and I trust it was from God), to visit the people of my charge, and to apply myself particularly to every one that was arrived to years of understanding, that I might know the state of the flock, and make particular application to the consciences of young and old among us. - This appeared to be attended with some very hopeful symptoms of success. At this time, family meetings were set up in four parts of our town. Articles were also drawn up and subscribed by some, if not all of said societies, by which each neighbourhood or family society were obliged to attend the set times of their meetings, which was once a month; and also engaged themselves to exercise a most peculiar watchfulness over each other; to be free in brotherly admonition; and frequent in religious conversation one with another. A number of young men among us also about the same time formed themselves into a society, to be helpers of one another in the way of the kingdom of heaven. At these meetings they frequently had a sermon preached to them; and some things now began for a while to look hopeful among us. These religious meetings were mostly, if not all, continued, till the late remarkable revival among us; yet not so but that in about five years' space, the general face of religion among us was sunk down to a very low and melancholy ebb indeed.

God was pleased wonderfully to convince me of this, on the latter end of April, 1740, and greatly to humble me; and with a most sweet and gracious band of love drew out my soul to look after my high calling in Christ Jesus. Now I was again at this time filled with an encouraging persuasion, that I should behold the power of religion reviving among us in the conversion of souls to the Lord Jesus Christ. Together with this persuasion, a most ardent thirst came upon me, that I might gain souls for whom Christ died, to which end I longed for the sanctuary. And from this time I had more knowledge than ever before, what it means to preach with the Spirit and with the understanding also, although still attended with great weakness. Soon after this we had lectures here, usually once a fortnight, to our young people; and the preaching of the blessed Gospel was, by times, my great delight. Our assembly frequently appeared very solemnly attentive; and kindly to accept urgent and repeated assurances of the necessity of a reformation; but I could not presently perceive that the Word took any prevailing hold upon their hearts. The fall after this, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield preached in the neighbouring town. I perceived afterwards, that some of our people were brought under conviction by hearing the Word from him. And some few the winter following appeared to remain under concern, but in general there were great symptoms of hardness of heart, and this appeared more melancholy, because it was a time of sore mortality, for neither the Word nor providences of God, to any genuine appearance, touched their hearts. Upon which I told one of our Christian brethren (the spring of the year following,) that I had it in my heart to go to preach the Gospel at Smithfield, or in some place where they

had no minister, for that I was upon the point of despairing of success among my own people.

But so it was, that the very next Sabbath following I saw considerable tokens of the goings of God in the congregation; our assembly was generally swallowed up in tears; and from this time I perceived a more general concern set upon the countenances of this people. I had just been breathing out my complaints, with a "Who hath believed our report," &c. But now on a sudden there were some hopeful symptoms of life from the dead, for sundry persons came to me under soul-concern soon after. Some of which I have since reason to think were about that time brought out of darkness into marvellous light. Some of them were soon after visibly added to the Lord in the way of his communion among us. Many appeared under concern, and great attention and great seriousness henceforward appeared in our public assemblies, and usually much weeping. And blessed be God, a prevailing check seemed to fall upon many kinds of evil-doers; and tavern haunts and night assemblings of young people for wanton pastime seemed at once to disappear. Upon the election day following, our young people desired a sermon, which they had delivered them from these words, Joshua xxiv. 15, "Chuse you this day whom you will serve." And soon after the sun was down, I was informed that our public tavern was clear of town people both young and old.

In the fall of this year, which was 1741, the concern seemed much to increase upon many people here, both old and young, and sundry persons more gave grounds to hope they had received the Spirit of adoption. But as for the generality of such as had been brought under conviction, and some amendment of life, they still appeared under the spirit of bondage, and unexperienced as to any saving work, which occasioned me to write on September 20th, 1741, concerning the visible appearance of concern upon a frequently weeping assembly, thus,—“Many seemed pierced with the arrows of conviction; but, alas, I have seen it often, while convictions fall off, and Israel remains ungathered! but I will wait upon God, who is able to work effectually. Oh! when shall it once be.” The January following there appeared hopeful symptoms of a broken spirit and a bleeding heart. What I minuted down of that date expresses it thus:—“Many, indeed, speak trembling. I hope an hundred persons among us are in a deep concern,” &c. A few days after, thus,—“Sure I never needed more of the Divine help than now; many are pressing after Heaven, and many in great distress.” Soon after this we had a comfortable appearance of a considerable number offering to full communion: they came as a cloud and as doves to their windows. And my time was now almost wholly taken up in discoursing with persons seeking the way to Zion with their faces thitherward.

About this time the Rev. Mr Edwards of Northampton, and the Rev. Mr Parkman and Mr Prentice, neighbouring ministers, preached here, whose labours among us God was pleased to smile upon for good. During all this we had not any public outcries in time of public worship, although there might frequently be discovered persons under a most deep and solemn sense of the truths delivered unto them. It is observable how, at this remarkable day, a spirit of deep concern would seize upon persons.

Some were in the house, and some walking in the highway—some in the woods, and some in the field—some in conversation, and some in secret retirement—some children and some adult, and some old persons would sometimes on a sudden be brought under the strongest impressions from a sense of the great realities of the other world and eternal things. But such things, as far as I can learn, were usually, if not ever, impressed upon men while they were in some sort exercising their minds upon the Word of God or spiritual objects. And for the most part it has been under the public preaching of the Word that these lasting impressions have been fastened upon them. Religious societies were now set up in several parts of the town to be held weekly. And reading, praying, singing praises, and speaking one to another of their particular experiences were frequently means of enlargement of heart, and some were by this means brought under conviction who were before strangers to the power of godliness. (Nevertheless the imprudent conduct of a particular zealous person or two in going beyond the proper bounds of duty and decency in some of these meetings, I do apprehend was very hurtful to the progress of this blessed work among us.) Convictions in this remarkable day of the Lord's visitation appeared to take hold of men's hearts with a permanent and prevailing power, so that many poor sinners were made to pant for Christ “as the hart panteth for the water-brooks,” and I trust most of them found no rest until they found a Saviour. We have had a considerable number visibly brought home that were before not only destitute of the form of godliness; but also sundry who were before of but a poor character in point of morals. And I have reason to think a considerable number of such were now brought home to Christ who were before visible professors.

In the summer, 1742, but few persons were brought under convictions: and from that time to this, conversions have not, to appearance, been so frequent among us. Nevertheless, in the fall of the year 1743, upon the Rev. Mr Daniel Rogers' coming to us, we had a considerable revival of the work: at, and after which, the Spirit of conviction seemed for a while very powerful among our children, from eight to twelve or fourteen years of age. A small number of whom, I would hope, retain abiding impressions. But most of them I fear are much the same as they were before their concern. Also about this time, public cryings-out under concern became something frequent among us for some little time: though indeed seldom when we had none but our own congregation. But such things being cautiously guarded against, have never here become common. And in my apprehension, the gospel was attended with less success afterwards, by reason of the prejudices which many among us conceived. But, however, such things, I am fully convinced, have been many times altogether unavoidable, from the overpowering views of the great reality of the eternal world: and accordingly, that it is a great fault in such persons as have conceived such prejudices against the work of the Spirit of God, because some persons under the operation thereof in strong convictions or compunction, have lost the command of their own passions; and have discovered themselves when under the most proper concern as to the matter of it; yet through the over-bearings thereof unable to command their own faculties. Although of late this work of divine

grace has been under melancholy abatements; yet I am not without hopes, that some souls have the year past been savingly united to Jesus Christ. And there hath been very lately a comfortable instance or two, to hopeful appearance, that encourages me to hope still as for the latter rain, and for the great rain of God's strength in due time. I was, just now, observing something of this work attending children. So I would observe, that although the generality of such amongst us as have experienced this work were between twenty and forty years of age; yet that there have been several instances of persons older, yea, some of them very remarkable instances; and one of about seventy-five years old; who lately, and about two years after her conversion, departed this life with joy and triumph.

And now, before I close this relation, by way of acknowledgment to the great God, and that he may have all the praise of his wonderful works among us, I would observe: That as it has been most frequently under the preaching of the word, that such among us as have been the subjects of this blessed work have received their first convictions; yet I seldom perceived a sermon that seemed less calculated according to the wisdom of man's brain, that brought one soul under lasting convictions. It hath ever been, so far as it hath fallen under my observation, from the application of some plain scriptural truths; and not from rhetorical phrases, nor from the most concise logical reasonings; but most usually some plain unpremeditated sentences that God has owned and blessed. While learned and most studied sermons have sometimes fetched a flood of tears, and been followed with great applause; yet I cannot say I ever knew such a sermon gain souls. They have informed the understanding, regulated the judgment: but to humble, convince, and convert men from sin to God, hath not been from hence. So that I am convinced there has been much more attending some sermons than was devised by the heart of man or than man could effect: when sometimes a single plain sentence or two in a sermon has been conveyed from the gospel-bow with such power, as hath given so deep a wound to stout and stubborn sinners, that verily, they have been no more able to cure themselves than to create a world, have gone forth trembling in the bitterness of their souls, with abhorrence of themselves and of their old courses; and found no rest until their whole foundation had been plucked from them, and they have been constrained with bleeding hearts, to approach before an unknown physician, Jesus Christ. God's sovereignty has been as visible in the time of improving the like means. As plain and as solemn truths of the gospel have been sometimes delivered with abundance of earnestness and affection, one would have thought surely sinners will now hear, and take it to heart; experienced Christians have thought, verily it is full of the Spirit of the Lord, and of power; but sinners in Zion have not been alarmed, nor, to appearance, touched thereby. Whereas sermons not seemly for matter or manner, more likely, have been wonderfully owned; and the great God hath in such a triumphant manner come down upon the mount, that many have gone away heart-sick for Jesus Christ, and have had such a mighty change, as hopefully to have appeared the subjects of divine grace. That it is the blessed work of the great Jehovah I do certainly know. And notwithstanding the mockings of many who have the subjects thereof greatly in deri-

sion; and although some devout men may think it would be service to God, to crush them under their feet; yet with them, let me live, let me die, and my soul be with theirs after death: I am not ashamed the world should know it. I venture my salvation upon it, that this is God's blessed work. And why? For it hath the broad seal of heaven stamped upon it. Jesus, the faithful and true witness, hath instructed us, how we shall know his disciples from deceivers, viz. from their fruit, as Matth. vii. and whence this fruit springs, as John xiv. 21. "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me." Now, if that faith which works by love, and which commands the heart and life into the ways of obedience, be the fruit which cannot grow upon thorns, but upon the heaven-born plants, formed and sealed by God's own right hand; this is then the work of God. For I am sure these three years, since the work took place powerfully amongst us, I have had the comfort of beholding more appearance of such like fruit than ever before in all my life.

That I have known many weak and childish things in the conduct of our young Christians, I do acknowledge, and who could rationally look to find such as are just born, behave and act like men? Yet it is a joyful thing to have children born in a church as well as in a kingdom or commonwealth: and a cruel foe is he, that, like Babylon of old, will dash their heads against the stones, who are God's offspring, and have need of the breast, and to be taught to go. An infant, ere it can speak sense, will discover as true a relish for the breast, as the adult can have for their food. And be our young Christians destitute of that ripeness of judgment, and in want of that wisdom and prudence, which it is hoped they will grow up unto;—yet such as experimentally know what communion with God means, may discover as true a relish for divine things in many of our young Christians as can be found among the most solid of God's saints. Zion's children, in these remarkable days, may frequently be observed, not drunk with enthusiasm, as some would fain suppose, nor overheated in their brain, as others would fain have it, but overcome with the love of Christ: raptured in the joys of believing. The world esteems their life madness. But, if a gracious God would please to give those who now despise them, a taste of that joy unspeakable and full of glory, they would surely speak of these things in another manner. See 1 John, iv. 13. However, I am not insensible that some have been tainted too much with enthusiasm: but I am as sure it is not generally the case with the subjects of this work. And when I find persons that some years ago were frothy, carnal, worldly, and vain in their behaviour, who discovered their hearts were all over in the world, and lusts and vanities, who now are become sober, grave, their conversation solid and spiritual,—who, meet them when you will, seem to have no relish for any discourse, but the things of Christ and heaven, and how they may get forward in the way of faith and holiness towards their blessed home,—and to whom, in every respect, the way of God's commandments appears their delight: after all declaring themselves mean and miserable, manifesting a broken spirit, and a continual war with remaining corruptions, adorning the doctrines of Free grace, ever admiring and rejoicing in Christ Jesus, declaring their whole life is upon him and in him:—if this does not evidence them the

subjects of something higher than enthusiasm, I am much mistaken. I have been astonished sometimes to find even some good men so hard to bear down upon this blessed work, which hath so gloriously prevailed in many places; and I doubt not hath brought forth, in this place, more of Zion's children, in the space of two years, than ever were born here before in the space of twenty years. The Lord make their number an hundred times so many more as they be. And I do solemnly profess it, that notwithstanding what some wise men, and great men according to the flesh, have said and done in order to crush the subjects of this grace, and to prevent the progress of this work; picking up all the failings of its subjects, and I fear representing some things otherwise than they ever were, and fastening upon the whole work what some unguarded persons have sinfully done; and perhaps most of such no other than pretended subjects of the work, whom the devil hath sowed as tares among the wheat to scandalize God's blessed work of grace, and to bring a reproach upon the true lovers of Jesus Christ. After all the whole world can say to blemish this blessed work of regeneration; I had rather be only so happy, as to be used in God's name for a mere instrument to gain but one sinner to partake of so glorious a work, than to gain the whole world. And I heartily desire I may ever be of the mind, rather to sustain the loss of all things, yea, rather to suffer the cruellest of deaths, than to speak an unthankful word concerning what the most high God hath done for a poor sinful people, respecting the precious shower of his grace that hath fallen upon us. And if any man is so bold and profane, as to persist in striking at the power of godliness and the very life of the Christian religion; he shall answer it to Christ; he hath done it unto him. I doubt not you will pardon the freedom I have taken in the close of this relation of what God hath done for us: verily the reproaches of many have compelled me; and woe be unto me, if I flinch in the cause of Christ. So after asking your fervent prayers for us to the throne of grace, I subscribe your unworthy brother in Christ Jesus,

DAVID HALL.

Follows an Explication of some Passages in the above Letter written about Half a Year after, and published in the CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 104.

Whereas some passages in my letter concerning the late happy revival of religion here in Sutton, placed in the first page of your *Christian History* of July 28th, 1744, (although I apprehend every candid reader might easily have perceived my true meaning in them) yet have by some been grossly misunderstood: I now freely declare (as doubtless I have a right to explain myself) that I am far from designing by those sentences, to reflect contempt upon the proper usefulness of human learning, or to discourage hard study, close argumentative preaching, and suitably embellished with acceptable words: which are useful in their place; although, after our highest encomiums upon external means, they are not to have such virtue ascribed to them, as though sufficient to beget men to Christ. In reference to this, I may, without disparagement to human reason and learning, say with the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. i. 20. "Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" God is not obliged to follow those means which to men appear

best, with the most success. He is sovereign in all dispensations of his grace; so then, it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, or reasoneth, but of God that sheweth mercy. I can uprightly speak it, that my sole design in those passages was this; that I might ascribe all the glory of the late blessed work of divine grace among us, to the influences of the Spirit of God. And I cannot by any means discover how a full ascription of success to God should be any way prejudicial to human industry. As for a rambling indigested way of preaching, I do freely testify against it; but yet I can by no means think it the duty of ministers to confine themselves invariably to their notes, or particular studied sentences, so as at no time to alter, add to, or diminish from, what has been before penned down; especially when in delivering God's sacred truths to men, their hearts and lips are, as sometimes, touched as with a coal from his altar. Moreover, I am persuaded God hath often owned and blessed some new and present thoughts which have occurred in delivering a sermon: and provided they have been safely expressed, and are no other than plain, solid, and scriptural truths, I cannot discern, with what reason in the world, any man should find fault. There is another passage in the page following the fore-mentioned, allow me to explain. The words are these, ("That I do venture my salvation upon it, that this is God's blessed work") understand me thus, That I do resign myself to God, in hope of salvation, through the blessed influences of the same grace, that hath been through Jesus Christ so abundantly in these years shed abroad among us.

DAVID HALL.

SECTION XIII.

IN THE BEGINNING OF NOVEMBER, 1741, AT HALIFAX, IN THE COUNTY OF PLYMOUTH.—IN AUGUST THEY HAD KEPT A DAY OF FASTING AND PRAYER FOR ASKING THE INFLUENCES OF THE SPIRIT.—MR. WHELOCK OF LEBANON PREACHES AT BRIDGEWATER.—RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE.—MEETINGS OF YOUNG CHILDREN.—REMARKABLE INSTANCES OF PERSONS UNDER CONCERN.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MR. THOMSON, AGED SEVENTY-EIGHT.—OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF ANOTHER SICK PERSON WHO AFTERWARDS UNEXPECTEDLY RECOVERED.

(From a Letter from Mr. COTTON, minister at Halifax, to Mr. PRINCE, Minister at Boston, dated Halifax, July 26, 1743.—*Christian History*, No. 33.)

R.S. According to your desire, I send you the following account of the state of religion among us. I am under some disadvantage as to this, not having kept minutes by me, as some others have done; therefore my account must be more general than otherwise it might have been.

The town of Halifax contains to the number of near seventy families, and has been a township about nine years; the people in general have been a sober sort of people; tavern-haunting, swearing, and such like vices, have never prevailed among them to such a degree as in many other places. But indifference and lukewarmness in religion have had too much the ascendant. In the summer 1741, there were many rumours among us, from distant parts, respecting religion, some good, some bad, by which we were set upon a gaze, and knew not what to think; these reports were so blended together, that we were filled

with concern what would be the event of things. In short, the reformation appeared like a dream to us, we could not realize it; it seemed as if some strange thing had happened. However, I did not fill my pulpit with the cry of disorder, confusion, trances, visions, exhorters, &c., but thought it more rational to suspend my judgment until I had opportunity of seeing for myself.

In August, towards the latter end, we kept a day of fasting and prayer, to ask the influences of the Spirit, and to implore his gracious presence among us. In the beginning of November, the Rev. Mr Wheelock of Lebanon came to Bridgewater, which is bordering upon us, and there preached several sermons, which were set home with power on the souls of the hearers; many were pricked at the heart, some in the time of hearing, and some through after-recollection as they were going home, &c. Of which, no doubt, some of the ministers of Bridgewater will give you a particular account. I heard him preach three times there, and several of my people, I think about forty or fifty, had the opportunity of hearing him once or twice. For my part, I never saw such a solemn time in my life; King Jesus seemed to ride in triumph; concern appeared in almost every countenance; tears gushed from many eyes; some were quite overcome with a sense of guilt, and all seemed to be alive in the worship of God: my doubts and scruples respecting the work vanished; and I was obliged by incontestable evidence to say, that this must needs be the finger of God. Not only myself, but almost all my people present, were fully satisfied with what they heard and saw; they were convinced that it was God's doing, and they brought home such a report as gave a wonderful turn to the course of things among us: the sentiments and thoughts of people in the town, seemed to be altered as it were at once: the evil reports soon lost ground. Some few of the hearers present, who were mostly communicants, returned home under strong convictions; some of whom declared it at first, and others of them kept it to themselves as long as they could: but after some time they could not help speaking too, and declaring their deplorable case. The discourse of these in a private way was very moving and affecting, and was, I think, one of the greatest means, under God, of spreading the concern through the town; though not exclusively of other instituted means; they all concurred in producing this astonishing effect. Religion was the discourse in every company, the concern was almost general, and that inquiry seemed to be in every one's mouth, "What shall I do to be saved?" About the middle of November, the young people set up religious meetings with advice, in several parts of the town; there being no such meetings before this; and almost all of them, both male and female, attended them: and even little children of nine, ten, or twelve years of age, set up a meeting of their own accord.¹ And all frolicking, and carousing, and merry meetings were laid aside: foolish talking and jesting the young people could not endure; they desired to hear nothing but what was serious; they took more delight in going to a meeting than ever

they did to a frolick. But this religious turn was not confined to these alone, though it appeared more in them at first; but persons of all ages have been affected in a greater or lesser degree, in the process of this work.

Friday, November 27. There was a private meeting at my house, in the evening, at which time, after prayers, &c., I read to them Mr Edwards's *Narrative*. After the service was over, one that had been Mr Wheelock's hearer, cried out in great distress, which was the first instance of any crying out among us. This person, when at Bridgewater, was very much disgusted with a person's crying out under soul concern near her, and Mr Wheelock's performances did not appear to her, as they did to others: she had this thought while hearing him, as she declared in her distress, "Ah, you are an hypocrite, and you will be discovered within this twelvemonth." But, however, she was not easy in her mind upon her return; she could not rest contented in the condition she was in; a concern seized her soul, which kept increasing till this time: and now her sins stared her in the face; she trembled under a sense of guilt, particularly because of the sin of unbelief, and the hardness of her heart; she said, "That she was the hypocrite, and that everybody was better than she;" and she appeared under awful apprehensions lest she should be left to grieve the Spirit of God, and that he would depart from her, as he justly might. I and some others observed her narrowly, and discoursed with her during her distress; and it was evident to us, that she could not help manifesting her trouble in the manner she did. After about an hour, she was something more composed, though weak; she then sat in her chair and made a pertinent pathetic prayer; she had but little rest that night; the next day she appeared very melancholy, though in a lesser degree. On the Sabbath, she went to meeting with an eager desire of hearing; in the afternoon her distress returned upon her with a redoubled force: this thought pierced her soul, "How in that place she had dishonoured Christ by receiving the sacrament unworthily;" she was affected in such a degree as to overcome her bodily strength, and she cried out in the bitterness of her soul; and now and then she had power to utter herself. This scene was very affecting to the congregation; and some that were under great concern before, and were as full as they could hold, could not now help manifesting themselves, seeing one just in our circumstances oppressed with a load of guilt like them. After we had waited some time, I desired the person first affected to endeavour to compose herself, so that she might join with us in the worship of God; she strove for it with all her power, till she became black in the face, as those that sat by her declared; but she could not help fetching some groans now and then, so that all the congregation could hear her. After this she had some discoveries of Christ, and was something more comfortable; but still full of doubts and fears; it was a considerable time before her evidences of receiving Christ appeared clear to her. Since this we have not had any considerable crying out under conviction in the public assembly during service-time; but some have manifested great distress after it has been over: some have cried out in their own houses when pondering on religious things; some in private meetings; and one young girl particularly of nine years of age when at play with her consorts out of

¹ When I heard of this voluntary, and unexpected meeting, I was under concern, lest they, by their mismanagement, should open the mouths of people; but I was quickly better satisfied by the accounts of some who overheard them; they behaved with a great deal of seriousness and regularity, and the manner of their performances was beyond what could be expected from such children.

doors, though no body had spoken to her of religious things that day; she fell down in great distress, and said "it seemed as if hell lay before her, that she was ready to fall into it:" the wrath of God was dreadful to her. These persons all declare with one accord, that they could not possibly help it; yea, one of them, if not more, have before their turn came, faulted others for it, and said, "that they could help it if they would." I do not mention these things because I lay any stress upon bodily emotions, &c. It is the impression the soul is under, that I regard, and am swayed by. But I think it necessary that these circumstances be related, in order to the giving a just account. If any call this confusion, I would to stop their mouths declare further, that the greater part that have been under impressions at this day among us have been wrought upon in a silent way: but then those that have cried out, and those that have not cried out give the same account of themselves; and some of this latter sort have declared, that they do not wonder at others being in such an agony and crying out in distress, while under conviction; for if their own concern had prevailed one degree farther, all the world could not have kept them from the like manifestations.

But what is it fills them with such horror and distress? Why, they are convinced of their dreadful state by nature; they see themselves perishing and undone; and nothing will satisfy them but an interest in Christ. They complain in such a manner as it is impossible it should be feigned; many of them seem to go beyond themselves, and speak in such a moving manner as they were never capable of before. Oh how do they cry out of their former mispending of time, their slighting of Sabbaths and sermons, their contempt of good men, their frolicking, their gaming, their tavern-haunting, their love to the world, their averseness to all that is good, and all the sins they have lived in! And how are they filled with wonder and amazement that God hath let them alone thus long, that he hath not before this sent them to hell! and how fearful are they that he will suddenly cut the thread of life asunder before the morning light, or that he will take his Holy Spirit from them, and seal them up to perdition. This I certainly know to be the case; and I solemnly declare further, that in the whole course of my ministry I never heard any under convictions speak so feelingly and sensibly as most have done in this present day; they indeed express the same things for substance that others have done formerly; but they seem to be impressed to a greater degree, and to have more clear discoveries of sin and hell, &c. than they. Some few that were before loose and scandalous in their lives have been under deep convictions; but the greater number that have been the subjects of this work are such as did not appear openly profane; several moral persons and professors have been dissettled from their foundation.

When the work came near us and began to prevail among us, I made it my business in many instances to trace back to the fountain-head the evil reports that flew about, where I had opportunity. Some of them I found to be wholly groundless; others were gross misrepresentations; the bad circumstances of a story were picked up and related, and the good all suppressed; and sometimes when one only was guilty, the whole body were charged: and when any particular person had really said or done amiss, and was soon brought to a sense of it and to repentance

for it, I found that the repentance did not fly an hundredth part so fast as the sin: people did not appear so zealous to tell of this. In short, every little indiscretion was aggrandized and rendered monstrous, and some things that were innocent were strangely perverted and distorted, and made to appear in dreadful colours. And when any have endeavoured to wipe off such aspersions, and to declare the truth from their own certain knowledge, people were shy of hearing it; they seemed loath to have the report contradicted; by their management it appeared that they had rather it should be true than false. I could say a great deal here in order to set the disingenuity of men in a proper light, but I must not be too lengthy. Only I think it necessary to observe further, that those that have been most opposite to this reformation, have all along betrayed an utter aversion to examine things to the bottom; they have from the beginning avoided the company and conversation of such as have been under concern, or of such as are capable of solving their difficulties; yea, when urged over and over to go and discourse with the young converts, and that not only with one or two, but with many of them, and examine thoroughly into their case, they could not be prevailed with to do it, but still keep aloof: so that some that live in places where this reformation has been most prevalent, know as little of it as if they had lived scores of miles off. Is this a rational way of acting?

There were not many among us that received comfort before the spring of the year: but then a considerable number did; they had, as we have reason to hope, soul-saving discoveries made to them; they had, as they declare, such a sense of Christ's ability, sufficiency, and readiness to help, as drew out their souls to him; they were made his willing people in this day of his power; they were enabled to close with him in all his offices, upon the warrant of the word, as far as we can judge; and the effects of this was love and joy in the Holy Ghost: and in about three months' time there were forty-four added to the church¹. Some few that have been under strong conviction we have reason to fear are fallen away, and become as bad or worse than ever: but we desire to bless God there are no more. And a few that we charitably hoped had received the Spirit of adoption, have given us too much ground to think, that they never went farther than common illumination, Heb. vi. 4, mistaking conviction for conversion. There is one notorious instance of this: but the much greater part continue steadfast to this day, and bring forth the fruits of holiness. As to opposition, there are a few families that have stood out all along; the greater part of whom never made any profession: but through the blessing of God, we have had as great peace in the town since this religious concern, as any time since my settlement. Ever since last Fall, the Spirit seems to be withdrawn with respect to his convincing influences; there being no new convictions among us that I know of; though some that were under concern before remain so still. And true Christians, the greater part, seem not so lively as they had been: I frequently hear complaints of darkness, unbelief, hidings, doubtings, &c. Some have been too much led into disputes, which tend to eat out the vitals of religion, and to draw away the

¹ The whole number that were added before the close of the year 1742, were sixty-two, and since this year came in seven.

heart from the main concern. But yet my people's love to God's house continues. May God yet again revive his work among us: may he go on conquering and to conquer, till he has subdued the land. Amen. Thus I have given you some imperfect account of the great things God has done for us: I desire an interest in your prayers both for me and my people, and rest your friend and servant,

JOHN COTTON.

P.S.—I think it proper to add the following account, which I forgot in its proper place: Mr Thos. Thomson, aged seventy-eight years, died here the 26th of October last: he was the wealthiest man in the town; but, what is more to his honour, he was rich towards God: he had, as we have reason to think, a principle of good in him many years before his death. In his life he was eminently serviceable; it might be said of him as of old Jehoiada, "That he did good in Israel," 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. He was just and exact in all his dealings, and made conscience of all his ways: he was food to the hungry, a father to the poor, and an harbour even to the stranger. His last sickness was very painful and tormenting to him; but the distress of his soul in the beginning of his illness surmounted his bodily pains; God seemed to break him with breach upon breach; all his waves and billows passed over him. But he was pleased at last to appear for his relief, and to fill him with joy and peace in believing: and the two or three last days of his life, he seemed to be upheld only to speak forth the praises of God; he taking scarce any sustenance. After this happy turn, he spent his time wholly in discoursing of religious things; he would take an hour upon a stretch, and then would seem to faint and die away for some time; and as soon as he revived, he would return to some religious topic, and keep on discoursing till his bodily strength was gone; and this he kept doing by turns from Saturday to Monday evening: sometimes he would be blessing God for his goodness; sometimes giving advice to his children and relations, or to those that visited him; for great numbers resorted to his house, being drawn by the fame of what they heard: he had something to say to every one, some advice to give: he took me by the hand that evening he died, and spake to me in particular about half an hour, and he concluded with these words, "I advise you to go on, and to discharge your ministry with faithfulness, cheerfulness, love and obedience." He spake very favourably and honourably of the present times, though he thought some had gone too far; and he bewailed it, that while children and young people were boldly praising and glorifying God, he had come so far behind them, and that he was so bashful and silent in the cause of God, and that he had been almost afraid to shew his opinion. In short, he seemed to be in heaven while he was upon earth; he had glorious foretastes of the bliss above; he departed with praises upon his lips, and with a glorious triumph: some of the last words that he spake were those of Paul, "Oh death where is thy sting," &c. This instance put some opposers to a stand; they could not but acknowledge that God was with him of a truth. I would here add a few words of another person, who was dangerously sick the last summer; she had been under great spiritual distress for three months before her sickness; but after the disease seized her, the prospect of death increased it. Her trouble grew greater and greater,

horror and amazement possessed her soul, and she could find no relief; she knew not which way to turn. At last God was pleased to dispel the gloom upon her breast, and to lift up the light of his countenance upon her: upon which she sent for me; I found that she was still apprehensive that her great change was near, and others were so too, but this daunted her not; she appeared perfectly calm and easy; she said Christ was willing, and she was willing; she called upon others to praise God with her, and wondered how any mouth could be shut at such a time. Such things as these, methinks, are sufficient to convince any of the reality of this work: what can be more satisfying than to see persons, while in the agonies of death, triumphing and rejoicing and glorifying God; than to hear them calling upon others (who it may be are melted into tears) to join with them in this heavenly employment, and reproving them for their backwardness thereto? Surely nature can never carry persons to so high a pitch. This person afterwards unexpectedly recovered, and she is, I believe, an excellent Christian. J. C.

SECTION XIV.

ON THE 23D OF NOVEMBER, 1741, AT MIDDLEBOROUGH, EAST PRECINCT.—SOME BEGINNINGS THE SUMMER BEFORE.—IMPRESSIONS HAD BEEN MADE BY THE OCCASIONAL PREACHING OF MR TENNENT, MR ROGERS, MR MOOREHEAD, MR SHAW.—BUT ON NOVEMBER 23D THE AWAKENING GREAT.—THE LAMPS OF MANY WENT OUT.—HEART-AFFECTING CRISIS AND CONFESSIONS.—A REMARKABLE INSTANCE IN THE HEAD OF A CLUB TO HIS COMPANIONS.—FOR ABOUT EIGHTEEN MONTHS THE PLACE LIKE A HEAVEN ON EARTH.

From MR THACHER's Letters to MR PRINCE, Minister at Boston, and MR PRINCE's own Accounts.—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 63, 64, 65, 66.

R. and D. S.—The design of the *Christian History* seems agreeable to the ancient spirit of the truly godly: Psal. lxxviii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and tends to strengthen the hands that hang down, and the hearts that are fainting, on viewing the unsuccessfulness of the gospel on the hearts of men.—I wish my ability and leisure would allow me to contribute at all hereto.—I dare not conceal what the Lord hath been doing for this people of the first Precinct in Middleborough:

It had been a long time of deadness: no stirrings of the Spirit attending the word in public, or private application: the prayerless were prayerless still; the drunkard and envious man went on frowardly in their way¹: many inward reflections and searchings of heart after the cause hereof; thither I turned, and often almost resolved, that I would speak no more in the name of the Lord: for some months before the Rev. Mr Tennent came by us, I had fixed the time of taking my farewell of that dear flock with whom I had been almost thirty-four years. Against his person and ministry, I found sensible prejudice, from the reports of him which had reached me; I rode six miles out of town to meet with him in his way from Plymouth to the Rev. Mr Campbell's parish. I desire to bless God for that sermon, which was from Luke xv. on the prodigal. I never saw more of the pre-

¹ The author not living to finish or revise this letter, here and in some other places seem to be a word or two wanting.

sence of God with any in prayer¹ and preaching, and never felt more of the power accompanying the word on my heart. Every word made its own way; I felt the weight of it. This revived in me the ministry I sat under in my youth. Mr Tennent preached that evening in my pulpit, from Rom. vii. 9. He complained that he never was so shut up but once; though I suppose none were sensible of it: this added greatly terror and discouragement to me; fearing the Lord had shut up his tender mercies from me and this people; yea, that God hath said, "Pray not for this people." I laid my case freely open to Mr Tennent, and my discouragements in the ministry: who seemed tenderly affected; yet on parting had such a word as this, "Oft-times 'tis darkest a little before day, the rising sun will bring light."—The assembly with us was small: no visible effect; yet from that day my people were more inclined to hear.

I tried them with lectures in public and private, and increased, as I saw their attention awakened, from one public lecture to two, besides one or two monthly meetings, yet no visible success. Yet, in the summer months following, there were four or five of the church awakened, who were before very blameless. There are many among us will bless God, I believe eternally, for the ministry of Mr Daniel Rogers: Mr Moorhead preached in our skirts, and some were awakened thereby. Some were awakened by an occasional sermon of Mr Shaw. In the beginning of October following, on a Tuesday, I proposed a day of prayer, and spake to my brother Shaw for his assistance. This was our errand to the throne of grace, to ask the outpouring of the Spirit on this dry fleece. That week some of my lately awakened brethren obtained a visit from the Rev. Mr Crocker; they appointed a lecture for him on the Friday, which pleased me to hear of on my return from my journey. He preached next morning: one cried out: the little assembly was struck with awe and seriousness, which gave some hopes of a revival. He promised a visit on Monday; of this public notice was given the next day, the Sabbath. All that day my bearers seemed very attentive, and some meltings. The next day, being the 23d day of November, 1741, Mr Crocker came. We began about one; he preached from Rom. viii.

1. This he opened largely: giving the characters of them that were in Christ; and inferred the misery of those who found not the characters in themselves of their being in Christ: there was nothing but condemnation for them, shewing what that condemnation was, &c. After sermon there was an exhortation delivered: many now melted down. After the blessing, the people generally stayed, until some cried out with terror, which flew like lightning into every breast; I suppose none expected. I have written accounts of seventy-six that day struck, and brought first to inquire what they should do to escape condemnation. This inquiry awakened many. There were a number of professors of religion that day whose lamps went out; they discovered there was no oil of true grace in them. There were four persons that this day being

left alone in the several houses to which they belong, were, I suppose, savingly awakened that day, by the consideration that they were left. After a stay with the distressed in public, many followed us home: those that we had not opportunity to ask openly the state of their souls and the reason of their outcry, repairing to us. They tell us they see now what they never did before; their original guilt and actual sins, and fear of the dreadful wrath of the Lord; this filled them with unutterable anguish. They seemed to be stepping into hell; this drew trembling, fear, and cries from them. They complain of hard hearts and blind eyes! That they could never see before! Especially unbelief! O how dreadful to give the God of truth the lie! They now complain they cannot believe, find their hearts full of enmity to God, to Christ, to his holiness, his Word, and saints. Scores, this day, told me of their hatred of me above any one. But to hear the young people crying and wringing their hands and bemoaning their frolicking and dancing, their deriding public reproofs therefore, was affecting. O how heavy now did their contempt and neglect of Christ appear to them, as the effect of those corrupt principles of pride, unbelief, and enmity, and vicious practices of mirth and jollity. Their mouths are at once filled with arguments to justify God in their eternal damnation, and condemn those principles and practices they had been ruled by and led into, and this from Scripture. This the peculiar work of the Spirit to convince of sin and unbelief.

Well, the next evening we had another lecture. Though an excessive rain, yet many came, and the Word was powerful. Thus the Lord began to hear as soon as it was in our hearts to ask. From this time there was an uncommon teachableness among my people: scarce one word of counsel seemed lost, or a sermon in vain. From this time they must have four sermons in a week, two on Tuesdays and two on Thursdays: the Word of the Lord was very precious in those days. In a few days from that 23d of November, so greatly to be remembered, there appeared to be above two hundred awakened; and it was some days, and weeks, and months, before they were brought sensibly to close with Christ; most of them tarried long in the birth; and so far as I am capable to judge, gave as distinct and clear an account of their espousing to Jesus Christ,—the means, his Word of promise and time,—as they could of any action of human life. This not all in the same manner under the preparatory work; but all come to the same espousing closing act, when they were brought out of darkness into marvellous light, when the prison doors were opened, their captive souls set free, when the Lord said unto them Live. Now they understood what it was to have the everlasting gates and doors of their souls set open and the glorious King entering. How pleasantly affecting to hear them tell of their submission to God's righteousness, resigning to the hands of Justice, and how sweetly and speedily in a moment they found themselves enclosed in the everlasting arms of mercy! Who would not be encouraged to come to this submission? To hear them speak of the glories of the Redeemer and his infinite fulness; how often would they break out, "Oh! we are sure, from God's Word and our own experience, there is enough for all, every one in the world!" This awakes professors very moral and blameless in life to inquire into their own standing;

¹ The author told Mr Prince, "That though he went with sensible prejudice; yet by the time Mr Tennent had delivered three sentences in his first prayer, his prejudice vanished away."

² This was delivered by Mr Thacher, though he modestly forbore to mention himself.

the most find they build on the sand, that they lived to themselves, rested in their duties, were mere hypocrites; and after a while, they joyfully tell me; "I have found my feet on the rock; I never knew what it was to have my will subdued and heart changed, and Christ there till now; but now I know I have the witness in myself, and the Spirit in the word witnesseth with my spirit; I am sure religion is real, no fable, no delusion! Christ is meat indeed, and drink indeed: I never knew what pleasure was before Christ gave it me; and what he hath given is better than all the world." Such an account, I suppose, there are more than two hundred can give. The work grew daily, and numbers increased; near 170 the following year joined the Church.

Thus far the Rev. Mr. Thacher proceeded in his account for some months before he died. And as the revival of religion has been so very remarkable in his congregation; it is a thousand pities that he did not go on to finish it. It was so remarkable in his congregation, that we have been well informed by some pious persons there, that though one of the dearest places for religion in the land before, yet for about eighteen months after that sudden breaking forth on November 23, 1741, the place became, for extraordinary lively and continued praying, reading, singing, preaching, hearing, and religious conferences, like a heaven on earth.

Instead of Mr. Thacher's remaining designed account; we now present some letters of his: which, though two were wrote before the revival, and they and some of the others hint at some things mentioned before; yet because they confirm the former accounts, and breathe his pious spirit, we hope will not be unacceptable to the pious reader.

MIDDLEBOROUGH, March 30, 1741.—R. S. and D. B. Yours of the 2d instant was thankfully received, with Mr. Tennent. We are thankful to God who sent him into this sleepy, secure and dead part of the vineyard. I had the privilege to hear him preach five sermons: at Lakenham, from the prodigal son, in my own pulpit from that lesson, "I was alive without the law once," &c. That evening he had twelve of his company lodged with us. I had the pleasure of his company to the Rev. Mr. Perkins': where I heard three sermons that day and in the evening; the first the jailor; the second, Luke xiii. 24; the third, "All things are ready, come to the marriage." I was compelled by pain to leave him. Peter waited on him to Taunton, from whence he went to Berkly; since which I have heard nothing. There were some few young ones in my family and neighbourhood under awakenings; especially, through God's goodness, among my children. His discourse in public, and personal in private, was melting to them. Oh! let your prayers be, that they may all be effectually called, soundly and savingly converted. Oh, brother and sister! I rejoice, I bless God with you and for you, for the pledges of covenant grace to your children.—My love, my dear love to— and cousin — and —. Let them stand fast in the Lord, watch and pray: they are but putting on the harness, and my dear little — too! Tell her that her cousin — is under awakenings; he leaves his play for his book and his company for retirement. Oh, brother and sister! If God giveth our children covenant grace it is our best portion. I bless God, I hope every one of my children and my two old negro servants are under awakening! Oh!

help by your prayers, that they may not be like Felix or Agrippa's. Oh! when Christ girds on his sword, it shall conquer. This our state within doors; wherein, if I have been freer into your bosoms than you were of yours; it is but to magnify the grace of God, and to excite glories to that grace. Our state without is sad; more dark than ever. It seems as though God is about to break up house with us. Heartily thank you for your kindness to our son — who came home under great and deep impressions, which seem deeper daily; may the issue be glory to rich grace. Thank you for every remembrance in your prayers. None can need them more; nor we never more than now. I am your affectionate loving brother,

PETER THACHER.

MIDDLEBOROUGH, May 25, 1741.—R. and D. B. I desire to rejoice to hear that the Lord Jesus Christ is carrying on his own work with such a mighty arm in so many places; I do most earnestly request you would make all your interest to engage the fervent prayers of all that have any interest in Heaven, for a poor unprofitable minister, and his secure and hardened people; that he may be instrumental to save himself and them that hear him, that there may be the outpouring of the Spirit of conversion on him and his dry fleece. O, Sir, this is the greatest kindness you can do. Nothing hath hindered my resigning the pastoral office, but my being at a loss to fix on a farewell sermon, that many times within these three months I have laboured to engage in. Our divisions swallow all that is good. Amidst all my disconsolate trials, that yet are less than mine iniquities deserve, I have some comfortable hopes that God is beginning a good work on many of my children. Oh, who am I, and what is our father's house, that the Lord should speak good to our house for a great while to come. While my children will not be heirs to the wealth of the world;—if he makes them heirs of the kingdom,—Oh the praise! In this covenant is my desire. I rejoice with you and sister and cousins; to each of whom I send endeared salutations. In every adversity I am your affectionate brother and servant,

PETER THACHER.

These were Mr. Thacher's sorrowful letters before the revival; but how surprising was the change in his next, as follows:—

December, 11, 1741.—D. B. I thought not to have wrote to you again till I had time to write a particular and large account of the wonderful work of God in Middleborough precincts; especially in ours. Our frolics are turned into prayers and praises! drinking matches at least wholly suspended! Many families that were Bethavens are now Bethels! Many secure and hard-hearted sinners, brought to cry out of their sins and dangers! Though none in the time of public worship, yet as soon as it is over. My public lectures twice a week; Tuesdays and Fridays. They are not satisfied with one sermon: fill my house after public service, for a further word; and blessed be God, I have not yet sent them away without one. I see not how a Jannes and Jambres can doubt of its being the finger of God; especially upon their children; some not above six or seven years old. One last night at the meeting house door I believe would have fallen down in a swoon, if I had not caught it in my arms. One thing I must not forget; I think almost all the Indians that attend our assemblies are deeply wounded, and many I hope savingly and wonderfully wrought upon. Let me beg an interest in your fer-

vent prayers, that I may be faithful and skilful to souls, and may be instrumental to save them, and not afterwards myself be a castaway. Your sincere and affectionate brother, PETER THACHER.

December 21, 1741.—I take this opportunity to give you a more particular account of the glorious work of the conviction and conversion of souls, the sovereign God is lately carrying on by the preaching of the Word. I do it, Sir, that God may have the sole glory of his grace, to silence gainsayers, and encourage the hearts of those engaged in and pursuing this work. It hath been a time, &c., (he mentions what was said above of Mr Tennent's preaching, Mr Rogers, &c., and then goes on.) Though the convictions of some were remarkable, they seemed to give no additional strength to the power of religion; because among those that had the form of godliness before. But hereby God was preparing me some sweet helpers; though the devil from this circumstance took occasion to reproach this work, so that from this time I may date the open strife between the houses of David and of Saul that yet subsists. The enmity and opposition to this work in all the parts of it, is with utmost art and industry propagated; supported with the most palpable lies, false insinuations, and injurious reports, and many other ways, to scatter the seeds of division among us, of which we were languishing by the deep wounds before.

To return, it was on a Tuesday, I bemoaned my sad case to the neighbouring ministers at the public lecture, proposed a fast the next week on the Wednesday, and had the ready promise of the company of divers of them. The Friday after, God sent that dear youth Mr Crocker. He preached two sermons: considerable meetings. Saturday morning, preached another: after the exercise was over, one cried out bitterly; that affected many. Divers more were wounded on the Sabbath: the evening after which, my room was filled with distressed souls. Next day Mr Crocker came again and preached; the assembly generally melted, but silent, until the blessing given, and we had got without doors, when there were many, I suppose I may say near one hundred, cried out. We returned, and loudly invited them into the meeting house again, which they crowded into with loud shrieks, wringing of hands, and floods of tears, that could not be altogether silenced to attend the farther prayers made with and counsels given to them. Many of these distressed were of the neighbouring parishes. As I was returning from the crowd, many whispered thus in my ears, "O my dear minister I never loved you before, but now I do," &c. My rooms that night were crowded. I preached to them; to which they gave silent and serious attention. But oh, after the service, what heart-affecting cries! one crying to another, "O, I am going to hell! I have frolicked with you and sinned with you! O, what dismal company shall we be one for another in hell! O, the hours and nights we have spent in singing and dancing and frolicking mirth!" On every such word, they would a new shriek, cry, condemn, and warn each other; and I think it went round the rooms; "O, the cursed frolios. They had never prayed in their lives! had not hearkened to any counsels, but shunned their minister as a serpent, for fear of some counsel or reproof." Tuesday night I preached again, being the evening before the fast. A tedious storm it was: yet a considerable assembly. The fast-day, a

crowded assembly; and many crying out after the exercises were over. Since which there have been ordinarily at every sermon more or less wounded, as appeared afterwards.

I will now observe on whom chiefly this work hath taken hold, and how it operates. It hath, in the first place, awakened many church members, where it first began. They were detected of their hypocrisy. One told me, "He did but delude me, when he offered himself to communion; he took more pleasure in a frolic than at the Lord's table; rather be with singers and dancers and rude jesters than with serious persons." Another, "That, notwithstanding his profession, he was glad to be diverted, as he often was, from secret and family devotion." Others convinced of secret wrongs they had done to the name and estate of others, of which they never were suspected. More than a score of these instances. And can this be from any other than the Holy Spirit of God? Others confessing their secret prejudices to their ministers, yet never suspected. Numbers brought to pray in their families, to instruct and catechise their children. The tavern clubs all divided. To give you a feeling instance: The last Monday was a general military muster of three companies. I was told that one of the heads of those clubs got a chamber full of his companions about him; and there, with many tears, related the trouble he had endured for his sins with them in that very chamber; and then, as well as he could, painted out his terrors for those sins, begged and warned them to repent in time. That evening, before seven o'clock, they were generally divided in the several neighbourhoods into little praying assemblies. Can this be from any other than the Spirit of God? Those under this work are exceeding full of love one to another; even where old grudges were before. Religion, especially the nature, necessity, and marks of conversion, is become the general subject of conversation; but few have appeared with such transports of joy as in other places; but have attained to some comfortable hopes that they do not rest short of Christ. Those who have had such joys, tell me they arrive to it in this way: first awakened to see the many and horrible acts of sin through their lives; then led to a view of their original sin, the guiltiness and utter helplessness of their condition, of the sufficiency of Jesus Christ: they behold him in his Word, embrace and go out to the promise, and Christ in the promise; and this the foundation of their comfort; they feel the change in their wills. Coming from an evening lecture, I asked an Indian woman, "Well, how is it with your soul?" "Oh, Sir," said she, "I am a sinful, impotent, odious, wretched creature; but when I can get to a promise, Christ helping me, I find comfort and rest." This is, indeed, a common answer I have from several Indians; one child of about nine years old, another about seven, besides some grown persons. The complaints of the awakened are various; generally of heart-plagues; some of spiritual ignorance; some of one sin, some of another; all of their pride and obstinacy of will, and enmity of heart to an holy God. Again their help they seek by the reading and hearing God's Word; that is now precious to them; they see it a rule, a perfect rule of faith and practice; they are greedy to hear it preached. I have public lectures every Tuesday and Friday; and from the meeting-house, they follow me to my own, for another sermon; so that one sermon doth not satisfy them in a

day, though often revolving, and from a feeble weak decayed old man too. To conclude, where the work is deep and effectual, it appears with fervent devotion in and to all the acts of social communion with God; praying, hearing, singing, holy conference, strict Sabbath sanctification, a new turn of thought on spiritual and eternal things, and a new flame of affection to them and delight in them. I cannot descend into particulars; time is precious with me, and I cannot attend all in their desires.

Now if these instances, which might be multiplied, are judged of in a scriptural light; I think all the regenerate world, not biassed and prepossessed, must judge this to bear the true characteristics of the genuine work of the Holy Spirit, and cannot, without blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, be imputed to an evil spirit. Ob that the despisers would believe Christ for his works' sake; or, doubtless, if they do not, they must wonder and perish. The holy God is making great haste to encompass his elect; and when that is over, the door will be shut? Woe to them that shall be left! May the word of the Lord run more and more, and our Redeemer be more and more glorified! Dear Sir, help me with your prayers, that I may be found faithful, in every capacity, under every trial and temptation that annoys and follows me, even until death. To the grace of our dear Lord I recommend you, and desire to be by you recommended, and am your unworthy yet loving brother,

PETER THACHER.

So deeply affected was the pious soul of Mr Thacher with this wondrous grace of God, that on Lord's-day, January 31, 1741-2, he desired, with the consent of his church, to keep a day of thanksgiving, February 10, for this extraordinary pouring out of the Spirit of God in the two months preceding: it being apprehended that within that time there were, in the judgment of charity, near an hundred persons effectually convinced and converted; and others, both younger, middle-aged, and elder, in a hopeful way; and considering also that this great grace of God was given the people upon keeping a day of prayer, it was an additional argument for them to make their answerable acknowledgments in keeping a day of thanksgiving, which they freely complied with. When the day came, there was such a great snow storm as hindered many living at a distance from coming. However, a considerable number wading through the snow, repaired to Mr Thacher's house and filled it, where they kept the day with great joy and praise, Mr Thacher preaching from Luke xv. 24. And so joyful was the day to those who were present, and so desirable to those who were hindered, as they could not be satisfied without appointing and keeping another in the meeting-house. For several years before the revival, Mr Thacher, considering the prevailing disposition of many of those who, on Lord's-day noons, in the interval of public worship, either tarried at the meeting-place or repaired to the two or three nearest houses, to fall into vain or worldly conversation, which both profaned the holy Sabbath and had a tendency to efface all serious impressions from the minds of the people, led the church to appoint some of the gravest men to oversee them in those intervals, prevent all vain discourse, and employ the time in reading, praying, and singing, which was of considerable service, though then this method had rather only a restraining than a quickening influence on the people. But upon this revival, so many of

the brethren had made so quick a progress in the experimental part of piety, and were so surprisingly excited, as they both prayed and read and sang with such unusual freedom, life, and fervour, as was very engaging and affecting to others: far greater numbers chose to stay in the house at noons, and the gracious presence of Christ was remarkably with them, made them long more earnestly for the return of the preacher, and inclined them to receive him again with the greater joy.

On September 6, 1742, Mr Thacher writes,—“God's work yet prevails among us: and blessed be God, there are yet many tokens for good in this Zion.—Pray, pray for your unworthy brother, that I may be sincere and faithful to the death,” &c. We might give the reader extracts from others of his excellent letters, containing some remarkable instances of the grace of God; especially one of an Indian and another of a child. But we shall now only give the last that ever he wrote, which was to two of his children, just as he was going into his fatal illness; and wherein you will see his usual spirit as follows:—

“MIDDLEBOROUGH, April 9, 1744.—My dear children, I am glad to hear of you by —, who I hope the Lord makes a blessing to you. May the Lord sanctify your frequent bodily infirmities to you; to wean you from the world, and engage you to such a walk after the Spirit as may evidence your being in Christ Jesus. This must be the Spirit's dwelling in you: if any have not this Spirit, he is none of Christ's; where this Spirit dwells, he sanctifies; there is liberty; there is prayer; there is a constant bent of soul to holiness; there is humility and abasement; there is a spiritual mind; there is a disposition to live and speak the praises of God. Take heed of grieving the Spirit, because he only can sanctify you, can seal you, can comfort you: you may grieve him by not hearkening to his word, nor loving and meditating on it. Take heed that you live together as heirs: yea, as heirs together of Heaven; so holily, temperately, blamelessly: constantly realizing the approach of death: get assurance where death will leave you: familiarize the thoughts of death, that you do not start at it when it comes, though suddenly. I should be glad to see you here. May the Lord have you always in his arms, and delight you with the consolations of his chosen. I subscribe your loving father,

“PETER THACHER.”

SECTION XV.

ON THE 25TH OF NOVEMBER, 1741, AT PORTSMOUTH, IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.—A POLITE SORT OF PEOPLE.—MESSRS WHITEFIELD AND TENNENT'S PREACHING BLESSED TO THEM.—NOVEMBER 25TH, A MONTHLY FAST TO SEEK DIVINE INFLUENCES.—DIFFERENT EXCLAMATIONS, LIKE WHAT MAY BE EXPECTED AT THE LAST DAY.—A CIRCUMSTANCE THAT OCCASIONED OR HIGHTENED THESE.—THE CONCERN OF THE HEARERS DID NOT ALWAYS FOLLOW THE MOST PATHETICAL DISCOURSES.—ONE WHO WAS PREJUDICED AT SPEAKING OUT FORCED TO DO IT HIMSELF.—SOME APOSTATES, &c., BUT A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER APPEAR REAL CONVERTS.—REFORMATION AS TO CURSING AND SWEARING.—SABBATH-SANCTIFICATION.—FAMILY WORSHIP.—CHARITY.—RESTITUTION.—PSALMS AND HYMNS, INSTEAD OF CARNAL MIRTH.—THE WORK REVIVED AGAIN ABOUT A YEAR AFTER.

From a Letter from MR SHURTLEFF, Minister at Portsmouth, to MR COOPER, Minister at Boston, June 1st, 1748.
—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 48.

R. and D. S. The following brief and general account, such as it is, you may communicate to whom you please; and if you have not a more particular and complete narrative from some other hand, and think the making this public will be of the least service to the cause and kingdom of our dear Redeemer, do not let the reproach it may upon one account or other bring upon me, be any obstruction to it. You are doubtless in some measure acquainted with the character which the people of this town have heretofore generally sustained. They have, I think, been remarked by strangers for their politeness in dress and behaviour; have been thought to go beyond most others in equal circumstances, if not to exceed themselves, in their sumptuous and elegant living, and things of a like nature; and while they have been justly in repute for their generous and hospitable disposition, and for many social virtues, diversions of various kinds have been much in fashion, and the vices that have been usual in sea-port and trading places, have been common and prevalent among us. We have, I trust, never been without a number of sincere and serious Christians; but even these wise virgins have slumbered and slept; and, as to the generality of professors, they have seemed for a great while to content themselves with an empty form, and there has been but little of the life and power of religion to be seen. Indeed the great earthquake in the year 1727, that put the whole country into such a surprise, was a means of awakening a great many here; and, as to some, there is reason to think the impressions have remained; but, as to the greater part, it was not long before they evidently wore off, and before they fell into their former sleepy and secure state; and this has been generally the case till of late.

Mr Whitefield's coming among us, and also Mr Tennent's, was, I am persuaded, blessed of God; and their preaching made instrumental of putting a great many upon shaking off their heavy slumbers; and how reproachfully soever any may speak of them, and their itinerancy, I must needs look upon their travelling this way as a favourable providence, and that for which we owe abundant thanksgivings to the God of all grace.

As there had been for some time a growing concern among us, as to things of a religious nature, and a remarkable work of God's grace going on in many parts of the land, the ministers of this, and

some other of the neighbouring towns, agreed upon observing a monthly fast, in our respective congregations, to seek for the like blessing. When the solemnity was attended in this town, which was on Wednesday, November 25th, 1741, as soon as the afternoon service was ended, one cried out in a transport of joy, and others discovered a great deal of distress. The people did not care to disperse; inasmuch that there was another sermon in the evening; and a great number of them, and some of the ministers with them, staid till it was late in the place of public worship. The next day a sermon was again preached in public, and had an unusual efficacy upon the hearers. The day after we had two or three exercises, and the congregation great part of it continued together till late at night. This Friday was the most remarkable day that was ever known among us. The whole congregation seemed deeply affected; and there was such a general outcry in some from a distressing sight of their sins, and in others from a joyful sense of the love of Christ, that could not but put a great many in mind of the appearing of the Son of Man, and of the different exclamations that shall be heard from the inhabitants of the world when they shall see him coming in the clouds of heaven, in power, and great glory.

And here, upon my making mention of this solemn and awful event, I am led to relate a circumstance, which, though but small and inconsiderable in itself, seemed to be over-ruled by God to serve great and good purposes; and upon this account may be worthy of notice. Late in the evening of the same day, before the body of the people had left the place of public worship, the chimney of an house that stood near to it happening to take fire and blaze out to an uncommon degree, upon the sudden appearance of the light breaking in at the several windows, there was a cry made, that Christ was coming to judgment; which, being really believed by a great many, some that were not before so much affected as others, were put into the deepest distress, and great numbers had their convictions hereby strengthened and confirmed. I am not so unacquainted with the world as to be insensible with how much derision such a relation as this is likely to be entertained by a great many. But, I think this a thing little to be regarded: though I wish to God that such persons might be brought, for their own sakes, to think more of this great and terrible day of the Lord; and that they would consider, if the apprehension of its approach be so very startling to a carnal world, how vast would be their horror and amazement when it shall actually arrive. This would be of good use to check their disposition to ridicule, to restrain them from their vain and wicked jestings, and from a great many things which if indulged must needs add to their terror in that day. And however distasteful the relating such low occurrences may be to some now, I make no doubt but things of a like nature will afford an infinite satisfaction to the saints hereafter: that it will give them a vast and inconceivable pleasure when they get to Heaven, to see how some events that are seemingly insignificant have been made subservient to very great and excellent designs; and how a bare imagination, and mistaken apprehension of things, has been so far set home, and made such impressions upon a great many, as to be a means of their saving conversion to God.

As I was called abroad next day, it was surprising to observe the seriousness that appeared in the face

of almost every one I occasionally met with ; and it seemed as if there was hardly a house in which there was not some poor wounded and distressed soul, and where there was not a greater or less degree of concern in all belonging to it, as to their spiritual and eternal state. It was very affecting to be called into one family after another, as I was going along the street, and entreated not to leave them till prayer had been solemnly offered up to God on their behalf. A divine power was then so plainly to be seen in what had come to pass among us, that there was hardly any that dared openly and expressly to deny it. As for those who through their own prevailing corruptions, or the insinuations and persuasions of others, soon grew into a dislike of it, and have since gone so far as to pronounce the whole of it a scene of enthusiasm, and to look upon all as a delusion, their very countenance and behaviour then plainly spoke the awful apprehensions they were under of its being from God. As we had preaching for some time upon every day, so we were greatly obliged to several of the neighbouring ministers, who readily granted us their assistance, till prevented by indisposition of body,¹ or till the state of their own flocks required them at home.

It was soon after this, having in a few lines acquainted you with our state, and requested you would take this opportunity to make us a visit, that you came to us, and that as I trust in the fulness of the Gospel of Christ. As you were called to minister in public almost every evening during your near three weeks' stay among us ; you cannot but see reason to acknowledge to the glory of God's grace, that he was pleased to own and bless your ministry ; that as some were pricked to the heart, many others were filled with peace and joy in believing. And as the people here have a grateful remembrance of your work of faith and labour of love, I am well assured they have since been many of them making mention of you in their prayers, as well as giving thanks to God on your behalf. We continued in much the same state through the winter that we were in when you left us. Our assemblies were always thronged, and the number of communicants from time to time greatly increased.

Sometimes when a discourse was very pathetical in itself, and in the manner in which it was delivered, the congregation would be but little moved, and at other times when it was less so, there would be a considerable stir. And here, as there have been various reports spread abroad concerning the great stress that many have laid upon outcries and such like public appearances, I think it proper to declare that the people here have been instructed to the contrary ; that it has been taught them from the beginning, that they ought always to avoid them when it could be done without great inconvenience to themselves, and never needlessly obstruct the attention of others. That as persons might be effectually wrought upon by the Word, without any thing of this nature, so they may be put into an uncommon degree of terror, and filled with a great deal of joy, under the hearing of it, and yet continue strangers to a real and saving change. And lest any should be so horribly presumptuous as to feign any thing of the one or the other, they have been publicly and privately admonished of the daring

wickedness of such a practice and of the danger they would hereby be brought under of being suddenly made monuments of divine vengeance. But that such as have ever read the Acts of the Apostles, that have there seen the Apostle Peter's hearers so many of them pricked at the heart, and heard them saying in the agony of their souls, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" and that have seen the Roman governor trembling in the manner that he did under the preaching of the Apostle Paul, his prisoner ; or that any who have read the well-attested accounts of this nature that are related by the credible author of the Fulfilling of the Scripture ; or that have so much as seen a poor sinner deeply distressed under the burden of his guilt ; should think it strange and even a thing incredible for any to be put under such a commotion of soul under the ministry of the Word, as not to be able to forbear making a public discovery of it ; has sometimes filled me with surprise. And yet I am sensible that some well-disposed persons have been stumbled at things of this kind. I know an instance of this nature, in one of our own church ; a person of a good capacity, and of considerable reading and knowledge of divine things, who for some time entertained latent prejudices against the late religious commotions, more particularly on account of persons speaking out in public, and could not be persuaded but that they might easily avoid it, till experience taught him to the contrary. Upon the morning of a Sabbath, a day when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be administered, just at the close of his secret devotions (as he afterwards told me), he had his sins discovered to him in such a manner as they never were before, and an uncommon darkness and horror fell upon him. In this sorrowful and distressed state, he went to the house of God. When the celebration of the sacrament came on, he had considerable reasonings in his mind concerning his tarrying, and at length concluded to stay, but could not prevail with himself to receive. As soon as the administration was over, he could no longer forbear speaking in the grief and bitterness of his soul, and breathed out his complaints to God in such a manner as drew tears from almost every person present, and has sometimes since been constrained to break out into some short expressions. He was under a great deal of concern for his soul while young, and put upon an early reformation of his life. He has deservedly had the character of being strictly just in his dealings, and has been a constant and steady observer of the duties of divine worship, in his closet, in his family, and in public ; but has been convinced that he has built too much upon these things, and never till of late had the corrupt fountain of his own heart sufficiently laid open to his view. And from what he has now seen of himself, he has declared to me that though he has sometimes been in some measure affected with the unkind and cruel usage of the blessed Jesus, and not been without some sort of indignation against his opposers, persecutors, and murderers,—yet, if he had lived in their day and been of the same temper of mind that he was when this work first began among us, he is persuaded he should have approved of them, if not made one among them. We are not without instances of other professors who have been put off from their former foundation ; and others who, if their hearts were before right with God, have been greatly quickened, and made more fervent in spirit serving

¹ Mr Blunt, of Newcastle, whilst labouring with great diligence and zeal, was taken sick, and continued so for some time among us.

the Lord. But a great part of those that have been remarkably wrought upon, are such as before had very little if any thing of the form and appearance of religion; and among these the Divine Sovereignty has been very illustriously displayed. Some of those who, we trust, are savingly brought home, are such as have wandered far from God. Some that have been very ignorant and unthinking persons, and some very young. They many of them, upon their first being brought under conviction, manifested a deep sense of their original as well as actual sins; complained sadly of the wickedness of their hearts, and bewailed their sin in rejecting and making light of a Saviour. There have been some instances of young persons that have spoke feelingly of these things, who have seemed to have had but little human instruction, and seldom to have been where such things have been the subjects of discourse. As was at first feared and expected, it must be confessed that so it has happened to some that were brought under a serious concern for their souls, that they have fallen off from their good beginnings, and are the same persons that they were before; and there are others who, continuing under convictions, seem to have proceeded no further. But there is a considerable number who are exhibiting all the evidence that can be expected of a real conversion to God.

As to the place in general; that there is an alteration in it for the better, must I think needs be owned by every unprejudiced observer. That there is not that profane cursing and swearing, which has formerly been usual, has been acknowledged by some who are far from being well affected to the present times. That the Sabbath is more strictly observed, is out of all manner of dispute. Family worship where it was neglected, in a variety of instances, is now set up. Some that were manifestly of a narrow, selfish, and worldly spirit, and seemed unwilling to part with any thing of what they possessed to any good and charitable use whatsoever, appear now to have their hearts much enlarged, and are ready to distribute of their substance, as the honour of God and the wants of their fellow-Christians have called for it. Many that have dealt dishonestly, have not only acknowledged the wrongs they have done, but made restitution for them. Where you might formerly have heard jovial, and it may be profane and obscene songs, you may now hear psalms and hymns of praise sung to God, and to our Lord Jesus Christ.

I have told you, that we remained much in the same situation through the winter after you left us, that we were in when you went from us, but during the course of the spring, and so of the summer 1742, and autumn following, though some that had for a considerable time been under darkness and distress, were brought into light and joy; there was but now and then one that was brought under any new concern. But through the winter 1742-3, instances of this nature were something more frequent, and there seemed to be a general revival of that serious concern as to eternal things which had appeared for some time to decline. Though at present there does not seem to be altogether that life and fervour in religion as to some, that has appeared in times past: God is I trust pouring out a Spirit of supplication upon many of his people, which I hope may be a token of further good. Numbers meet together to supplicate the throne of grace upon the evening of every day in the week, but Saturday, when there is

no public lecture. I have sometimes been at one, and sometimes at another, of their meetings; and from all that I have seen, and all that I can hear, they are carried on with a becoming solemnity and devotion. Thus I have given you some hints, and now I am confident that as you have been praising God on our behalf, so we have had, and still have a remembrance in your prayers, and earnestly desire the continuance of them. And may you, dear Sir, have more and more of the presence of God with you. May you be carried through all the reproaches and difficulties that your firm attachment to your Redeemer's kingdom and interest, may expose you to. May none of these things move you; and may you not count even your life dear to you, so that you finish your course with joy, and the ministry you have received, &c. I am your affectionate brother, and fellow-servant in the gospel, &c.

WILLIAM SHURTLEFF.

SECTION XVI.

ABOUT THE 10TH OF DECEMBER, 1741, AT NEW LONDON, NORTH PARISH.—MR JEWET, THEIR MINISTER, HAD EXCHANGED PULPITS WITH MR GRISWOLD OF LYME—THE PEOPLE'S HEARTS WONDERFULLY UNITED AFTER THIS TO MR JEWET, THOUGH BEFORE THEY WERE AT THE POINT OF SEPARATING FROM HIM.

From a Letter from MR GRISWOLD to MR FRANCE, Minister at Boston, April 9, 1744.—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 67.

R. S. Upon the report of the remarkable concern among us, April 1741, the Rev. Mr David Jewet of the North Parish in New-London, in the beginning of May came here and preached two sermons to the good acceptance of my people. And as a return for his good will, toward the latter end of May I went and preached two sermons in his parish. Before I went, there was a seriousness on the minds of many there; though nothing of the visible appearance of a remarkable concern, like what had been among us. I observed that almost all his people came to the meeting, though on a week day; and I observed a great seriousness and attention to the Word preached, and many tears shed at the hearing of the Word, though I did not bear of any saving effect of it on the hearts of any persons; but afterwards I was told there were some that received those impressions and concern at the hearing those sermons that stuck by them till they hopefully experienced a saving change.

The summer and fall following, there was a concern among the people; and as I have been told, about ten or twelve hopefully converted. About the latter end of July, Mr Davenport came there; and Mr Jewet, as I was told, refused to give him an account of his experiences of the work of God's Spirit on his heart, whereupon Mr Davenport publicly delivered as his opinion, or at least his great fears, that Mr Jewet was unconverted. Upon this, there arose an uneasiness among those of his people that had (perhaps too) great an esteem of Mr Davenport: and about the beginning of the next winter, a number of his people seemed to be got almost at the point of separation from him. I was invited by some of my brethren in the ministry to visit them and preach to their people. About the latter end of November, I set out on a small journey to preach, and almost every day preached twice a-day. At this time people

were exceeding greedy to hear the Word, and flocked in great crowds where the Word was preached. For near a fortnight I did not see much effect of my preaching that was remarkable till this day. Indeed, some cried out under the sense of sin and Divine wrath, and some were overcome with joy and the sense of the love of God; but the most of them had had these impressions on them before in hearing the Word, unless one or two persons, as I heard afterwards, that God was pleased to make use of my ministry as a means of their saving change. As I returned homeward on Saturday, the thirteenth day after my going from home, I called to visit the Rev. Mr Jewet, and in discourse with him I found that he was desirous I should tarry and preach to his people, and he would go and preach for me. I consented, and we concluded he should preach not only to my people on the Lord's-day, but also a lecture about the middle of the day on Monday, and that I should preach for him not only on the Lord's-day, but on the Lord's-day evening, and Monday and Monday evening, and on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday at some other parishes where I thought and partly knew I was desired to preach; and on Friday as I returned homeward, that I should preach for Mr Jewet again in the afternoon and in the evening. I felt something of reluctance to tarry another week from home, and in such painful service as riding from place to place and preaching twice a-day, that is, once in the day and once in the evening; but I thought there was the hand of God in it, and it was not a thing of my own choosing; and composed myself to be as quiet as I could. But it seems God had some work for me the most unworthy of his servants to do that I did not know of. On the Lord's-day, which was about the 9th or 10th day of December, 1741 (it is to be noted that in the parish the people live so scattered and remote, that they have but one sermon in the winter in a day), there seemed to be a considerable concern, and the movings of the Spirit of God among the people; and about the close of the sermon there was one negro that had hopefully a saving discovery of Jesus Christ, and received consolation. I preached a lecture in the evening of the same day, and there seemed a very great pouring out of the Spirit; many were in great distress, crying out under a sense of sin and the wrath of God; and sundry that were hopefully converted before, seemed to be filled with the Spirit, and with earnest desire for the conversion of others, and a spirit of prayer for it. After sermon was ended, about two or three hours were spent with the distressed, in counselling of them, and praying with and for them. This evening about three or four persons received consolation, and were hopefully brought to receive Jesus Christ. On Monday, I preached again at the meeting-house. Many were in distress, and one hopefully had a discovery of Jesus Christ, and received consolation. On Monday evening I preached again in the meeting-house; and the distress of the people was so great among them that tarried in the meeting-house the space between the public exercises, that I was obliged to speak to the people to compose and still them, or I could not have had opportunity to pray with or preach to them. Though there were outcries in the time of public exercise, yet not so much as to interrupt the public worship. Within the space of about two or three minutes after the blessing was given, many souls were in great distress, and those that were converted before, much

concerned for the good of souls; and about three or four hours were spent in counselling the distressed and praying with them.

Mr Jewet, this evening, returned home; and, if I mistake not, came into the meeting-house in sermon time; and within a few minutes after sermon was ended and the blessing given, the Spirit of God came down on him in a wonderful manner; he seemed to be full of spirit and life from the Lord; and this evening he spent some hours in praying with and counselling and exhorting of his people, and now they that before seemed to be at the point of separation from him, had their hearts wonderfully united to him (a happy providence), and ever since he has appeared very lively and fervent in the Spirit of the Lord and in his cause. This evening, about seven or eight had hopefully a true discovery of Jesus Christ, were converted, and received consolation. On Friday, this week, as I returned, I preached a lecture, and there seemed to be (if I do not forget) considerable of the movings of the Spirit. I had thought to preach a lecture this evening, but the distress was so great, that I thought God called rather to spend the time in prayer with and counselling of the distressed; and the evening was so spent. The number of them that hopefully experienced a saving change in Mr Jewet's parish this week, either at the public meetings, or in the space between, was supposed to be about twenty persons. Let God have all the glory of it, if he hath made use of me the least of all saints and most unworthy of ministers, as an instrument of good to any souls.

GEORGE GRISWOLD.

SECTION XVII.

ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1742, AT WESTERLY AND CHARLESTOWN, IN RHODE-ISLAND COLONY.—MR PARK'S MINISTRY FOR SOME TIME UNSUCCESSFUL.—HE PREACHES THE DOCTRINES OF GRACE.—IS ASSISTED BY MR TENNENT.—AND MR DAVENPORT.—AND THE PEOPLE AT STONINGTON.—AND MR KELES, MINISTER THERE.—FAMILY WORSHIP SET UP.—A CHURCH GATHERED.—A NUMBER OF THE INDIANS STIRRED UP TO SEEK AFTER ETERNAL LIFE.

From a Letter from MR PARK, Minister at Westerly, to the Publisher of the CHRISTIAN HISTORY, August 1, 1743, No. 26, 27.

SIR,—According to your desire, I here communicate to you some general account of the Lord's visitation of this place; and as it was the occasion of the first planting of a church in this place, it may serve to give light and to set forth the glory of the Lord, to give some general account of God's providential dealings towards us from the beginning of my ministry.

In May, 1733, I was sent by the commissioners for the Indian affairs, to preach the Gospel to the Indians, and such of the English as would attend. At my arrival, I found a comfortable appearance of humanity and courtesy among the people, but a spirit of profaneness and irreligion awfully prevailing. My judgment concerning myself is, that I was a moral religious person, but extremely in the dark as to the way of salvation by Christ. I laboured in the work of the ministry with some diligence, and faithfulness in the discharge of my trust, endeavouring to reduce the people to order, and the practice of the duties of religion, both moral and in-

stituted; by proving both, and establishing them upon as firm a basis as possible, both from reason and Scripture, and pressing them to practice by the strongest motives I could; and in that method I ministered among the people for several years, but all in vain: there appeared no impressions of religion and virtue upon their minds. But the more I laboured and contracted an acquaintance, the more I saw of their iniquity abounding, which was very discouraging, that I could by no means prevail upon them to be better, but that they rather grew worse; and God was graciously pleased not to suffer me to overlook myself, but, by his Spirit made application to me, and led me into the secret imagery of my own heart; and there I had as hard labour to repair the breaches which sin had made, as among others; and though I had been somewhat indoctrinated in Gospel truths, and had a work of conviction so far graciously carried on in me, yet sometimes I had been secretly imagining that there was something in men to begin with, and that Gospel grace came to make perfect; but could not get to that pitch as to think myself ripe for grace, and with any confidence lay claim to it; because I found my works were no better before God. But it pleased God to come closer to me still, and bring all into a ruinous heap, till God was graciously pleased to give me to see his glory in the face of Jesus Christ, and discover a new and living way to the Father, which is Jesus Christ.

The glory of a Sovereign God shined bright in disposing the interests of mankind, as he had done both in the first and second Adam. I saw then, that the way to help forward the good of mankind, was not to go to repairing and mending, but to pull down as fast as I could, because there was no foundation at all; and, according to the manifestation of the Spirit given to me to profit withal, I laboured to shew forth the total ruin of the first Adam, and the complete restoration in the second. My ministry then began to be more contemptible: that I was so much upon doctrines extremely abhorred by the people. They could bear legal preaching, though it was a ministration of condemnation; so long as they could keep any hope in themselves, Satan and a corrupt heart would carry men along pretty comfortably, by flattering them either that what was pressed upon them, was not a duty, or not to be done by them who were not fully persuaded in their own mind, however obligatory to such as were, or that in due time they would engage in the practice of their duty. But when they came to be told, that they could do nothing; that all they did or could do signified nothing toward their eternal salvation; but all the concerns of their salvation were taken wholly out of their hands, and put into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that they must come to him, and take that free grace that the Gospel of the blessed God sets forth in Jesus Christ; or be damned to all eternity: this stirred up their indignation.

But I knew it was God's own scheme, and must be man's, if ever he attained to God or godliness. And, therefore, though in much weakness, unbelief, and unfaithfulness, I was, by the grace of God, enabled in a measure to contend for the faith, and assert the great doctrines of grace for some years; And the more I continued therein, the more God gave me to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, the more I saw the glory of God therein, and was enabled to speak with more boldness. Yet Satan and a corrupt heart deceived me, and got an

advantage, and kept me from making full and particular application to souls, by declaring what their state, according to their profession and practice was; but was ready to say, when it came to that, that I hoped better things, and things which accompanied salvation, though thus I spake; least it should raise their prejudices, and they should wholly shut out the Word. Such a fair shew Satan put on. But a good and gracious God, who leads his people through dark paths, would not suffer me to continue thus deceived, but taught me to bring his truth more close, and minister it for God, and, according to his direction, and leave the event with him; and convinced me, that truth must be brought to every man's conscience, or the soul could never be made free. And therefore I now endeavour to come to the conscience of every man, and bring the truth of God there. And this fretted them still more.

I had, by my acquaintance with people, in some measure, recommended myself to their affections and esteem, so far as to be accounted an honest man, that meant well, but wild in my notions about religion: that they did not wholly reject me, though they became apparently more estranged from me: but I was resolved, through grace, to go on boldly in the cause of God and truth, until I saw what the end would be. And it pleased God, in his providence, to bring Mr Gilbert Tennent this way, both going and coming in his travel through New-England. Going, he preached a sermon to a number of the people from Matt. xi. 28. And coming back, to a number more, from Gen. iii. 9, which last more especially roused up the people, and filled some with great wrath; and it raised the prejudices of the people the more against me, for concurring in the same testimony; but all served to keep their consciences something more awake. Now my hearers became very slack about coming to meeting; seldom above ten, twenty, or thirty souls appeared at the public assembly; sometimes not so many; and if the weather was so as they could have any excuse, many times none at all. Yet conscience was stirring. And if these things were true, they must be wrong they knew. And though they fought against the truth, they could not overcome. And the Lord enabled me, as I had opportunity, more earnestly to maintain his truth, and give no place to opposers. Until sometime after, God, in his providence, sent Mr James Davenport over to New-England. He preached at Stonington adjacent to us. I went myself, and divers from this place to hear him. I had heard many strange things of him, and strange effects of his preaching. I went to meet him some way before he came to the meeting-house; and upon their coming in solemn procession, singing an hymn, the dread Majesty of God seemed to fill heaven and earth; and a solemnity appeared in the countenances of all. He preached a plain and awakening sermon from John v. 40. I heard nothing extraordinary, but the wholesome truths of the Gospel, and expected no extraordinary effect, when, to my surprise, there was a cry all over the meeting-house. I went about, and inquired of one and another the meaning of their outcry; and when I came to understand the inward and secret spring thereof, viz., a deep conviction of sin, I could not but say, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Several of our people were pricked to the heart, who heard him give another additional testimony to the truth, and saw the wonderful effects of it; and several attended his

ministry longer there, and returned deeply wounded : And though the shining light seemed to darken me, as to my own experiences, yet the Lord strengthened me to plead for his truth, the witness of which I had in myself. There continued a shaking among many dry bones ; and such then would generally come to hear me preach.

There continued much of the working of God's mighty power at Stonington, and many were hopefully brought out of darkness into God's marvellous light ; and several of them were moved to testify and exhort others to fly for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before them. Upon first hearing this, I disapproved of it in myself, and had divers objections against it ; but providentially a number of them came to hold a meeting at a remote part of Westerly ; and one of my friends, who I trust had been under the saving operations of God's Spirit, informed me of his thoughts to go and hear them, and invite them to his house and hold a meeting there. I consented, provided he found them to his liking, and proposed myself to come and hear them. Accordingly on the 21st of January, 1741-2, having had a lecture the night before at a remote part of Westerly, a number of the new-born children of God came to me : here they prayed and gave a word of exhortation ; they appeared humble, and the power of God seemed to accompany them. I went with them to the place, where they had appointed to meet in the evening. I joined with them and began with prayer. They gave some declaration of the work of God, upon their hearts, in converting them to God, and exhorted the people to come to the Lord Jesus Christ ; and I gave public testimony that this was the true grace of God which they set forth, and encouraged them to bear the testimony of Jesus among the people. Many were greatly enraged at them, and at me for countenancing them ; but I thought the true grace of God must not be opposed, but encouraged wherever God was bestowing it, and however he was sending it. So that none of these things moved me. I was with them the next day likewise ; the power of God appeared accompanying them ; and I was myself strengthened and lifted up by their means. Upon the 28th day of the month, having been to Stonington to visit and assist the Rev. Mr Fish, upon a lecture, I was accompanied home by a number of converts, and there being a considerable concourse of people, we went into the meeting-house. We prayed, and several gave a word of exhortation ; and there was somewhat of the power of God visible among the people ; some cried out under a sense of their sinful and undone condition. Upon the 29th of January, 1741-2, the Rev. Mr Eells of Stonington came and preached an awakening sermon from Amos vi. 1. After which I declared publicly, that if any had a word of exhortation to say, they were desired to say on. Several Christians gave a word of exhortation. God began then to work more powerfully : several were pricked at the heart ; two hopefully received light and comfort that day : the way was opened to the Father in Christ Jesus. They had a meeting in the evening at such a distance that I could not attend it. The wonderful power of God was said to be visibly manifested : several were pricked at the heart, crying out, woe is me ; and several broken hearts were healed. Upon the 31st, being Lord's-day, some brethren from Stonington returned to keep Sabbath with us. We had a meeting also in the evening. There was great opposi-

tion ; but God shewed himself victorious, and several were wounded in spirit, and one negro hopefully renewed. February 1st and 2d, we had meetings. The Lord was present to kill and make alive. And in this time the number hopefully converted was fifteen souls. I continued frequent lectures (besides Sabbath exercises,) among English and Indians : had frequent help from ministers and exhorters. The Lord continuing to work salvation among us.

Before this day of God's power, there was not (as far as ever I have learnt) one house of prayer in the place, in large towns¹ containing some hundreds of families, nor any that professed the faith of God's own operation, or the true doctrines of grace. Now when the Lord set up his sanctuary in the midst of us, those heads of families, who had been the happy subjects of his grace, immediately set up the worship of God in their houses ; reading, praying, and singing the praise of God in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. They were brought surprisingly to know the doctrine of the grace of God, such as before had counted it foolishness, and their souls were thereby quickened towards God. They became earnestly engaged to come into covenant with the Lord and one another in the fellowship of the Gospel. Accordingly, upon the 29th of April, 1742, a number of them set apart a day of fasting and prayer, to implore the direction and blessing of God, in settling Gospel-worship and ordinances among them ; and upon the 5th of May, they were formed into a church state by the assistance of a council of ministers and delegates from Stonington ; and upon August the 13th, 1743, through much opposition, became an organized body, when, by the providence of God, I was ordained to the pastoral office over them. May the Lord walk in the midst of this his golden candlestick, and hold his star in his right hand, feed and lead and lift us up for ever. The Lord has added daily to the church, such, we hope, as shall be saved. The number of professors first entering into the bonds and fellowship of the Gospel, was fourteen souls, eight males and six females, all English, since which time have been joined to our communion twenty-two persons, besides two that have been recommended from other churches. Of those added, six are Indians, and two negroes. They all, in some good measure, appear hopefully to continue in the grace of God, and with purpose of heart, to cleave to the Lord, approving themselves the true and faithful disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ, through manifold temptations pressing forward toward the mark, growing in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. None have run into scandalous living, or heterodoxy of opinion, to bring any reproach upon Christianity (the Lord have the praise), but have manifested, under all temptations and tossings of the adversary, hopeful tokens of steadfastness of heart.

The Lord, in the beginning of his visitation, was graciously pleased to show some tokens for good towards the Indians, and singled out some of them for monuments of his free and sovereign grace. But the power of God began to be most remarkable among the body of them upon February 6, 1742-3, when upon the Lord's-day a number of Christian Indians from Stonington came to visit the Indians here.

¹ We suppose that Westerly is lately divided into two towns, one named Charlestown, and the other retaining the name of Westerly, and that Mr Park's congregation consists of people belonging to Bath.

I went in the evening, after the public worship of God, to meet them, and preach a lecture to them. The Lord gave me to plead with him that his kingdom might be seen coming with power among the Indians. The Lord, I trust, began to answer even in the time of prayer. After which we sung a hymn. The glory of the Lord was manifested more and more. The enlightened among them had a great sense of spiritual and eternal things: a spirit of prayer and supplication was poured out upon them, and a spirit of conviction upon the enemies of God. I attempted to preach from 2 Cor. vi. 2, but was unable to continue my discourse by reason of the outcry. I therefore gave it up; and, as I had opportunity, offered a word of exhortation, as the Lord enabled me. I spent the evening until late with them.

The Indians continued together all night, and spent the most part of the next day and night together; and it continued a wonderful time of God's power; and from that time the Indians were generally stirred up to seek after eternal life. They flocked more to the house and worship of God than they were wont to do to their frolics. They remain earnestly enquiring after God, and appear many of them hopefully to have found the Lord, and there are tokens for good that the Lord is preparing the way, and gathering numbers of them into the kingdom of his dear Son. Though the evidences of grace do not appear so clearly in many of them as, through grace, it has done in some others; yet they manifest a sense of the darkness and wickedness of their former state, and a desire to live to God for time to come. They have forsaken their dances and drunken frolics, appear sober and serious, very diligently attend the preaching of the Word of God and prayer; and great encouragement appears that God is shedding forth among them more and more Gospel truth and grace. There were not above ten or twelve Indians that used to come to meeting at all, and they very negligently. There are now near an hundred that come very constantly, and attend very seriously, and I hope to profit. May the Lord carry on this work to perfection. I am, Sir, yours,

JOSEPH PARK.

We, the subscribers, having had our birth and education in Westerly, in Rhode Island colony, and having had acquaintance with the state of this place before, and through grace since the Lord's visitation of it in his mighty power; and having heard and considered the [above] narrative, do give our attestation to the truth thereof, according to the best of our knowledge and judgment.

STEPHEN BADCOCK,
JOSEPH PENLETON,
EZEKIEL GAVIL, junior.
WILLIAM PENLETON.

SECTION XVIII.

ON THE LAST SABBATH OF JANUARY, 1742, AT GLOUCESTER (FIRST PRECINCT) IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.—IMPRESSIONS BEFORE BY THE EARTHQUAKE.—BY THE ACCOUNT OF THE WORK AT NORTHAMPTON, &c.—A DAY OF FASTING AND PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF THE HOLY GHOST.—A RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF NEGROES.—SCORES SAVINGLY BROUGHT UPON.—LEGALISTS OR SELF-RIGHTEOUS CONVICTED.—MOUWERS COMFORTED.—ONE ITINERANT PREACHER.—SEVERAL SETTLED MINISTERS PREACHED OCCASIONALLY WHOSE LABOURS THE LORD WAS PLEASED TO BLESS.

From a Letter from MR WHITE, Minister at Gloucester, to MR PRINCE, Minister at Boston, March, 1744.—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 58.

R. S. Being moved to give some account of the work of God among us, take it as follows:—Gloucester (commonly called Cape Ann) was small in its beginning, yet of late has greatly increased. When I, the subscriber, was settled in the ministry here, more than forty-one years ago, there was but one congregation, and about threescore and eight members; and the materials of three churches have been dismissed from us, in order to be incorporated and settled in Gospel order; to the last, which is now the fourth church in this town, were dismissed from us upwards of fourscore members, and there now remain about two hundred and sixty.

I have not ordinarily fished for souls with a net, but with an angling-rod. God the Holy Ghost has been pleased in a more gentle and undiscernable way to work faith in the hearts of our people; and they came in one after another, not in troops or clusters, except at two seasons, viz., after the earthquake and about two years ago. Our people by the earthquakes were (as their neighbours) greatly affrighted, especially the more rude, ignorant, and wicked among us. But about a month after the first shocks, when the terrifying frights were over, it pleased God by his Spirit to work kindly in a way of conviction, and, I trust, of conversion. And there was a great harvest of souls gathered in to Christ in a way of open profession; and, if we may judge by their after-conversation, most of them were sincere, which brought to mind what is written, 1 Kings xix. 11, 12, "And he said, go forth and stand upon the mount before the Lord: and behold the Lord passed by, and a great strong wind rent the mountains; but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind, an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire, a still small voice." And this voice, this still small voice, was heard by many; and the powerful voice of the Holy Ghost was effectual for the saving conversion of scores of souls, according to the judgment of rational charity.

Upon what I heard of God's marvellous works of grace at Northampton, and especially upon reading the surprising and affecting account thereof, drawn up by their reverend pastor; I had at times sincere, sensible, and fervent desires, that the God of all grace would visit us with the like plentiful effusions of his Holy, promised Spirit; and was wont in public addresses to the prayer-hearing God, to ask the gift of gifts, the Holy Spirit. Knowing that application-work in the conviction and conversion of sinners would be carried on among a gospelized

people, more or less as the Spirit from on high should be in lesser or greater degrees poured down upon them. And I looked upon it as a farther ground of encouragement to wait upon God, that he had so remarkably added to his promises, under the Old and New Testament, his performance—as in Hampshire county. And at length I moved the church to set apart a day of fasting and prayer, to wait upon God for this blessing, viz., that the dew and showers of the Holy Ghost might fall upon us; and God did speedily and plentifully answer our prayers. Of this wonderful work of God I have given the public an account in an epistle prefixed to a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr Benjamin Bradstreet on this joyful occasion, to which I refer the reader. The said account was as follows:—"There have been unhappy controversies carried on with too much of heat relating to the good work in this and the neighbouring provinces and colonies. Some ascribing the whole to the devil. But how can we account for the reconciliation of persons for a long time at enmity, the reformation of profligate wretches, their deep humiliation, their illumination, and sound conversion, as the effect of Satan's operations? Surely it is a new work for Satan to wound and heal the conscience, to fill the souls of men with love to God and Christ, and their mouths with praises to their faithful Creator and dear Redeemer, and bring them to take inexpressible delight in the ways of God. Others, on the contrary, ascribing all the work done among us to God; some of which are so new, strange, and violent, that it is hard to conceive they are the effect of the Holy Spirit's operations. I think we may allow some of them to be the natural effects of human frailty. And if some be allowed to be the effects of an enraged devil, I think it no unreasonable concession. We, in the first parish in Gloucester, were so desirous of this work as to keep a day of fasting and prayer, to ask of God the blessing of blessings, the gift of the Holy Ghost; and invited the rest of the pastors of the town, with the Rev. Mr Nathaniel Rogers, to assist in the work of the day. And it was not long after, that we found the good effects of waiting upon God. Can any think it possible that when we go to our heavenly Father and ask a fish that he will give a serpent? It is strange, if immediately upon our asking the saving impressions of the Holy Ghost, God should take that opportunity to send or permit the devil to come among us with his undoing delusions. But the first most visible and powerful effusion of the Spirit was on the last Sabbath in January (1741-2), and especially as I was preaching in the afternoon and in the evening in two religious societies in the barbour, many were impressed both with distress and with joy above measure. And on Monday morning, in the school of Mr Moses Parsons, a man disposed zealously to serve the best interests of all he has to do with; and being hired by a number of gentlemen to train up their children in religious exercises, and in singing as well as other useful knowledge, the Spirit of God came so powerfully upon the school that they could not attend the ordinary school exercises. But with their joyful master (with whom I had left the care of my flock while I went a journey, which I was necessitated to take) and a multitude of spectators, they prayed to and praised God by singing spiritual hymns. And in the evening Mr Parsons preached a lecture in the meeting house, and, at the close of the exercise,

the Spirit fell upon a great part of the congregation to the amazement of many; and people had such an appetite to the Word preached, that Mr Parsons called in the help of the other ministers of the town; and, on Tuesday evening, the Rev. Mr Jacques (a faithful and successful preacher) preached; and, on Wednesday evening, the Rev. Mr Bradstreet preached the sermon now put into your hands. Several of the hearers desired a copy of it for the press. And several evening sermons were preached after this. And the good fruits of this visit are very apparent; no less than twenty-one had their experiences read the last Sabbath day." [Thus far the printed account.]

Now, I shall proceed to relate as briefly as I can the effects. They were all amazed, saying in their hearts, and one to another, what meaneth this? My eyes never saw such transactions; my ears never heard such expressions; and thus it was when the Holy Spirit was poured down, Acts ii. 2, "And suddenly there came a sound from Heaven, as of a rushing wind, and it filled the house where they were sitting." And thus it was with us. But the impression was at first principally on the one side of the meeting-house. And there was poured down a Spirit of prayer upon young and old, especially the younger sort. And children of five, six, seven years, and upwards, would pray to admiration. And, in our parish, there have since been formed no less than nine distinct societies of young and old, male and female, bond and free, (for one of them is a society of negroes, who, in their meetings, behave very seriously and decently. They have been greatly impressed. One of them gave a very satisfying account of his experiences, and was taken into church-fellowship; most of them entered into covenant, and were baptized themselves, and also their issue) who meet several of them twice in a week to pray and sing, as well as to read books of piety, and the rest once a week. And the younger say their catechism to the head of the meeting. And several sermons have been preached unto them.

But another effect is a Spirit of grace. The work of conversion has been carried on in an uncommon manner. But as to the degree and duration of terrors, there has been a vast variety. Some have been impressed with deep terrors, and have continued for several months under them. They have been greatly distressed, and near to distraction. They have had such discoveries of the greatness of their guilt, and of God's anger, of the badness of their hearts, as to make them cry out. They have had discoveries of their ignorance and unbelief, of their hardness of heart, and enmity against God. They have seen not only an utter inability to believe, but an aversion to believe. And when it was God's time to comfort and heal their wounded hearts and spirits, their joys rose proportionably to their depression, and their lifting up was in proportion to their dejection. And many a time have they been so full of spiritual joys, as to sink and faint under the weight of them. Others have been but a short time under a law work, and then there have succeeded joys, under the sense that their sins are pardoned. But of this sort, their religious impressions, I fear, have too soon worn off. And many moved towards church-fellowship, and joined to the church; but some have sadly apostatized, and are become as live, yea, more vile than before. We find that strong

but short terrors, succeeded with ravishing joys, are no certain evidence of saving conversion.

There has been an apparent reformation. Divisions, though lawful and innocent, have been almost wholly laid aside, and the singing of Dr Watts' Hymns is the chief recreation of Christians when they convene. There are no separations among us. Little has been said about new lights, (which I look upon as a term of reproach, as of old the term Puritan was) and as little about opposers; the mentioning of which is irritating, and tends to widen the breach, and foment divisions, contentions, and separations. As to visions we had enough of them, until such times as in a lecture I declared my sentiments concerning them; and so far as I can understand, there has never been one since. Our congregation has been disturbed and interrupted by outcries, but I laboured to suppress them. I would add: that as I believe there have been scores savingly wrought upon, who were strangers before that happy day, so much as to the form of godliness: so some professors who have rested in the form, and were but legalists or self-righteous, have seen that they built upon a sandy foundation, and were greatly distressed under the conviction, and by an earnest application unto Christ for wisdom and righteousness, have had a further discovery of Jesus Christ, and have been encouraged to venture upon him for the complete salvation of their souls, and have had their hearts filled with joy in believing. So also, there have been scores of persons who had truly closed with Christ in time past, but have walked in darkness by means of the withdrawal of the Spirit, the weakness of their graces and prevalence of their corruptions, and have been for a long time as in a wilderness; these have been anointed as with fresh oil; their hearts have been made glad, enlarged, quickened, and comforted by renewed and continued supplies of grace, have been enabled with enlarged hearts to run the ways of God's commandments. One thing more I see cause to add, that although properly speaking, we have had but one itinerant preacher with us, yet several eminently able and zealous servants of the Lord, settled ministers, have occasionally preached to our congregation, and have been greatly assisting in promoting this good work. God has blessed their labours among us. And it is my hearty desire, that the kingdom and interest of our Lord may be promoted, and converts multiplied, although by other hands. Thus I have made an impartial relation of what God has done amongst us, in the methods of his grace; and to him be the glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end, Amen. Yours, &c.

JOHN WHITE.

SECTION XIX.

IN FEBRUARY, 1742 AT PLYMOUTH.—FORMER ENDEAVOURS NOT BLEST WITH SUCCESS.—A CONCERN BEGINS GRADUALLY TO APPEAR UNDER THE PREACHING OF SOME STRANGER MINISTERS, AND OF THEIR OWN MINISTER MR LEONARD.—THE SUBJECTS HE PREACHED ON.—BUT THE CONCERN GREATEST OF ALL IN FEBRUARY, 1742, WHEN MR CROSWELL CAME.—STRANGERS SURPRISED AT THE REFORMATION IN THE PLACE.—A DISTINCT SOCIETY.

From a Letter from Mr LEONARD, Minister at Plymouth, to Mr PRINCE, Minister at Boston, November 23d, 1744.—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 92.

R. S.—It pleased God to cast my lot (who am the least of all saints) in the first Church and town in the county above twenty years ago. Religion was then under a great decay, most people seemed to be taken up principally about the world and the lusts of this life, though there appeared some serious Christians among us that had the things of God at heart¹, who greatly bewailed the growth of impiety, profaneness, Sabbath-breaking, gaming, tavern-haunting, intemperance, and other evils, which threatened to bear down all that is good and sacred before them. We were sensible of an awful degeneracy, and kept days of fasting and prayer year after year, that God would pour out his Spirit upon us, especially on the rising generation: at these times we invited the ministers of the county to join with us, who readily gave their assistance. The authorities of this town endeavoured to put a stop to the growing intemperance, by clearing the taverns at nine o'clock in the evening, and punishing loose and disorderly persons that frequented them. But all the methods used one way and other, proved of little effect. Iniquity prevailed, and we were in danger of losing the very form of godliness.

Mr Whitefield coming into the land; the news we presently had of his preaching and conversation at Boston and elsewhere, roused us a little, and we sent to him to come and preach to us. We expected him in October 1748, but were disappointed. In March following, Mr Tennent came hither and preached eight sermons to general acceptance, which by the blessing of God greatly awakened this people, and many have dated such religious impressions from that time, as we have reason to believe issued in a real conversion to God. After him, several ministers of the country and others visited us, and preached with us; and we often spent whole days in prayer, singing, and preaching, and had frequently three exercises in them. I often preached three times on the Lord's-day myself, and sometimes three or four times in the week besides. Although before this, through bodily indisposition and heaviness of spirit, I was not able to carry on the usual stated exercises, and my people had for some years provided me an assistant.

The subjects chiefly insisted on were these following, viz.: The sin and apostacy of mankind in Adam; the blindness of the natural man in the things of God, the enmity of the carnal mind, the

¹ There is great cause of gratitude to God, that in this place, in the days of its greatest degeneracy and lukewarmness in religion, God reserves to himself a remnant piously disposed, and of the same spirit with our religious ancestors, who followed God into this waste and howling wilderness, and were the first settlers of this town and of this land.

evil of sin, the desert of it, and the utter inability of the fallen creature to relieve itself; the sovereignty of God, his righteousness, holiness, truth, power, eternity, also his grace and mercy in Christ Jesus; the way of redemption by Christ; justification, through his imputed righteousness, received by faith; this faith the gift of God and a living principle that worketh by love; legal and evangelical repentance: the nature and necessity of regeneration, and that without holiness no man can see God. All persons were put upon examining themselves, warned against trusting in their own righteousness, and resting in the form of godliness, without the power, &c. These things, together with pathetic invitations to sinners to come and embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, as offered in the Gospel, made a wonderful impression on the minds of all sorts of people at the first. And men, women, and children were much awakened, and the outward face of things began exceedingly to alter.

In February, 1741-2, the Rev. Mr Croswell came hither, and continued in the town about a fortnight, preaching sometimes in this, and sometimes in the other parish. At this time, I think, I may say as the Apostle does to the Thessalonians:—"The Gospel came unto us, not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; 1 Epis. i. 6. And we received the Word, not as the word of man, but as it is in truth, the Word of God, which wrought effectually in them that believed; 2 Chron. 13. Hundreds of souls were at one time in the meeting-house, Saturday, February 13th, crying out in the utmost concern, "What they should do to be saved!" And many others rejoicing in the Lord, in the sweet sense of his redeeming love and grace in Christ Jesus, as they declared. This day, and at some other times, conversions were so open and public, that we seemed to see souls dead in trespasses and sins, revive and stand up monuments of Divine grace, (I do not mean that we had an intuition of their hearts, and knew infallibly the state of their souls, which is God's prerogative) but the appearance of conversion from one state to the other, and the alteration in frame and temper of their minds, which they discovered in words and behaviour, was admirable. This day appeared to me in the time of it, and hath done so ever since, a day of great grace, for which my soul giveth thanks to God. After this for some months together you could scarcely see any body at the taverns, unless they were strangers, travellers, or some come there upon necessary business. Persons of all denominations, except a few, gave themselves to reading the Word of God, to meditation, prayer, conference, and other religious exercises, and refrained from their customary vices. And many that lived at a distance, (being acquainted with this town in its former state coming hither, beheld us now with admiration, saying, "Surely the fear of God is in this place."

As this present life is a state of imperfection, so there were some circumstances that attended this work, which, if they had not been, might have prevented some prejudice and offence against it. A violent opposition presently arose, and prevailed so far, that a number of this congregation went out from us into a distinct society, and nine of the brethren asked a demission from us to embody into a church by themselves. We readily granted their request, and they have lately had a minister set over them. My prayer for him and them is, "That God would

pour out his Spirit abundantly upon them, greatly enrich them with heavenly blessings, and fill them with all the fulness of God."

As for the subjects of this work, it hath been here as in other places. Some that were a while under awakenings, at length got rid of them, and are now returned as the dog to his vomit. Some that we thought at first savingly changed, have since given reason to fear that they deceived themselves as well as others; but the far greater part of them that were added to the church behave with such meekness, humility, sobriety, and other Christian virtues, that I must say of them, as David did of the godly of his day, "They are the excellent of the earth."

I have not been particular, either in describing the work with us, or in giving examples of conversion, which I should have done, were it not that the work with us is the same in substance, which is so often described in these papers; and the conversions with us (those we think genuine) agreeing with the accounts from other places. But thus much I thought necessary to say, lest I should be guilty of criminal silence, being called to praise God for his wonderful works and loving-kindness towards us. My soul mourns in secret for them that oppose or make a derision of the glorious work begun in the land. As for myself, I desire for ever to adore the great Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the share he hath granted me, of his mere mercy, in the grace shed abroad by the Holy Spirit, in these days upon the churches. I earnestly desire the prayers of all Christians, that God would strengthen me in soul and body, and make me steadfast, unmoveable, and enable me to abound in the work of the Lord. Of myself I am nothing but weakness, sin, and rebellion against God, but, through free and undeserved grace, the Lord Jesus is wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption to me. The Lord is my strength and my shield, my heart trusted in him, and I am helped; therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth, and with my song will I praise him. I am so confirmed in it that this work is from God, that in my most calm and sedate seasons my prayer is, not only that God would lead me and guide me in his way, but enable me to endure all manner of ill usage in the world rather than give up this cause, which, I am fully persuaded, is his, to whom be glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen. From your friend and servant in the Lord,

NATHANAEL LEONARD.

SECTION XX.

ABOUT THE SAME TIME (VIZ. SPRING 1742.) AT SOMERS IN THE COUNTY OF HAMPSHIRE IN THE MASSACHUSETTS.—RESTITUTION.—RECONCILIATION.—VARIOUS IMPRESSIONS.—A REMARKABLE INSTANCE OF A CHILD NINE YEARS OF AGE.—CHRISTIANS AMONG THEM GREATLY QUICKENED.—THEY ARE ALMOST IN EVERY RESPECT A REFORMED PEOPLE.—A DAY OF THANKSGIVING.

From a Letter from Mr ALLIS, Minister at Somers, to Mr COOPER, Minister at Boston, May 22, 1742.—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 51, 52.

R. and D. S.—From the small acquaintance I have had with yourself, and knowing how much your heart is set upon the advancement of the interest of Christ and his kingdom in the world, I persuade

myself it will be grateful to you to hear of the flourishing of religion in any part of the land. God hath been in a most wonderful manner pouring out of his Spirit upon many towns in this country; but I think none have shared so plentifully (I don't speak by way of boasting, but acknowledge the sovereign grace of God) of the power, the grace, and mercy of God, convincing of sin, of righteousness, and judgment, and of being brought to the embracement of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the terms of the Gospel, as this people hath. To God be all the glory! all the praise belongs to him! There is such an evident and apparent alteration in the lives, conversation, and tempers of men, that I am sure nothing but the almighty power and grace of God could effect. It fills me with tears of surprising joy to see that love to the house of God and his worship, that seeming pleasure and satisfaction there is in attending upon all religious duties, even in those that in times past seemed to live unmindful of God and his worship. Some who seldom came to the public worship of God on the Lord's-day do now constantly and devoutly attend thereupon, not only on the Lord's-day, but on the week-day. The house of God is very much filled, where a public lecture has been preached once a fortnight for some time, and for some months past almost constantly once a week; and there is not only a devout attendance by those persons that seemed to be almost without a form of religion, but those persons are constantly meeting together once or twice a-week on the evening, to seek God by prayer. There is but one night in the week, as I am informed, but what elderly or middle-aged or young people or children meet together in different parts of the town in companies, to pray to God and sing praises to him; and, what is very remarkable, children that could not be persuaded through fear without difficulty to step out of the door in a dark evening, will now go alone two and some three miles through a thick wood, to join together in prayer, reading, and singing psalms; the dark night is no hindrance to them, nor the badness of the weather. Those youths that delighted themselves in frolicking and mischief, have wholly left it off, and say they take more pleasure and satisfaction in serving God than ever they did in the ways of sin and Satan. Yea, those things that were pleasing to them are now as the gall of asps and wormwood. Some heads of families, as far as I can learn, that never prayed in their families, are now constant therein morning and evening. Some that have wronged others in their names and estates have freely and voluntarily confessed their faults and made satisfaction. I know of many such instances. Quarrels and contentions between neighbour and neighbour, which have subsisted for many years, and no means could effect a reconciliation, are now at an end; and there is seemingly a hearty love and affection to each other. Those persons who were somewhat addicted to swearing, and very much to vain frothy expressions, have wholly left them off, and have a savour of religion in all their discourses.

It would take up a great deal of time if I should attempt to let you know the various impressions that are made on the minds of professors, whereby such a change is wrought. To instance in a few particulars: Some have a great sense of the majesty of God, which fills them with fear and trembling, and a sense of their own nothingness, which makes them to cry out, "I am a worm and no man." Some have a

sense of the holiness of God, and for a long time cannot be brought to think that ever God will admit such sinful and unholly creatures into the heavenly world when they die. Some have a sense of the power of God, and his ability to save sinners. Some have a sense of the beauty, of the excellency and love of Christ, which draws forth their whole souls to him. Some have a sense of the evil and vile nature of sin. To some, particular sins are so set home to their consciences, as that they are in dreadful distress and anguish of spirit, day and night, for some weeks together, before they find ease to their burthened souls. Some have a sense of the evil of sin in general, and particular sins not set home to their consciences remarkably. Others, particular sins fill with great anguish and distress. Such a one I was sent for to converse with. It was a child about nine years of age which seemed to me to be in as great anguish and distress by reason of some particular sins, as if actual flames of fire had seized on it. There were several children in the room and negroes, unto whom it addressed itself, particularly warning them of these and those sins for which she said she must burn in hell. It addressed itself to the negroes, saying "Do not go to hell with me, I would go alone, I do not desire Indians and negroes should be as miserable as I shall be by and by." I advised her to lift up her heart to God in prayer for mercy, and accordingly she did, and made use of this expression in the most lively manner; "Good Lord, let me see all my sins, but do not let me see them all at once; let me see them as I can bear them; if thou lettest me see them all at once, I shall immediately go to hell." Some other instances there have been among us of children and youth, whose anguish and distress for sin hath been so great, that I can no ways describe it to you, to convey a true and lively idea thereof; and some who have been in great distress have had in due time proportionable joy and comfort, and others again not. God hath infinite ways almost, if I may so express it, of beginning and carrying on his own work in the hearts of the children of men. There have been some of us of all ages and sexes that have shared in the boundless riches of God's grace; middle-aged persons, elderly, and one of seventy-six years of age, have been as I am in charity bound to think, subjects of the amazing power and grace of God. Christians have been wonderfully filled, enlivened, and quickened by the Spirit of God: but the rising generation hath in a more general and remarkable manner shared in the outpouring of the Spirit of God.

I have given you a short but imperfect account of the wonderful things God hath done and is doing among us. But you would think (I may safely say) that the one-half had not been told you, if you knew the circumstances of this people in times past, and what they are now. We are almost in every respect a reformed people. To God be all the praise and glory. I would entreat your prayers at the throne of Grace, both for me and this people, that we may have still the tokens of the Divine presence, and that we may live up to the peculiar and distinguishing mercies of God manifested toward a sinful and backsliding people. From your unworthy servant and fellow-labourer in the Gospel ministry,

SAMUEL ALLIN.

N. B.—Some months ago, we set apart a day of public thanksgiving to God, for the revival of reli-

gion, and the remarkable outpouring of his Spirit, and I think there were evident tokens of God's owning us, and accepting our sacrifices.

SECTION XXI.

EXTRACTS OF ATTESTATIONS, &c.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR GILBERT TENNENT, CONTAINING ATTESTATIONS FROM SEVERAL MINISTERS; ALSO SOME ACCOUNT OF THE REVIVAL IN THE PROVINCES OF NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, AND PENNSYLVANIA, DATED AUGUST 24, 1744.—MR WILLIAM TENNENT'S SHORT ACCOUNT OF SOME PLACES IN THESE PROVINCES, DATED OCTOBER 11, 1744.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PERSISTENCE OF THE SUBJECTS OF THE ABOVE REVIVAL WHO LIVED IN AND ABOUT BOSTON, IN TWO LETTERS, DATED SEPTEMBER 5, 1751, AND JANUARY 22, 1722.

1. *Extract of the Testimony and Advice of the Assembly of Ministers at Boston, July 7, 1743.*

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 20, 21.

On Friday, May 27, 1743, a number of ministers belonging both to Boston, and divers towns in the country, conferring together and judging that the honour and interest of Christ called them to make a general inquiry into the state of religion in this land, and with others to bear their testimony to the wondrous work of his power and grace in the late revival of religion among us, agreed to publish the following invitation in one of the newspapers. Accordingly, in the Boston Gazette of Tuesday, May 31, the said invitation appeared in the following terms:—

To the Publishers of the Boston Gazette.—Some of your Customers desire you to insert this in your next Paper.

“It is desired and proposed by a number of ministers both in town and country, that such of their brethren as are persuaded there has of late been a happy revival of religion, through an extraordinary divine influence, in many parts of this land, and are concerned for the honour and progress of this remarkable work of God, may have an interview at Boston the day after the approaching commencement, to consider whether they are not called to give an open conjunct testimony to an event so surprising and gracious, as well as against those errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, which, through the permitted agency of Satan, have attended it, and in any measure blemished its glory and hindered its advancement; and also to consult the most likely methods to be taken, to guard people against such delusions and mistakes as in such a season they are in danger of falling into, and that this blessed work may continue and flourish among us. But if any gentlemen, who heartily concur in the end and design of this proposal, may be hindered in providence from giving their presence at this designed interview, it is earnestly desired they would send their attestations, and communicate their thoughts seasonably in writing, though, at the same time, it is hoped none will suffer small difficulties to prevent their attendance on an affair of such importance to the interests of Christ's kingdom, both here and in other parts of the world.”

Agreeable to this invitation, a considerable number of ministers met at Boston on Thursday, July 7, in the forenoon, when the Rev. Mr White of Gloucester opened the assembly with prayer; they had

some discourse; and then adjourned (in order to attend the public lecture) to half an hour past two in the afternoon. In the afternoon they met to the number of ninety, chose Dr Colman moderator, Dr Sewall assistant, and Mr Prince and Mr Hobby scribes. But Dr Colman excusing himself, Dr Sewall acted as moderator. They then proceeded to read letters from twenty-eight who were absent, bearing their testimony to this remarkable work of God in the land; and, after further inquiries, declarations, discourses, and debate, a little after eight in the evening, was read, proposed, and put, without any objection, the following vote, viz.: “We, pastors of churches in the provinces of the Massachusetts-Bay, New England, met at Boston this 7th day of July 1743, being persuaded there has of late been a happy revival of religion, through a remarkable Divine influence in many parts of this land, and apprehending it our duty to give an open conjunct testimony to the glory of God, to an event so surprising and gracious, as well as against those errors in doctrine, and disorders in practice, which, through human frailties and corruptions, and the permitted agency of Satan, have attended it, and in any measure blemished its glory and hindered its advancement, came to the following resolution, that a committee be chosen to consider the premises, and make a report to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.” Voted in the affirmative generally; and chose the Rev. Dr Sewall, Messrs Wigglesworth, Prince, Adams, Cooper, Nathaniel Rogers, Leonard, and Hobby, to be said committee. The Rev. Mr Moody prayed; and they adjourned to meet to-morrow morning at nine o'clock. Friday morning, about ten, they met again, to the number of about seventy. Dr Sewall prayed, and then presented the committee's report. First we read the whole throughout, then began again, and read the introduction; then read and severally considered the following paragraphs; and, after divers amendments, proceeded to subscribe. Voted, “That Messrs Prince, Cooper, and Gee, be a committee to take care of publishing the subscribed testimony and advice, together with suitable extracts from the letters communicated to us.” Rev. Mr Baxter returned thanks and prayed. And about three in the afternoon we dissolved.

A true account, according to the minutes.

THOMAS PRINCE, Scribe.

The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New-England, at a Meeting in Boston, July 7, 1743, occasioned by the late happy Revival of Religion in many Parts of the Land. To which are added, Attestations contained in Letters from a Number of their Brethren, who were providentially hindered from giving their Presence.

“If it is the duty of every one, capable of observation and reflection, to take a constant religious notice of what occurs in the daily course of common providence, how much more is it expected that those events in the divine economy, wherein there is a signal display of the power, grace, and mercy of God in behalf of the church, should be observed with sacred wonder, pleasure, and gratitude? Nor should the people of God content themselves with a silent notice, but publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all his wondrous works. More particularly, when Christ is pleased to come into his church in a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit, by whose

powerful influences the ministration of the Word is attended with uncommon success, salvation-work carried on in an eminent manner, and his kingdom, which is within men, and consists in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, is notably advanced. This is an event which, above all others, invites the notice, and bespeaks the praises of the Lord's people, and should be declared abroad for a memorial of the Divine grace—as it tends to confirm the divinity of a despised Gospel, and manifests the work of the Holy Spirit in the application of redemption, which too many are ready to reproach, as it may have a happy effect, by the Divine blessing, for the revival of religion in other places, and the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ in the world; and as it tends to enliven the prayers, strengthen the faith, and raise the hopes of such as are waiting for the kingdom of God, and the coming on of the glory of the latter days. But if it is justly expected of all who profess themselves the disciples of Christ, that they should openly acknowledge and rejoice in a work of this nature, wherein the honour of their Divine Master is so much concerned, how much more is it to be looked for from those who are employed in the ministry of the Lord Jesus, and so stand in a special relation to him, as servants of his household, and officers in his kingdom? These stand as watchmen upon the walls of Jerusalem; and it is their business not only to give the alarm of war when the enemy is approaching, but to sound the trumpet of praise when the King of Zion cometh, in a meek triumph, having salvation. For these and other reasons, we, whose names are hereunto annexed, pastors of churches in New-England, met together in Boston, July 7, 1743, think it our indispensable duty (without judging or censuring such of our brethren as cannot at present see things in the same light with us) in this open and conjunct manner to declare, to the glory of sovereign grace, our full persuasion, either from what we have seen ourselves, or received upon credible testimony, that there has been a happy and remarkable revival of religion in many parts of this land, though an uncommon divine influence, after a long time of great decay and deadness, and a sensible and very awful withdrawal of the Holy Spirit from his sanctuary among us. Though the work of grace wrought on the hearts of men by the Word and Spirit of God, and which has been more or less carried on in the church from the beginning, is always the same for substance, and agrees, at one time and another, in one place or person and another, as to the main strokes and lineaments of it, yet the present work appears to be remarkable and extraordinary, on account of the numbers wrought upon. We never before saw so many brought under soul-concern, and with distress making inquiry, "What must we do to be saved?" And these are persons of all characters and ages. With regard to the suddenness and quick progress of it, many persons and places were surprised with the gracious visit together, or near about the same time; and the heavenly influence diffused itself far and wide like the light of the morning. Also in respect to the degree of operation, both in a way of terror and in a way of consolation, it was attended in many with unusual bodily effects. Not that all who are accounted the subjects of the present work have had these extraordinary degrees of previous distress and subsequent joy; but many, and we suppose the greater number, have

been wrought on in a more gentle and silent way, and without any other appearances than are common and usual at other times when persons have been awakened to a solemn concern about salvation, and have been thought to have passed out of a state of nature into a state of grace. As to those whose inward concern has occasioned extraordinary outward distresses, the most of them, when we came to converse with them, were able to give, what appeared to us, a rational account of what so affected their minds; viz., a quick sense of their guilt, misery, and danger; and they would often mention the passages in the sermons they heard, or particular texts of Scripture, which were set home upon them with such a powerful impression. And as to such whose joys have carried them into transports and ecstasies, they, in like manner, have accounted for them from a lively sense of the danger they hoped they were freed from, and the happiness they were now possessed of: such clear views of Divine and heavenly things, and particularly of the excellencies and loveliness of Jesus Christ, and such sweet tastes of redeeming love as they never had before. The instances were very few in which we had reason to think these affections were produced by visionary or sensible representations, or by any other images than such as the Scripture itself presents unto us.

And here we think it not amiss to declare, that in dealing with these persons we have been careful to inform them that the nature of conversion does not consist in these passionate feelings; and to warn them not to look upon their state as safe, because they have passed out of deep distress into high joys, unless they experience a renovation of nature, followed with a change of life and a course of vital holiness. Nor have we gone into such an opinion of the bodily effects with which this work has been attended in some of its subjects, as to judge them any signs that persons who have been so affected were then under a saving work of the Spirit of God. No; we never so much as called these bodily seizures convictions, or spake of them as the immediate work of the Holy Spirit. Yet we do not think them inconsistent with a work of God upon the soul at that very time, but judge that those inward impressions which come from the Spirit of God, those terrors and consolations of which he is the author, may, according to the natural frame and constitution which some persons are of, occasion such bodily effects. And, therefore, that those extraordinary outward symptoms are not an argument that the work is delusive, or from the influence and agency of the evil spirit.

With respect to numbers of those who have been under the impressions of the present day, we must declare there is good ground to conclude they are become real Christians; the account they give of their conviction and consolation agreeing with the standards of the Holy Scriptures, corresponding with the experiences of the saints, and evidenced by the external fruits of holiness in their lives; so that they appear to those who have the nearest access to them, as so many epistles of Christ, written, not with ink, but by the Spirit of the living God, attesting the genuineness of the present operation, and representing the excellency of it. Indeed many who appeared to be under convictions, and were much altered in their external behaviour, when this work began, and while it was most flourishing, have lost their impressions, and are relapsed into their former

manner of life; yet of those who were judged hopefully converted, and made a public profession of religion, there have been fewer instances of scandal and apostacy than might be expected. So that, as far as we are able to form a judgment, the face of religion is lately changed much for the better in many of our towns and congregations; and, together with a reformation observable in divers instances, there appears to be more experimental godliness and lively Christianity than the most of us can remember we have ever seen before.

Thus we have freely declared our thoughts as to the work of God so remarkably revived in many parts of this land. And now, we desire to bow the knee in thanksgiving to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that our eyes have seen and our ears heard such things. And, while these are our sentiments, we must necessarily be grieved at any accounts sent abroad representing this work as all enthusiasm, delusion, and disorder. Indeed, it is not to be denied that in some places many irregularities and extravagancies have been permitted to accompany it, which we would deeply lament and bewail before God, and look upon ourselves obliged, for the honour of the Holy Spirit and of his blessed operations on the souls of men, to bear a public and faithful testimony against; though at the same time, it is to be acknowledged with much thankfulness, that in other places where the work has greatly flourished, there have been few if any of these disorders and excesses. But who can wonder if at such a time as this Satan should intermingle himself to hinder and blemish a work so directly contrary to the interests of his own kingdom? Or, if while so much good seed is sowing, the enemy should be busy to sow tares? We would, therefore, in the bowels of Jesus, beseech such as have been partakers of this work, or are zealous to promote it, that they be not ignorant of Satan's devices; that they watch and pray against errors and misconduct of every kind, lest they blemish and hinder that which they desire to honour and advance. Particularly, that they do not make secret impulses on their minds, without a due regard to the written Word, the rule of their duty; a very dangerous mistake which we apprehend some in these times have gone into—that laymen do not invade the ministerial office, and, under a pretence of exhorting, set up preaching, which is very contrary to Gospel order, and tends to introduce errors and confusion into the church. That ministers do not invade the province of others, and in ordinary cases preach in another's parish without his knowledge and against his consent, nor encourage raw and indiscreet young candidates in rushing into particular places and preaching publicly or privately, as some have done to the no small disrepute and damage of the work in places where it once promised to flourish. Though, at the same time, we would have ministers shew their regard to the spiritual welfare of their people, by suffering them to partake of the gifts and graces of able, sound, and zealous preachers of the Word, as God in his providence may give opportunity therefor; being persuaded God has in this day remarkably blessed the labours of some of his servants who have travelled in preaching the Gospel of Christ. That people beware of entertaining prejudices against their own pastors, and do not run into unscriptural separations. That they do not indulge a disputatious spirit, which has been attended with mis-

chievous effects, nor discover a spirit of censoriousness, uncharitableness, and rash judging the state of others, than which scarce any thing has more blemished the work of God amongst us. And while we would meekly exhort both ministers and Christians, so far as is consistent with truth and holiness, to follow the things that make for peace, we would most earnestly warn all sorts of persons not to despise these outpourings of the Spirit, lest a holy God be provoked to withhold them, and instead thereof to pour out upon this people the vials of his wrath in temporal judgments and spiritual plagues, and would call upon every one to improve this remarkable season of grace, and put in for a share of the heavenly blessings so liberally dispensed.

Finally, we exhort the children of God to continue instant in prayer, that He, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, would grant us fresh, more plentiful, and extensive effusions, that so this wilderness, in all the parts of it, may become a fruitful field. That the present appearances may be an earnest of the glorious things promised to the church in the latter days, when she shall shine with the glory of the Lord arisen upon her, so as to dazzle the eyes of beholders, confound and put to shame all her enemies, rejoice the hearts of her solicitous and now saddened friends, and have a strong influence and resplendency throughout the earth. Amen! Even so come Lord Jesus; come quickly!

After solemn repeated prayer, free inquiry, and debate, and serious deliberation, the above testimony and advice is signed by the following pastors of churches:—

I.—IN THE PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

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| <p><i>County of Suffolk.</i>
 * Benjamin Colman.
 Joseph Sewall; to the substance, scope, and end.
 Thomas Prince; to the substance.
 John Webb.
 William Cooper.
 Thomas Foxcroft.
 * Samuel Checkley
 Joshua Gee.
 * Andrew Elliot.
 John Moorhead.
 [These ten in Boston.]
 James Bayley of Weymouth.
 * John Fowle of Hingham.
 Thomas Hatch of Dedham.
 Henry Messenger of Wrentham.
 Elias Haven of Wrentham.
 James Allin of Brookline.
 * Joseph Baxter of Medfield.
 * Ezra Carpenter of Hull.</p> | <p>William Hobby of Reading.
 John Cotton of Newton.
 Joseph Emerson of Malden; to the scope and substance.
 * Ebenezer Turell of Medford.
 Daniel Emerson of Dunstable.
 Phineas Hemmingway of Townsend.
 <i>County of Worcester.</i>
 * Joseph Dorr of Mendon.
 * Ebenezer Parkman of Westborough.
 David Goddard of Leicester; to the substance.
 Solomon Prentice of Grafton.
 John Seccomb of Harvard.
 Nathan Webb of Uxbridge.
 <i>County of Plymouth.</i>
 Nathanael Leonard of Plymouth.
 Jonathan Ellis of Plymouth.
 * Nathanael Kells of Scituate.
 Samuel Vesie of Duxborough.
 Samuel Hill of Marchfield.
 John Porter of Bridgewater.
 Othniel Campbell of Plymouth.
 * Benjamin Bass of Haver.
 * Thaddeus Maccarty of Kingston.
 John Cotton of Halifax.
 <i>County of Barnstable.</i>
 Francis Warner of Sandwich.
 <i>County of Bristol.</i>
 Josiah Crocker of Taunton.
 Habijah Weld of Attleborough; to the substance, scope, and end.
 Samuel Tobey of Berkley.
 <i>County of York.</i>
 Samuel Moody of York.
 Samuel Chandler of York.
 Thomas Smith of Falmouth.</p> |
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II.—IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Ward Cotton of Hampton. James Pike of Summersworth.
Joseph Adams of Newington. Joshua Tufts of Litchfield.
Amos Main of Rochester.

III.—IN THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND.

Josiah Cotton of Providence; to the general scope and tendency.

N.B.—They to whose names *s are prefixed, signed the testimony and advice with an exception, in the following terms:—“We concur with the testimony for the substance of it, excepting that article of itinerancy, or ministers and others intruding into other ministers’ parishes without their consent, which great disorder we apprehend not sufficiently testified against therein.”

N.B.—By reason of distance, the Ministers of Connecticut Colony, and of the County of Hampshire, in the Massachusetts Province, could not conveniently attend the interview.

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 25.

We are informed by Mr Prince, one of the scribes of the said assembly, “That very few of the ministers present in the above assembly complained of errors or disorders in the congregations they belonged to: that several declared they had none from the beginning; but, in the extraordinary revival of religion among their people, the work had been carried on with great seriousness and regularity: that others declared, that where there had been some disorders and mistakes at first in some, through the great numbers suddenly and mightily awakened, the great distress of some in their convictions, the great joy of others upon their laying hold on Christ, and finding a wondrous change within them, the frailties of some, and the surprise of all; yet in a little while they saw and owned their mistakes, came into a more settled way of thinking, speaking, and behaving, and the disorders ceased; declaring also that both errors and disorders had been greatly magnified and multiplied above what they really were in the congregations they belonged to: and that, as far as they could learn, the greatest errors and disorders were in those places where the ministers opposed the work, and thereby lost much of their respect and influence. To this may be added, that whereas several of the reverend pastors present in the said assembly subscribed the testimony and advice as to the substance, others to the substance, scope, and end, and others without restriction; this seemed chiefly to arise from this particular passage in the said advice, viz., ‘That ministers do not invade the province of others, and in ordinary cases preach in another’s parish without his knowledge, and against his consent.’ In which particular article some of the pastors thought that ministers and others preaching in other ministers’ parishes was not sufficiently testified against. Other pastors feared that this article was in danger of being construed and perverted, to the great infringement of Christian and human liberty of conscience. And other pastors apprehended that this article was sufficiently guarded by this limitation to ordinary cases; leaving it to the serious conscience both of ministers and others to judge when the cases are ordinary or not ordinary.”

II. Attestation of Twelve Ministers in Connecticut Colony, Norwich, June 23d, 1743.

We, the subscribers, Ministers of the Gospel, in (and in the neighbourhood of) this town, being occasionally met here, have just had a sight of a paragraph in the *Weekly Post-Boy* of the 30th of May

last, wherein it is proposed by a number of ministers, that such of their brethren as are persuaded there has been of late a happy revival of religion in many parts of the land, might have an interview at Boston the day after the commencement approaching, and desiring that those who may be hindered in providence from giving their presence at the designed interview would send their attestations, and communicate their thoughts seasonably in writing. Since we are not like to be at the proposed interview, we take this opportunity to signify to you that, for our own parts, we are abundantly satisfied that there has of late, for about three years past, been a great and wonderful revival of religion in the several places to which we minister, and in diverse others which we are acquainted with; wherein, through the mighty power and grace of God, great numbers of persons of all sorts, but especially young people, have been greatly awakened, deeply convicted of sin, and many, as far as we can judge, upon careful observation and examination, truly humbled at the foot of a sovereign and righteous God, and savingly brought to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ for everlasting life, and have since lived so as to give credit and confirmation to their pretensions; and do now adorn their profession in an humble and holy life and Christian conversation; walking in the fear and love of God, and bringing forth fruits meet for repentance, in the exercises of the graces and virtues of the Christian life.

Although many who have made a profession of Christianity and conversion have run into imprudent things, and discovered much spiritual pride, by rash censorious judgments, hasty separations from their ministers and brethren, and some have embraced wrong notions and principles in religion: (though there has been little of that in the places where we live) yet we know of great numbers who have been happily preserved from such falls and failings, and who carry themselves like the meek and humble disciples of the blessed Jesus; and some who have been led astray through the subtlety of Satan, have, by grace, been recovered, and in a great measure convinced of those follies and mistakes, and humbled for the pride and naughtiness of their hearts. And all of a bad tendency and nature that we have seen does not give us any reason to think that there has not been a great and glorious work of Divine grace carried on among us, and a great reformation and revival of religion, for which we desire to praise and adore the sovereign mercy of God.

Our time is now short, and we cannot pretend to give a particular account of the work of God among our people, or of the bad things which have been the concomitants of this blessed work; yet thus much we thought ourselves obliged to say to the praise of Divine grace, and the glory of him who is the author of all good. We are your brethren &c.

JOSEPH MEACHAM of Coventry.
BENJAMIN LORD of Norwich.
HEZEKIAH LORD of Preston.
SOLOMON WILLIAMS of Lebanon.
DANIEL KIRTLAND of Norwich.
JABEZ WIGHT of Norwich.
JOHN OWEN of Groton.
SAMUEL MOSELEY of Windham.
JONATHAN PARSONS of Lyme.
ELEAZER WHEELLOCK of Lebanon.
BENJAMIN POMROY of Hebron.
DAVID JEWET of New-London.

III. *Extract of the Attestation of Six Ministers of the Eastern Association in the County of York, Scarborough, June 23d, 1743.*

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 23.

We, the subscribers, pastors of the Eastern Association, taking into serious consideration the state of religion in our several charges, and throughout the land at this day, look on ourselves bound in the most express manner to declare ourselves with respect thereto; and in as much as it incontestibly appears to us from what we have seen among ourselves and in other places, that by an extraordinary Divine influence, there hath been a happy revival of religion in our land, we dare not but publicly speak out our grateful sense thereof to the honour of the free and sovereign grace of God. But whereas at the same time there have been great complaints of prevailing errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, such as asserting that secret impulses on the minds of persons without due regard to the written Word of God may be depended on as the rule of their conduct, that assurance is of the essence of saving faith; and, that sanctification is no evidence of justification; all which we judge are contrary to the pure doctrines of the Gospel; and as to disorders in practice, such as persons assuming to themselves the prerogative of God to look into and judge the hearts of others, censuring and condemning their brethren, and especially their ministers, as blind and unconverted, &c., and upon these pretended grounds making an actual separation from their respective pastors, though they openly disavow the above mentioned errors, and are regular in their lives; all which errors and disorders being of pernicious consequence, as tending to obscure the glorious work of God, bring it into disrepute, and obstruct the progress of it, we would in like manner bear our joint and solemn testimony against; and though we are fully persuaded the human mind, under the operations of the Divine Spirit, may be overcome with joy and terror, yet the transports and agitations that have appeared in some places, from the ungoverned passions of people, and the excess of joy and sorrow, we judge to be no certain indication of the special presence or work of the Spirit of God. But at the same time we lament the impious spirit of such as from hence take occasion to reproach the work of the Divine Spirit in the hearts of the children of God.

BENJAMIN ALLEN of Falmouth.
WM. THOMPSON of Scarborough.
SAMUEL JEFFERDS of Wells.
JOHN HOVEY of Arundel.
NICHOLAS LORING of North Yarmouth.
MOSES MORRILL of Biddeford.

At an association meeting, Scarborough, June 23d, 1743. Voted, "That the above declaration be delivered to the Rev. Mr Smith to be by him communicated at discretion to the ministers who are to meet at Boston the day after the approaching commencement, as the sentiments of the association with relation to the present religious appearances in the country."

BENJAMIN ALLEN, Moderator.

IV. *Extract of the Attestation of seven Ministers in the County of Hampshire, June 30th, 1743.*

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 23.

Whereas an advertisement hath lately been published, &c.—We, whose names are subscribed to this, living at a great distance, and our circumstances not well allowing us to go so great a journey at the time proposed, would hereby signify, that according to what understanding we have of the nature of Christianity, and the observation we have had opportunity to make, we judge that there has been, within the last two years and a half, a blessed outpouring of the Spirit of God in this county in awakening and converting sinners, and in enlightening, quickening, and building up saints in faith, holiness, and comfort, which has been attended in great numbers with an abiding alteration and reformation of disposition and behaviour. And, particularly, we would hereby declare, to the glory of God's grace, that we judge that there has been a happy revival of religion in the congregations that have been committed to our pastoral care, and that there are many in them that, by abiding manifestations of a serious, religious, and humble spirit, and a conscientious care and watchfulness in their behaviour towards God and man, give all grounds of charity towards them, as having been sincere in the profession they have made. And, however there has been, especially in some places, a mixture of enthusiasm and false religion, and some have run into great errors in their conduct, and some have fallen away, and there is a declension in others that is to be lamented, yet we think the effect has been such, and still continues to be such, as leaves no room reasonably to doubt of God's having been wonderfully in the midst of us, and such as has laid us under great obligations for ever to admire and extol the riches of his grace in doing such great things for us.

Begging of him that he would be with you in your meeting, and guide you in your thoughts and conclusions with respect to these things, and direct you to that which may be for his glory and the prosperity of Zion, and desiring your prayers to God for us and the flocks committed to our care, we remain &c.,

STEPHEN WILLIAMS of Springfield.
PETER RAYNOLDS of Enfield.
JONATHAN EDWARDS of Northampton.
SAMUEL ALLIS of Somers.
JOHN WOODBRIDGE of Hadley.
DAVID PARSONS, jun., of Hadley.
EDWARD BILLING of Cold-Spring.

V. *Attestation of eleven Ministers in the County of Fairfield, in Connecticut Colony, Woodbury, October 5th, 1743.*

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 21.

To the Publisher of the "Christian History."

Sir,—As some of us, the associated ministers of the Eastern district of the county of Fairfield in Connecticut, have, with sensible pleasure, read the joint testimony of so large a number of our rev. brethren, to the glorious work of the blessed Spirit of grace and truth, in the late wonderful revival of real reli-

gion in the land ; so all of us would now jointly, though briefly, declare that we look upon ourselves, and all the ministers and people of God throughout the land, laid under infinite obligations for ever to admire and adore the rich, free, and sovereign grace, so amazingly displayed in visiting a professing people, in a day of such general security, indolence, and formality ; causing so great an awakening of all sorts of persons, convincing so many of sin, righteousness, and judgment, and bringing such numbers, of different ages, hopefully to close savingly with the dear Jesus, on the self-denying terms of the Gospel, so as that it hath far exceeded even any hopes and expectations of ours, as well as anything of this nature we ever saw in our day. We cannot but be sensibly touched with sorrow, to see that there are many, who (not duly distinguishing betwixt this blessed work, and some evils that have attended it, by the misconduct both of some of the instruments and subjects) stumble and are in hazard of falling ; as well as to find reason to fear, that in some places the work itself is opposed. But it most of all affects our souls with grief, to find, that God has so awfully withdrawn the influences of his Holy Spirit from the means of grace. O that God, in his infinite mercy, would remove the present dreadful spiritual judgments, that in infinite justice are fallen upon us, an ungrateful and gainsaying people ; that in the midst of wrath he would remember mercy, and yet return in loving-kindness and tender mercy, and give us a latter harvest, more plentiful than the former ; would go on to accomplish the glorious things spoken of the city of our God, until he make Jerusalem the joy of the whole earth ! To conclude, we cannot omit giving in our public testimony, from our own happy experience and observation, that the frequent interchange of ministerial labours has been remarkably owned and blessed of God to the hopeful awakening of many souls ; and could heartily wish that ministerial communion, and an hearty reception as well as joyful improvement of each other's ministerial gifts and occasional labours, might still be encouraged and maintained amongst gospel-ministers throughout the land, as that which would give an hopeful prospect of the Lord's return, and so of the religion from its present sad declining state.

ANTHONY STODDARD of Woodbury.
SAMUEL COOK of Stratfield.
JOHN GRAHAM of Woodbury.
HEZEKIAH GOLD of Stratford.
JEDIDIAH MILLS of Ripton.
EBENEZER WHITE of Danbury.
ELISHA KENT of Philippi, in the Province of New York.
BENAJAH CASE of New-Fairfield.
JOSEPH BELLAMY of Woodbury.
DAVID JUDSON of Newtown.
REUBEN JUDD of Woodbury.

VI. *The names of Twenty Ministers who gave their single (two of them their joint) Attestations.*

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

JOHN ROGERS, sen., of Ipswich.
JEREMIAH WISE of Berwick.
PETER THACHER of Middleborough.
WILLIAM SHURTLEFF of Portsmouth.

JONATHAN RUSSELL of Barnstable.
JOHN ROGERS, jun. of Kittery.
TIM. WOODBRIDGE of Hatfield. }
CHESTER WILLIAMS of Hadley. }
DANIEL PUTNAM of Reading.
OLIVER PEABODY of Natick.
JOHN TUCKER of Gosport.
DAVID HALL of Sutton.
BENJAMIN BRADSTREET of Gloucester.
JOHN WALES of Raynham.
IVORY HOVEY of Rochester.
NATHANIEL APPLETON of Cambridge.
JONATHAN PARKER of Plimpton.
DAVID M'GREGORE of Londonderry.
JOHN BLUNT of Newcastle.
BENJAMIN RUGGLES of Middleborough.

For the Attestations themselves, see *Prince's Christian History*, in the Numbers above referred to.—I conclude this Article with the following Extract of a letter from Mr Allin, minister at Brookline (one of the subscribers to the Testimony at Boston, mentioned Art. I. of this Section) to Mr Cooper, minister at Boston, wrote the day after the meeting of the assembly.

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 30.

R. and D. S.—“Mr Balch has been pleased to come thus far out of his way to bring me the glad tidings of your united testimony to the work of God. I am not able to express the joy with which I received the news ; and consequent upon it, I was not able to come to town to-day, being very much indisposed by the headache, &c. But, Sir, I was thoughtful of you, the committee I mean, and now thank the Lord, that my secret supplications are so suddenly and fully answered. I did not give in, as some did, a verbal testimony yesterday to the effusions of the Divine Spirit in a work of conviction and grace among us : I thought my being present was sufficient ; and then my natural temper ever restrains me from speaking upon such occasions before those much wiser and better than myself ; but I have since wished I had, to the glory of free and sovereign grace, made a short declaration in the following manner :—That there has been a very distinguishing and remarkable work of God going on in the land, I have been so much a witness to in many towns where I have occasionally been within these two years, that I think I am as firm in the belief of it, as that there is a sun in the heavens, or of my own existence. For what but the God that formed it, can so impress the mind with a sense of sin, and its destructive consequences, as to cause the greatest sorrow of heart, and streams of penitential tears to flow from the eyes ? What can create in the soul earnest, restless, and vehement desires after the love, grace, and fellowship of Christ, but that God, that first formed the spirit of man within him, and can turn the heart as a river of water ? Who but the God of grace can make the drunkard temperate, and the prodigal son a sober serious man, &c. ? Which things have been common in other places to my frequent observation. Nor are we destitute of some signal instances of free and sovereign grace among us here. There have been scores of persons under awakenings ; yea, I have sometimes thought there has not been a single person of my congregation but has been under more or less concern about the important matters of another world, and what he should do to be saved ; though

these impressions, I fear, are worn off in many, but in others I have no reason to doubt but they have been carried on to a sound and saving conversion. Additions to the church have been considerable for numbers, of such as I hope, through grace, shall be saved, and chiefly of younger persons, and one of but eleven years of age, and another in the eleventh and last hour of life, being above seventy; three of a liberal education, two of them since hopeful young preachers. In some few the terrors have been so great that they have cried out in distress; in others, the liberal communications of Divine light and joy have had the like effect. One of our young converts died the last fall in a very glorious and triumphant manner; the only one that has died among us since the blessed work began. I was called to visit her about ten the evening before she died, and finding her very low in spirit, as well as body, I tarried all the night, sometimes discoursing, and sometimes praying with her: but she received no comfort. In the morning, after prayer, she turned her face to the wall, and lay still for a little time, and then broke out, and said, "Now, I am ready to die! now, I am ready to die!" I immediately stepped to her, and said, "Child, have you found Christ?" "Oh, yes," said she, "I have found him, I have found him!" I asked her, "If she was now assured of the love of Christ to her?" She answered, "I am sure, I am sure! Now, I can leave parents, and friends, and all, for Christ!—Come, Lord Jesus!—Oh, sweet Jesus!—Oh, the anthems of joy!—Oh, sweet, sweet, sweet!" and other expressions of the like nature; in which happy frame she continued about two or three hours, and then breathed out her soul into the bosom of Jesus, her beloved. These things are the Lord's doings, and loudly call for our admiration and praise.

VII. *Extract of a Letter from Mr Gilbert Tennent to Mr Prince, at Boston, containing Attestations from several Ministers; also some Account of the Revival in the Provinces of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, dated Philadelphia, August 24th, 1744.*

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, Nos. 88, 89, 90.

R. and D. B.—I sympathize with you in lamenting the loss of so valuable a relative as pious Mr Thacher of Middleborough, who seemed to have as much at heart the interests of vital religion as any I have ever met with, and whose distinguished exemplary seriousness in religion was adorned with uncommon attainments in humility. The removal of such a faithful and affectionate watchman is a public loss, which both deserves and demands our sincere but submissive sorrows. I am glad that it pleased the sovereign God to make my poor labours of any service among you; I desire ever to bless his holy name for that undeserved mercy. I am thankful for the *Christian History*, and well pleased with the design and management of that work; I hope it will be a mean, in God's hand, of conveying with honour to posterity a memorial of the late blessed revival of religion, which has been so virulently opposed and unjustly aspersed by many. As to my drawing up any particular account of memorable things that have been this way of a religious nature,

my neglect of taking notes thereof in the proper time, together with the brokenness of my memory, and many incumbrances, forbid the attempt. I shall, therefore, in the room thereof, send you a prefatory attestation, which I drew up and prefixed to the second edition of Mr Dickinson's *Display of Special Grace*, &c., which was signed by several ministers this way, [part of which follows]:—

"We, whose names are underwritten, with pleasure embrace the present occasion to give a joint and public testimony to the reality and truth of the late revival of religion in this land, which is called generally and justly the work of God. If any should inquire what we mean by the work of God, we think the judicious author of the following dialogue has given a plain and pertinent answer to this inquiry, which we declare our high approbation of. A work of conviction and conversion spread not long since in many places of these provinces, with such power and progress as even silenced for a time the most malignant opposers. They were then either afraid or ashamed openly to contradict such astonishing displays of the Divine almightiness, in alarming multitudes of secure sinners out of their fatal stupor, and exciting in them the utmost solicitude about the everlasting concerns of their souls: many of whom gave us a rational and scriptural account of their distress, and afterwards of their deliverance from it, agreeable to the method of the Gospel of Christ. Their comforts, as well as sorrows, appeared, by all the evidences we can have of such things, to be agreeable to Scripture and reason. It affects us to think how poor souls flocked to the dear Immanuel, the blessed Lord Jesus, as doves to their windows; what multitudes in our religious assemblies trembled, like the jailor, under the apprehensions of God's dreadful vengeance; and how many melted into the softest contrition, or were transported into joy and praise, while they beheld the amiable glories of redeeming grace and love! And these sensations have been followed in many by a Gospel conversation. What passionate affections have in many been excited to the King of Saints! What tender concern have they expressed for the honour of God's name, and the good of his kingdom? What bowels of pity have they had over the perishing souls of others, and what tenderness and circumspection has appeared in the course of their behaviour! In short, we are fully persuaded that we have had all that evidence of the reality of a work of God among us which can be reasonably expected in the present state of things, since miracles have ceased. What if there were some things exceptionable in the conduct of some of the instruments and subjects of this work? Is this so strange an incident, in a state of imperfection, as to give us ground of surprise or prejudice against the whole work? But here we must observe, that diverse false reports have been invented and spread industriously both by word and writing, in order to blacken the characters of several ministers whom God has been pleased of his pure goodness to honour with success; and other charges against their conduct have been invidiously aggravated beyond their proper foundation and set in a false light, and some of the subjects of this work have been doubtless treated in the same manner.

It is shocking to think that any should dare to oppose a work attended with such commanding evidence as has been among us. We would beseech all such to consider solemnly the following paragraph

of Mr Robe, minister in Kilsyth, in Scotland, in his preface to his Narrative, viz., "I seriously beg of any who are prejudiced against this dispensation of God's extraordinary grace, and look upon it as a delusion, that they will show themselves so charitable and good as to direct me, and other ministers, what we shall answer distressed persons of all ages, who come to us crying bitterly that they are lost and undone, because of unbelief and other sins, what shall we do to be saved? And as a young girl, about twelve, who had been in distress for some time, called for me to a separate place in a house where I was, and asked, with great sedateness, what shall I do to get Christ? Shall we tell them, they are not Christless and unconverted, when we evidently see many to be such? Shall we tell them that their fear of the wrath of God is all but delusion, and that it is no such dreadful thing as they need to be much afraid of it? Shall we tell persons lamenting their cursing and swearing, Sabbath-breaking and other immoralities, that it is the devil that makes them now see these evils to be offensive to God and destructive to their souls? Shall we tell them who, under the greatest uneasiness, inquire at us, what they shall do to get an interest and faith in Jesus Christ, that Satan is deluding them when they have or show any concern this way? In fine, shall we pray, and recommend it to them to pray to God) to deliver them from such delusions? It would be devilish to treat the Lord's sighing and groaning prisoners at this rate; and yet such treatment is a natural consequence of reckoning this the work of the devil, and a delusion.

"We think that our brother, Mr Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, who is the author of the following Dialogues, has, with much judgment and solid reasoning therein, baffled the common cavils of opposers against the work of God, and answered the objections of the scrupulous.

"GILBERT TENNENT. WILLIAM TENNENT.
SAMUEL BLAIR. RICHARD TREAT.
SAMUEL FINLAY. JOHN BLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, June 18, 1743."

I may add that both our Presbyteries, viz., of New Brunswick, and Newcastle, have, in their late declaration of May 26th, 1743, printed at Philadelphia, manifested their cordial concurrence with the protestation of the Presbytery of New York, in which are these words, viz., "We protest against all those passages in any of the pamphlets which have been published in these parts, which seem to reflect upon the work of Divine power and grace, which has been carried on in so wonderful a manner in many of our congregations; and declare to all the world, that we look upon it to be the indispensable duty of all our ministers to encourage that glorious work with their most faithful and diligent endeavours."

This protest was signed May the 29th, 1742, by the following members of the Presbytery of New York, viz.:-

JONATHAN DICKINSON.	} Ministers.
EBENEZER PEMBERTON.	
DANIEL ELMORE.	
SILAS LEONARD.	
JOHN PIERSON.	
SIMON HORTON.	} Elders.
AZARIAH HORTON.	
NATHANIEL HAZARD.	
TIMOTHY WHITEHEAD.	
DAVID WHITEHEAD.	

I trust I may say, to the glory of God's grace, that it pleased the most high God to let me see considerable success in the places where I laboured statedly many years before I came hither.

New Brunswick in the Province of New Jersey, and Staten Island in the Province of New York.

The labourers of Mr Frelinghous, a Dutch minister, were much blessed to the people of New Brunswick and places adjacent, especially at the time of his coming among them, which was about twenty-four years ago. When I came there, which was about seven years after, I had the pleasure of seeing much of the fruits of his ministry; divers of his hearers with whom I had opportunity of conversing, appeared to be converted persons, by their soundness in principle, Christian experience, and pious practice; and these persons declared that his ministrations were the means thereof. This, together with a kind letter which he sent me respecting the necessity of dividing the Word aright, and giving to every one his portion in due season, through the Divine blessing, excited me to greater earnestness in ministerial labours. I began to be very much distressed about my want of success; for I knew not for half a year or more after I came to New Brunswick, that any one was converted by my labours, although several persons were at times affected transiently.

It pleased God to afflict me about that time with sickness, by which I had affecting views of eternity. I was then exceedingly grieved that I had done so little for God, and was very desirous to live one half year more, if it was his will, that I might stand upon the flags of the world as it were, and plead more faithfully for his cause, and take more earnest pains for the conversion of souls. The secure state of the world appeared to me in a very affecting light; and one thing among others pressed me sore, viz., that I had spent much time in conversing about trifles, which might have been spent in examining peoples' states towards God, and persuading them to turn unto him; I, therefore, prayed to God that he would be pleased to give me one half year more, and I was determined to endeavour to promote his kingdom with all my might at all adventures. The petition God was pleased to grant manifold, and to enable me to keep my resolution in some measure.

After I was raised up to health, I examined many about the grounds of their hope of salvation, which I found in most to be nothing but as the sand; with such I was enabled to deal faithfully and earnestly, in warning them of their danger, and urging them to seek converting grace. By this method many were awakened out of their security; and of those divers were to all appearance effectually converted: and some that I spoke plainly to were prejudiced. And here I would have it observed, that, as soon as an effectual door was opened, I found many adversaries, and my character was covered with unjust reproaches, which through Divine goodness did not discourage me in my work. I did then preach much upon original sin, repentance, the nature and necessity of conversion, in a close examinatory and distinguishing way; labouring in the mean time to sound the trumpet of God's judgments and alarm the secure by the terrors of the Lord, as well as to affect them with other topics of persuasion, which method was sealed by the Holy Spirit in the conviction and conversion of a considerable number of persons at

various times and in different places in that part of the country, as appeared by their acquaintance with experimental religion and good conversation. I may further observe, that frequently at sacramental seasons in New Brunswick, there have been signal displays of the Divine power and presence: divers have been convinced of sin by the sermons then preached, some converted, and many much affected with the love of God in Jesus Christ. O, the sweet meltings that I have often seen on such occasions among many! New Brunswick did then look like a field the Lord had blessed; it was like a little Jerusalem, to which the scattered tribes with eager haste repaired at sacramental solemnities, and there they fed on the fatness of God's house, and drank of the rivers of his pleasures. But, alas! the scene is now altered. While I lived in the place aforesaid, I do not remember that there was any great ingathering of souls at any one time; but through mercy there were pretty frequently gleanings of a few here and there, which in the whole were a considerable number. But, having never taken a written account of them, I cannot offer any precise conjecture at their number. But at Staten-island, one of the places where I stately laboured, there was, about fifteen or sixteen years ago, a more general concern about the affairs of salvation, which hopefully issued in the conversion of a pretty many. Once in the time of a sermon upon Amos vi. 1, (before which the people were generally secure), the Spirit of God was suddenly poured down upon the assembly; the people were generally affected about the state of their souls; and some to that degree that they fell upon their knees in the time of the sermon,¹ in order to pray to God for pardoning mercy: many went weeping home from that sermon, and then the general inquiry was, "What shall I do to be saved?" I may farther observe that some few of those that I trust were converted in the places aforesaid, long since were compelled to cry out in the public assembly both under the impressions of terror and love. During the late revival of religion, New Brunswick felt some drops of the spreading rain, but no general shower.

Philadelphia and other places in the Province of Pennsylvania.

As to the city of Philadelphia, where now, by the Providence of God, I labour stately, many have been hopefully converted here during the late display of God's grace in this land. Mr Whitefield was the instrument that God was pleased to approve principally in the awakening and conversion of sinners here, yet the labours of others have been also attended with some success. This town, by all that I can learn, was in a deep security generally before Mr Whitefield came among them, but his preaching was so blessed, that a great number were brought under a religious concern about the salvation of their souls; multitudes were inquiring the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, weeping as they went. Some years since there were so many under soul-sickness in this place that my feet were pained with walking from place to place to see them; and there was then such an eagerness to hear religious dis-

course that when they saw me going to a house they would flock to it; and, under what was spoken, they were sometimes generally, and, to all appearance, deeply affected; and thus it was in more public assemblies; there were sometimes general meltings. And although several persons have lost their religious impressions and returned with the dog to his vomit, and some others have fallen into erroneous sentiments; yet God has preserved many from those evils who give a rational and scriptural account of their conversion, and crown the same by their practice. Neither is it strange that some should be carried away here by the fair speeches and cunning craftiness of those that lie in wait to deceive; seeing that the greater part of this place have never had the benefit of a strict religious education, and, therefore, were never well fixed in the thorough knowledge of a consistent system of principles. None that I know of in this town who were well acquainted with the doctrines of religion in their connection, and established in them, have been turned aside. The last Sabbath of May last, I gave the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the first time that ever it was dispensed to the society to which I belong (considered as a society); the number of communicants was above one hundred and forty. These persons I examined about their gracious state as well as doctrinal knowledge; and, upon trial, almost all of them gave a scriptural and satisfactory account of the grounds of their hope. Now the chief part of these, according to their own account, have been brought to Christ during the late revival of religion. And there are divers other persons in this city, who, in judgment of scriptural charity, have got saving benefit during the late marvellous manifestations of God's grace, who do not join in communion with us. Though there is in many a considerable decay as to their liveliness and affectionateness in religion; yet, through Divine goodness, they grow more humble and merciful, and it is evident by their conversation that the general bent of their hearts is for God. Since I have come here, my labours seem to be chiefly serviceable to instruct and establish in the great truths of religion, and to comfort pious people; there have been but a few instances of conviction and conversion of late in this town that I know of.

In some places of this province some years ago, particularly in Nottingham, Foggs-Manor, Whitecreek, Nishamine, and elsewhere, there have been such general lamentations in the time of preaching, that the speaker's voice has been almost drowned with the cries of the distressed, even after they have been entreated again and again to restrain themselves; yea, and sometimes when the speaker discoursed in a Gospel strain, divers persons in some places in this province have fallen down to the ground in the time of the sermon, as though they were stabbed with a sword; and what though some have lost their impressions and relapsed into their sordid impieties: this is no more than what the Scriptures inform us did happen in the apostolic times: yet it is well known that many of them (so far as we are capable of judging by men's speech and practice) have been brought to a sound conversion.

I think it needless here to offer a reply to the cavils of opposers, which are as numerous as invidious and impertinent; but this I must say, that mine eyes and ears have seen and heard so much of the

¹ June 1st, 1754. Mr G. Tennent (who was in Scotland this summer, as agent for the trustees of the college of New Jersey, along with Mr Davies), when I read this part of the letter to him, said the description was rather too low, for that the people generally fell upon their knees, and that it was one of the most affecting sights he ever saw.

appearances and fruits of the late revival of religion, that I must reject religion altogether, and turn infidel, if I should dispute and oppose the same. May it please the gracious God to pardon those unhappy men, who have set themselves in opposition to the work of the most high God, and painted it in black and odious colours, and let them see their sin and danger before it be too late.

Dear Sir, I did not think, when I began to write, to offer any more than our prefatory attestation; but being urged to mention something of what I had seen and heard, and finding a pleasure in the subject, I have added (with the strictest regard to truth and soberness) these few hasty hints concerning some matters of fact which I know to be true, and shall leave to your own discretion to do with them as you shall see meet. Yours, &c.,

[GILBERT TENNENT.¹

VIII. *Mr William Tennent's Short Account as to several Places in the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in his Letter to Mr Prince at Boston, October 11, 1744.*

CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 91.

About four weeks since, at the invitation of the people, and desire of our presbytery, I gathered a church, and celebrated the Lord's Supper at a new-erected congregation in the towns of Maidenhead and Hopewell, about thirty miles north-westerly from hence. In examining such as offered themselves to the holy ordinance, as to their Christian experience, I was agreeably surprised to find so many on whom (in the judgment of charity) the blessed Spirit had wrought a saving change in this late glorious day of grace. Their account of the Lord's dealing with them was scriptural, free from enthusiasm. It was soul-refreshing to behold the beautiful variety, and yet sweet harmony, that was in their relations, especially because all their exercises which they spoke of directly tended to abase themselves, and exalt the Lord; to break them off from the corrupt root of Adam, and ingraft them into the ever-glorious stem of Jesse. God's method of working with them, to bring them to himself, was much the same as in this place, only that some of them, when under conviction, were so violently exercised, as that they cried out publicly; which circumstance some there have endeavoured to abuse, to the disparagement of the whole work. The person that the Lord saw cause chiefly to use in this work, as his messenger to the people, was his truly faithful servant, Mr John Rowland, who for his painful labours and plain dealing was counted by many as an enemy, and treated as such, so that at length he was forced to remove into Pennsylvania. May the Lord forgive them for Christ's sake. The sacramental season was blessed to the refreshing of the Lord's dear people there, as well as to others of them who came from other places; so that some who had been much distressed with doubts about their state, received soul-satisfying sealings of God's everlasting love; others were supported and quickened, so that they returned home rejoicing and glorifying God.

¹ June 2, 1754, Mr G. Tennent says, that the subjects of the revival in the places mentioned in this letter, so far as he knows, do generally persevere.

New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

I can freely declare that I have seen God's Spirit accompanying his preached Word in many places belonging to these three provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, by which precious souls have been subdued to himself, which, I apprehend, is only an earnest of much greater blessings to his church, for he has said that he will make "the knowledge of himself to cover the earth as the waters do the sea." Zion shall yet "look forth (out of all the clouds of contempt cast on her) as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." I doubt not but "the light of the Gospel-sun shall yet increase as the light of seven days;" for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Even so come Lord Jesus, come quickly. Yours, &c., WM. TENNENT.

N. B.—The account of Mr Rowland's success in Amwell, &c., is to be found in sect. I. of this chapter, taken from his letter to Mr Prince, minister at Boston, printed at Philadelphia, 1745, which letter contains also the following short account of his success in Pennsylvania:—

"In the year 174-, I came and lived in Charlestown, in Chester county, in Pennsylvania, and have continued, according to the order of the Presbytery, preaching among them and the people of New Providence. But as my ministry has been chiefly successful at New Providence, since I came into these parts, I shall only speak of what I have observed of the work of God in this town.

"The people of New Providence, before I came into these parts to preach, were but an ignorant sort of people, unacquainted with religion, both as to principles and practice, though they would pretend some to be of one denomination, and some of another, yet a vain name was all. Looseness prevailed much in the place, and there was not one to speak to another in a suitable way and manner, neither of the vileness, deformity, and unprofitableness of the ways of sin, nor of the glory, and excellency, and profitableness of the ways of God. I know not if any of them observed family-prayer, or asked a blessing on their food. This was the case among them, as they told me themselves at several times; and I inquired of them again, when I began to write this account.

"The conviction and conversion of the people of New Providence was within about two months of one another. It was the time of my travelling among them in these places, that the Lord chose to bless for their ingathering to Jesus Christ; and since I have laboured steadily among them, it has been as much my endeavour to build up those who were called into the fellowship of God, as to convince sinners of their misery; and to this end my labours were blessed again among them throughout the year 174-. As to their conviction and conversion unto God, I may say that they are capable to give a scriptural account of them. I forbear to speak of many extraordinary appearances, such as some scores crying out at one instant, falling down, and fainting.

"These people are still increasing, blessed be the Lord; they are labouring to walk in communion with God, and with one another; and for this end they meet, by way of society, in the meeting-house, two or three hours at a time, in praise and prayer, and they find this an excellent means to prepare them for the holy Sabbath. They are careful to maintain the worship of God in their families, and to use all

agreeable means to increase their knowledge in the things of God.

"I choose to speak no more, though I may truly say that what I have spoken of the glorious work of God, both in this place and in the towns of Amwell, Hope-well, and Maidenhead, is but a little to what I might have said."

J. R.

IX. Some Account of the Perseverance of the Subjects of the above Revival, who lived in and about Boston.

From two Manuscript Letters from A.—W— in Boston to a Minister in Glasgow.

Boston, September 5, 1751.—R. and D. S. "I have communicated your request to Mr Hobby, and others, for their attestations of the continuance of those who were the subjects of the work, who assure me they can and will do it, and forward it to you. I can give testimony of great numbers who fell under my own observation, men of vile principles, of very loose morals, that in that day were remarkably wrought upon, and now are very exemplary Christians, and have lived so for many years past. Some particulars I shall send by another opportunity, if it please God to grant it. Yours, &c.,

A. W.

Boston, January 22, 1752.—R. and D. S. "I promised to answer that part of your letter, desiring testimonies of the perseverance of such as were awakened in the remarkable day of God's grace in this land. Some ministers have promised me to give you an account thereof, and as far as my testimony will go, I will mention a few of the instances which fell within my own observation.

The first I shall begin with is a man who always lived a very vicious life, as hard drinking, profane cursing and swearing, &c. He seldom attended on public worship, and when at meeting on the Lord's-day, he endeavoured to set himself to sleep away the time; and if, when awake, the minister said anything that touched his conscience, it generally set him in a rage at him. This was his course of life till, by the preaching of Messrs Whitefield and Tennent, he was brought to serious consideration of his ways, thrown into great concern, under strong convictions of conscience, for his wicked life. The blessed Spirit never left him till it effectually did the work, and manifested the love of God to his soul, as he apprehends; and he has ever since brought forth fruit unto holiness, and lives to this day a most pious and devout life, broke off from his old companions, (who very frequently scoff at him,) and converses only with the people of God. He lives about five miles down our river on a farm, and every year invites to his house a minister who preaches, and some Christian friends, and entertains them generously. I have been there several times. The last year Mr Moorehead preached there.

The next I shall mention is more remarkable. He had lived a moral life for the sake of reputation among men, but had no fear of God, for he hardly believed there was one, and for many years used his utmost endeavours to bring his acquaintance to be atheists. When about ten years ago (there being a remarkable stir, and many awakened, and it is hoped converted) he heard many give account of the manner

of God's working on their hearts, he ridiculed them and the work. In this time he was riding by a meeting-house where people were at worship; he had a mind to go in, but then he reluctated, and agitated for some time; but, at last, went in with this resolution, he would not be overcome. But it pleased the Lord soon to touch his heart, and he felt a strange emotion of spirit, such as he had bantered and ridiculed,—broke out of the assembly, and endeavoured to get rid of his concern,—mounted his horse and was resolved he would ride it away. But his concern increased, and was so powerful even on his body, that he was forced to alight off his horse. Then he prostrated himself on the ground, and cried for mercy to God, whom he lived in defiance of. With help he got home to his own house, and when he related what was the matter with him it astonished all who beheld him. He laid aside all thoughts of worldly business, and continued in a despairing condition for some months, crying out for mercy, till it pleased God to let in some gleam of light, which advanced till it came to a hopeful conversion; and now he speaks of the wonderful goodness of God to so vile a wretch as he, and lives an exemplary holy life, declaring his experiences to all who will attend thereto. When he gave me the account, it was with many tears of joy, and greatly affected my heart.

Now I will give you a relation of one in my own family, a Negro man, whom I had about ten years, a stupid ignorant creature. No pains were wanting to learn him to read, but all ineffectual. He seemed to have very little sense of religion, although much pains were taken. When Mr Whitefield was first here, our dear friend, Mr William Cooper, sent to me, to send him my chaise and servant to carry him and Mr Whitefield to Cambridge. Accordingly, I complied. Mr Whitefield preached at the college on those words, "Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." When they returned in the evening, he (the servant) repeated a considerable part of the sermon to the other servants in the kitchen, some part of which I overheard as I sat in my own room, and, indeed, it was a very pleasing surprise. This sermon took such hold of him to bring him under strong convictions of his sinful miserable state by nature, as well as practice, that he grew very thoughtful about his soul, earnestly seeking an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, which, we have abundant reason to hope, he obtained. Mr Whitefield thought so, and Mr Cooper also, for he frequently conversed with them about Divine things. In some months, Mr Cooper admitted him to the Lord's-table, and said to me of him, that he never had from any person in his life a more rational and scriptural account of conversion than from him. And he evidenced it by a sober life, and fidelity as a servant, which continued during life, which was about ten years; then he was seized with a consumption and died. He lingered some months. A few days before he departed, on being inquired of as to his willingness to leave the world, he said, in a rapture, he was willing to go, that he might be with his Saviour, who had made him many a sweet visit for whole nights together, by the manifestation of his love to his soul, &c. So Ethiopia stretched forth her hands.—There are many like instances of that nation.—One man I know who had lived a very profligate life, frequently attended on Mr Whitefield's preaching with no other view

but to take part of sentences, go to the tavern, and repeat them, to make nonsense, falsehood, &c. But it pleased a sovereign God to strike him home under one sermon that brought him down to the dust; he lost his strength in the meeting-house that he could not walk, but was carried home; and it worked well, even to saving good to his soul. He has been ever since an exemplary Christian, often expressing the distinguishing mercy of God towards him so vile a sinner.

I will now pass from the open profane to some more civilized and moral in their behaviour; and first, I will mention a number of ministers, more than twenty, who all declared that Mr Whitefield's ministry was so set home upon them that they look on him as their spiritual father. One of them has said to me, he believed he should soon have arrived at deism; but God had mercy in store for him. He went once to hear Mr Whitefield preach with no other design than to pick a hole in his coat; but God picked a hole in his heart, which was afterwards healed by the blood of Christ. He lives as a Christian, and preaches in the most lively manner the great doctrines of the Gospel, viz., original sin, free justification by Christ alone, election, &c., things that he formerly despised and meddled not with, and is very successful. Talking with him lately, he said (on my inquiring how the awakened, and as he hoped the converted, held out) that but one person in his congregation that he esteemed savingly wrought upon had fallen back; and he had a goodly number of them persevered.

I know four sisters, moral, gay, polite persons, who indulged themselves in what they called innocent diversions of life, thought abstaining from gross sins, and being courteous, affable, and doing nobody any harm, was all that was required. This they did, and thought they were swimming away to Heaven in a life of pleasure. But God, in infinite mercy, convinced them of their folly and danger, and showed them religion was quite another thing. They can now talk of Divine things in an experimental manner. One of them, in the time of their awakening, was addressed by a young gentleman for marriage; she refused to let him proceed, saying she would first make sure she was married to the Lord Jesus Christ. And there is the highest ground to believe she is so.

I will close with one as remarkable as any, and mention the name; she was grand-daughter to that Mackintosh taken in the rebellion against King George the first, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. That gentleman's son came into this country to marry his uncle's daughter, by whom he had this and another. Father and mother died when they were young. She married a young gentleman of a good family, and having a plentiful estate (her income was about five hundred pounds sterling per annum) bred in the best manner among us, she appeared morally virtuous and discreet, though indulged in dancing, &c., having little or no thought of any sort of religion, being caressed in all gay company. She was going one day to pay a ceremonious visit, and in her way thither she passed by Mr Prince's meeting-house, where she saw great numbers of people flocking in. She asked of some of them what the occasion was; they told there was a lecture there. She stood still and paused a while, having some curiosity to go in and see what such folks did there, but reluctant, and was off and on, but at last went in, which was before the worship began; but in some little time

Mr Burn (now president of New Jersey College) mounted the desk. When she saw him she despised his looks, being small of stature, and wished herself out of the meeting-house, thinking such a person could not say anything worth such crowding after; but she thought it would be indecent to go out, and tarried. But she soon found that which she never felt before. The Spirit of God accompanied the Word in a most powerful manner, and she was brought to think of taking care of her soul, and how she should obtain an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ. Soon after this, Mr Whitefield arrived here. Him she followed, in public and private, and by his preaching and frequent conversing, I believe she obtained a good measure of knowledge and grace. She soon was sick of her gay company and their way of living; got acquainted with the vitally pious. In this way she continued four or five years, when it pleased God to lay her on a bed of sickness for some months, with which her life ended. She had been frequently at my house with Mr Whitefield, so I had great opportunity to hear her talk. She was naturally of a modest, meek disposition, and when it came to be sweetened with grace she was very amiable. She was soon ripe for Heaven at little more than twenty years old. The day before she died, she sent a servant to me and desired I would come and see her. I cheerfully embraced the opportunity and went immediately. When I got to the house, I was immediately carried into her chamber, where I found her just ready to leave the world, with her loins girt, and her lamp trimmed, waiting for the Bridegroom. As soon as she cast her eyes upon me, she reached out her hand, which I took hold of; she grasped it, and with a faint voice said, I sent for you to thank you for all your acts of friendship, and the notice taken of me at your house, and to take leave; I am going, I am going to leave a vain world; I have had clear views of a better. Oh, now I want some advice and direction from my dear soul-friend Mr Whitefield. But then stopped and said, "Why should I do so? he is gone about his Lord and Master's work, and it will be but a little time, and we shall meet, where we shall be eternally employed in singing praises for redeeming love and grace, and never part more," &c., &c. There were present some young persons of her relations and friends to whom she gave excellent advice to have done with the gaieties and pleasures of the world, and wished they could have such a view of them as she then had; think only of taking care of your souls; look upon me, a poor helpless object, and think it may soon be your turn to be in the same condition; and added, "I never found satisfaction in worldly pleasures, but in religion I have had the highest delight." This, and such like, was all her talk. She desired I would pray, "That it would please the Lord to be with her in her last moments, that she might hold out speaking for his cause, and manifest his love to her soul, and take her to himself." So we parted. The next day she took her flight (I doubt not) to the regions of glory. Although she had not the benefit of Mr Whitefield, she had of Mr Prince, who for more than a month visited her every day, prayed and conversed with her. She would not be contented without him. He speaks highly of her grace. I cannot conclude without mentioning a very remarkable occurrence in her life, though a short one, viz.:—Soon after her father and mother deceased, there came from Scotland a man who called himself — Shaw Mackintosh; said he was

uncle to this young gentlewoman and a sister she had—immediately got acquaintance with and caressed them highly—assured them he made his voyage to New England purely to take care of them, for there was great danger of being made a prey of, being wholly destitute of friends, and having no relations. He continued here some time, endeavouring to insinuate himself into their affections by soft and tender words and carriage. He proposed to them, that he would carry them to Scotland among their relations, where there would be care taken of their education, &c., but they could not be prevailed with, saying they choosed to stay among the people they had been brought up with, who were very kind to them. Finding that would not do, he contrived this stratagem to force them away:—He made an entertainment for them at his lodging one Saturday evening, the most quiet in the week always with us, and, after supper, he would wait on them to their lodging, which was near the water side; but, before they reached quite home, some ruffians he had provided took each of these children into their arms, run down to the water side, threw them into a boat, and carried them about nine miles down the river, put them on board a ship he, their uncle, said he was going in, and told them he had provided all things necessary for them. The ship was to come to sail that night; but, as Providence ordered it, the wind came about contrary. After they got on board, a storm ensued, the children distressed almost to death. But, being missed from their lodgings late at night, a servant was sent to their uncle's lodgings to fetch them home, but was informed they had been gone from hence some hours; so stir was made, and inquiry after them; and some people dwelling near where the boat lay, informed that in the evening they heard children's voices crying as if in great distress, and the uncle not to be found neither, it was suspected he had conveyed them away. The governor was applied to, who granted warrants to search every ship, and the next morning they were found, as above, and brought up to town; the uncle also, who was committed to prison for sometime, but never had his deserved punishment. But they were released, and he went off without his prizes. There was reason to fear, from many circumstances heard afterwards, the design was to make away with them, and then the father's relations would have been heirs to their estate, which is more than a thousand pounds sterling per annum.

Now, Sir, I will close with saying, it is a great pleasure to be recollecting the wonderful work of God in those times; but I also would lament the small appearance of such things this present day; but prayer is duty, and another such time may come. Those instances which I have mentioned are all fallen within my own knowledge, and I have kept close to strict truth, and could mention scores more as remarkable instances. May God have the praise!

Yours, &c. A. W.

SECTION XXII.

IN 1743, THE SAME WORK SPREADS TO VIRGINIA.—THE UNCOMMON MANNER IN WHICH IT BEGAN.—MR ROBINSON'S PREACHING GREATLY BLESSED.—AND MR BLAIR'S.—AND MR ROAN'S.—OF POSITION.—THE SYNOD OF NEW YORK APPLIED TO.—MR TENNENT AND MR FINLEY COME.—THEN MR W. TENNENT, AND MR SAMUEL BLAIR.—THE LORD'S SUPPER GIVEN.—MR DAVIES IS SENT TO THEM IN 1747.—NEXT YEAR HE HAS SEVEN MEETING-HOUSES TO OFFICIATE IN.—THREE OF THEM IN HANOVER, THE OTHER FOUR IN THE COUNTIES OF HENRICO, CAROLINA, LOUISA, AND GOOCHLAND. THREE HUNDRED COMMUNICANTS. A NUMBER OF NEGROES.—THEIR ARTLESS SIMPLICITY, AND PASSIONATE ASPIRATIONS AFTER CHRIST.—STRANGE HISTORY OF ISAAC OLIVER, DEAF AND DUMB FROM HIS BIRTH.—TITHE-BAND PREACHING BLESSED WHERE SETTLED PASTORS WANTING.—SEVERAL AWAKENED IN LUNENBURGH AND AMELIA UNDER THE MINISTRY OF MR ROBINSON.—AN AWAKENING IN AUGUSTA UNDER THE MINISTRY OF MESSRS DEAN AND BYRAM.—AND IN FREDERICK COUNTY.—AND IN MARYLAND.—AND IN KENT COUNTY AND QUEEN ANNE'S, UNDER THE MINISTRY OF MR ROBINSON.—BUT ESPECIALLY IN SOMERSET COUNTY IN MARYLAND.

From a Letter from Mr DAVIES, Minister at Hanover, in Virginia, to Mr BELMONT of Bethlehem, in New-England, dated June 27th, 1751.

R. and D. S.—If the publication of a narrative of the rise, progress, and present situation of religion in Virginia, may not only gratify good people, but (as you give me reason to hope) animate their prayers for us, and also encourage preachers to come into these parts, I should charge myself with a criminal neglect if I refused to publish the marvellous work of the Lord among us. I hope I may observe without the umbrage of calumny what is but too evident to serious people of all denominations among us, that religion has been, and in most parts of the colony, still is, in a very low state. A surprising negligence in attending public worship, and an equally surprising levity and unconcernedness in those that attend. Family religion a rarity, and a solemn concern about eternal things a greater. Vices of various kinds triumphant, and even a form of godliness not common. But universal fame makes it needless for me to enlarge on this disagreeable subject. Before the revival in 1743, there were a few who were awakened, as they have told me, either by their own serious reflections, suggested and enforced by Divine energy, or on reading some authors of the last century, particularly Boston, Baxter, Flavel, and Bunyan. There was one Mr Samuel Morris, who had for some time been very anxious about his own salvation, who after obtaining blessed relief in Christ became zealous for the salvation of his neighbours, and very earnest to use means to awaken them. This was the tendency of his conversation, and he also read to them such authors as had been most useful to himself, particularly Luther on the Galatians, and his table discourses, and several pieces of honest Bunyan's. By these means some of his neighbours were made more thoughtful about their souls, but the concern was not very extensive. I have prevailed on my good friend just now named, who was the principal private instrument of promoting the late work, and therefore well acquainted with it, to write me a narrative of its rise and progress, and this, together with what he and others have told me, I shall present to you, without any material alterations. "In the year

1740 Mr Whitefield had preached at Williamsburg at the invitation of Mr Blair, our late commissary. But we being sixty miles distant from Williamsburg, he left the colony before we had an opportunity of hearing him. But in the year 1743 a young gentleman from Scotland had got a book of his sermons, preached in Glasgow, and taken from his mouth in short hand, which, after I had read with great benefit, I invited my neighbours to come and hear them; and the plainness and fervency of these discourses being attended with the power of the Lord, many were convinced of their undone condition, and constrained to seek deliverance with the greatest solicitude. A considerable number met to hear these sermons every Sabbath, and frequently on week days. The concern of some was so passionate and violent, that they could not avoid crying out, weeping bitterly, &c. And that, when such indications of religious concern were so strange and ridiculous, that they could not be occasioned by example or sympathy, and the affectation of them would be so unprofitable, an instance of hypocrisy, that none could be tempted to it. My dwelling-house at length was too small to contain the people, whereupon we determined to build a meeting-house, merely for reading. And having never been used to social extempore prayer, none of us durst attempt it. By this single means several were awakened, and their conduct ever since is a proof of the continuance and happy issue of their impressions. When the report was spread abroad, I was invited to several places to read these sermons, at a considerable distance, and by this means the concern was propagated. About this time, our absenting ourselves from the Established Church, contrary, as was alleged, to the laws of the land, was taken notice of, and we were called upon by the court to assign our reasons for it, and to declare what denomination we were of. As we knew but little of any denomination of dissenters, except Quakers, we were at a loss what name to assume. At length recollecting that Luther was a noted reformer, and that his books had been of special service to us, we declared ourselves Lutherans, and thus we continued till providence sent us the Rev. Mr William Robinson. This Mr Robinson was a zealous, laborious minister of Christ, who by the permission of the Presbytery took a journey through the new settlements in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. He founded a congregation at Lunenburg. In Amelia also, a county somewhat nearer us than the former, his labours were extensively blest; and while he was there, some of our people sent him an invitation to come and preach at our reading-house. Being satisfied about the soundness of his principles, and being informed that the method of his preaching was awakening, we were very eager to hear him. On the 6th of July 1743, he preached his first sermon to us from Luke xiii. 3, and continued with us preaching four days successively. The congregation was large the first day, and vastly increased the three ensuing. It is hard for the liveliest imagination to form an image of the condition of the assembly on these glorious days of the Sun of Man. Such of us as had been hungering for the Word before, were lost in an agreeable surprise and astonishment, and some could not refrain from publicly declaring their transport; we were overwhelmed with the thoughts of the unexpected goodness of God, in allowing us to hear the Gospel preached in a manner that surpassed our

hopes. Many that came through curiosity were pricked to the heart, and but few in the numerous assemblies on these four days, appeared unaffected. They returned alarmed with apprehensions of their dangerous condition, convinced of their former entire ignorance of religion, and anxiously inquiring what they should do to be saved. And there is reason to believe there was as much good done by these four sermons, as by all the sermons preached in these parts before or since. Before Mr Robinson left us, he successfully endeavoured to correct some of our mistakes, and to bring us to carry on the worship of God more regularly at our meetings. After this we met to read good sermons, and began and concluded with prayer and singing of psalms, which till then we had omitted. The blessing of God remarkably attended these more private means, and it was really astonishing to observe the solemn impressions begun or continued in many by hearing good discourses read. I had repeated invitations to come to many places round, some of them thirty or forty miles distant, to read. Considerable numbers attended with eager attention and awful solemnity, and severals were in a judgment of charity turned to God, and thereupon erected meeting-houses, and chose readers among themselves, by which the work was more extensively carried on. Soon after Mr Robinson left us, the Rev. Mr John Blair paid us a visit; and truly he came to us in the fullness of the Gospel of Christ. Former impressions were ripened and new ones made on many hearts. One night in particular a whole household of people were quite overcome with the power of the Word, particularly of one pungent sentence, and they could hardly sit or stand, or keep their passions under any proper restraints. So general was the concern during his stay with us, and so ignorant were we of the danger of apostasy, that we pleased ourselves with the thoughts of more being brought to Christ at that time, than now appears to have been, though there is still the greatest reason to hope that several bound themselves to the Lord in an everlasting covenant, never to be forgotten. Some time after this, the Rev. Mr Roan was sent us by the Presbytery of Newcastles. He continued with us longer than any of the former, and the happy effects of his ministrations are still apparent. He was instrumental in beginning and promoting the religious concern in several places where there was little appearance of it before. This, together with his speaking pretty freely about the degeneracy of the clergy in this colony, gave a general alarm, and some measures were concerted to suppress us. To incense the indignation of the government the more, a perfidious wretch deposed he heard Mr Roan utter blasphemous expressions in his sermon. An indictment was thereupon drawn up against Mr Roan (though by that time he had departed the colony), and some who had invited him to preach at their houses were cited to appear before the general court, and two of them were fined. While my cause was upon trial, I had reason to rejoice that the throne of grace is accessible in all places, and that helpless creatures can send up their desires unseen in the midst of a crowd. Six witnesses were cited to prove the indictment against Mr Roan, but their depositions were in his favour; and the witness who accused him of blasphemy, when he heard of the arrival of Messrs Tennent and Finley, fled, and has not returned since; so that the indictment was dropped. But I had reason to fear being banished the colony, and all

circumstances seemed to threaten the extirpation of religion among the dissenters in these parts. In these difficulties, having no person of a public character to appear in our favour, we were determined to acquaint the Synod of New York with our case. Accordingly four of us went to the Synod, May 1745, when the Lord favoured us with success. The Synod drew up an address to our governor, the honourable Sir William Gooch, and sent it with Messrs Tennent and Finley, who were received by the governor with respect, and had liberty granted them to preach among us. By this means the dreadful cloud was scattered for a while, and our languid hopes revived. They continued with us about a week, and though the deluge of passion in which we were at first overwhelmed, was by this time somewhat abated, yet much good was done by their ministry. The people of God were refreshed, and several careless sinners were awakened. Some that had trusted before in their moral conduct and religious duties, were convinced of the depravity of their nature, and the necessity of regeneration, though, indeed, there were but few unregenerate persons among us at that time, that could claim so regular a character, the most part indulging themselves in criminal liberties, and being remiss in the duties of religion, which, alas! is too commonly the case still in such parts of the colony as the late revival did not extend to. After they left us, we continued vacant for a considerable time, and kept up our meetings for reading and prayer in several places, and the Lord favoured us with his presence. I was again repeatedly presented and fined in court for absenting myself from church, and keeping up unlawful meetings, as they were called; "but the bush flourished in the flames." The next that were appointed to supply us, were the Rev. Messrs William Tennent and Samuel Blair. They administered the Lord's supper among us, and we have reason ever to remember it as a most glorious day of the Son of Man. The assembly was large, and the novelty of the manner of the administration did peculiarly engage their attention. It appeared as one of the days of heaven to some of us; and we could hardly help wishing we could, with Joshua, have delayed the revolutions of the heavens to prolong it. After Messrs Tennent and Blair were gone, Mr Whitefield came and preached four or five days, which was the happy means of giving us farther encouragement, and engaging others to the Lord, especially among the church people, who received the Gospel more readily from him than from ministers of the Presbyterian denomination. After his departure, we were destitute of a minister, and followed our usual method of reading and prayer at our meetings, till the Rev. Mr Davies, our present pastor, was sent us by the Presbytery to supply us a few weeks in the spring, 1747, when our discouragements from the Government were renewed and multiplied; for, upon a Lord's-day, a proclamation was set up at our meeting-house, strictly requiring all magistrates to suppress and prohibit, as far as they lawfully could, all itinerant preachers, &c., which occasioned us to forbear reading that day, till we had time to deliberate and consult what was expedient to do; but how joyfully were we surprised before the next Sabbath, when we unexpectedly heard that Mr Davies was come to preach so long among us, and especially that he had qualified himself according to law, and obtained the licensing of four meeting-houses among us, which

had never been done before. Thus, man's extremity is the Lord's opportunity. For this seasonable interposition of Divine providence, we desire to offer our grateful praises, and we importunate the friends of Zion to concur with us." (Thus far Mr Morris' narrative. Then the Rev. Mr Davies proceeds to give account of the state of their affairs since he came among them in April, 1747.) Upon my arrival, I petitioned the General Court to grant me a license to officiate in and about Hanover, at four meeting-houses, which, after some delay, was granted, upon my qualifying according to the act of toleration. I preached frequently in Hanover, and some of the adjacent counties; and though the fervour of the late work was considerably abated, and my labours were not blessed with success equal to those of my brethren, yet I have reason to hope they were of service in several instances. The importunities they used with me to settle with them were invincible; and, upon my departure, they sent a call for me to the presbytery.—After I returned from Virginia, I spent near a year under melancholy and consumptive languishments, expecting death; in the spring, 1748, I began slowly to recover, though I then looked upon it only as the intermission of a disorder that would finally prove mortal. But, upon the arrival of a messenger from Hanover, I put my life in my hand, and determined to accept of their call, hoping I might live to prepare the way for some more useful successor, and willing to expire under the fatigues of duty, rather than in voluntary negligence.—The hon. Sir William Gooch, our late governor, always discovered a ready disposition to allow us all claimable privileges, and the greatest aversion to persecuting measures; but, considering the shocking reports spread abroad concerning us by officious malignants, it was no great wonder the council discovered a considerable reluctance to tolerate us. Had it not been for this, I persuade myself they would have shown themselves the guardians of our legal privileges, as well as generous patriots to their country, which is the character generally given them. In October, 1748, besides the four meeting-houses already mentioned, the people petitioned for the licensing of three more, which, with great difficulty, was obtained. Among these seven, I have hitherto divided my time. Three of them lie in Hanover county, the other four in the counties of Henrico, Carolina, Louisa, and Goochland. The nearest are twelve or fifteen miles distant from each other, and the extremes about forty. My congregation is very much dispersed, and, notwithstanding the number of the meeting-houses, some live twenty, some thirty, and some forty miles from the nearest. Were they all compactly situate in one county, they would be sufficient to form three distinct congregations. Many of the church people also attend when there is sermon at any of these houses. This I looked upon at first as mere curiosity after novelty, but as it continues, and, in some places, seems to increase, I cannot but look upon it as a happy token of their being at length thoroughly engaged; and I have the greater reason to hope so now, as experience has confirmed my former hopes. Fifty or sixty families having thus been happily entangled in the net of the Gospel by their own curiosity, or some such motive. There are about three hundred communicants in my congregation, of whom the greatest number are, in the judgment of rational charity, real Christians. Besides some, who, through excessive scrupulousness,

do not seek admission to the Lord's table. There is also a number of negroes. Sometimes I see an hundred and more among my hearers. (Psal: lxxviii. 31.) I have baptized about forty of them within these three years, upon such a profession of faith as I then judged credible. Some of them, I fear, have apostatized, but others, I trust, will persevere to the end. I have had as satisfying evidences of the sincere piety of several of them, as ever I had from any person in my life, and their artless simplicity, their passionate aspirations after Christ, their incessant endeavours to know and do the will of God, have charmed me. But, alas! while my charge is so extensive, I cannot take sufficient pains with them for their instruction, which often oppresses my heart.—There have been instances of unhappy apostasy amongst us: but, blest be God, not many in proportion to the number brought under concern. At present there are a few under promising impressions; but, in general, a lamentable security prevails. Oh for a little reviving in our bondage! I might have given you a particular account of the conversion of some persons here, as indeed there are some uncommon instances of it, but I shall only observe in general, that abstracting from particular circumstances, the work of conversion has been carried on in such steps as are described by experimental divines, as Alleine, Shepherd, Stoddard, Flavel, &c. And nothing confirms me more in the truth of their opinions concerning experimental piety, than this agreement and uniformity as to the substance, in the exercises of those that can make the fairest claim to saving grace. There is one Isaac Oliver here, whose history, could I write it intelligibly to you, would be very entertaining. He has been deaf and dumb from his birth, and yet I have the utmost reason to believe he is truly gracious, and also acquainted with most of the doctrines, and many of the historical facts of the Bible. I have seen him represent the crucifixion of Christ in such significant signs, that I could not but understand them. Those that live in the house with him can hold conversation with him very readily. There is so much of the devout ardour of his soul discovered at times, as is really affecting, and I have seen him converse in signs about the love and sufferings of Christ, till he has been transported into earnestness, and dissolved in tears. The above Mr Morris, with whom he lives, has told me, that eight years ago he appeared remarkably changed, and ever since is very conscientious in the whole of his behaviour; generally delights to attend both public and family-worship, though he cannot hear a word; and is observed sometimes to retire to secret prayer, though he signifies that he is praying with his heart, when about his business, or in company, which is peculiarly practicable to him, as in all places he enjoys retirement. I could relate several peculiarities about him; but as they are unintelligible to myself, or might seem incredible to those that are unacquainted with him, I omit them. So much, however, I know of him, that I cannot but look upon him as a marvellous monument of Almighty grace, that can perform its purposes on men, notwithstanding the greatest natural or moral impediments; and I submit it to the judgment of others, whether a person so incapable of external instructions, could be brought to know the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven any other way than by immediate revelation. Besides the people here, several of my brethren

who have been here, particularly Messrs Samuel, Blair, and John Roan, can attest this relation. I forgot to inform you, in its proper place, that the Rev. Mr Davenport was sent by the synod to Hanover last summer, and continued here about two months. And, blest be God, did not labour in vain. Some were brought under concern, and many of the Lord's people much revived, who can never forget the instrument of it. Thus, dear Sir, I have given you a brief account of what I am persuaded you will readily own to be the work of the Lord. We claim no infallibility, but we must not fall into scepticism. If we could form no judgment of such a work, why should we pretend to promote the conversion of men, if we cannot have any satisfying knowledge of it, when it appears? Indeed the evidence of its divinity here is so irresistible, that it has extorted an acknowledgment from some, from whom it could hardly be expected. Were you, Sir, a narrow bigot, you would, no doubt, rejoice to hear that there are now some hundreds of dissenters in a place, where, a few years ago, there were not ten; but I assure myself of your congratulations on a nobler account, because a considerable number of perishing sinners are gained to the blessed Redeemer, with whom, though you never see them here, you may spend a blissful eternity. After all, poor Virginia demands your compassion, for religion at present is but like the cloud which Elijah's servant saw. Oh that it may spread and cover the land!

As to other counties where dissenters are settled. There are two congregations, one in Albemarle, and one in Augusta county, belonging to the synod of Philadelphia, that have ministers settled among them; but those that have put themselves under the care of Newcastle Presbytery (which are vastly more numerous) notwithstanding their repeated endeavours, are still destitute of ministers. There are as many of them as would form five distinct congregations, three, at least, in Augusta, one in Frederica, and one, at least, in Lunenburg and Amelia. Notwithstanding the supplies our presbytery have sent them, some of them, particularly Lunenburg, have been above a year together without one sermon. I hope one of them may soon be provided by a pious young man, Mr Todd, sent by New Brunswick presbytery, but I have no prospect as to the rest; for I can now count up at least six or seven vacant congregations in Pennsylvania, and two or three in Maryland, besides the five mentioned in the frontier counties of Virginia, and a part of my own congregation, which I would willingly declare vacant, had they opportunity of obtaining another minister. And there are but twelve members in Newcastle Presbytery, and two or three candidates that are pre-engaged to vacancies in Pennsylvania. We have indeed of late licensed several pious youths, but our vacancies increase almost as fast as our ministers, by the settlement of new places or the breaking out of religious concern in places where there was little before; and some of our most useful members are lately called home by death; such as Messrs Robinson, and Dean, and now Mr Samuel Blair. May the Lord induce faithful ministers from New England, or wherever they might be spared, to come and help us!—While these congregations have been destitute of settled pastors, itinerant preaching among them, has, by the blessing of God, been very useful. Mr Robinson underwent great hardships in North Carolina without much success, by reason of

the fewness and savage ignorance of the inhabitants; but the case is now happily altered. A new congregation, I think upon Pee-dee river, sent a petition lately to our presbytery for a minister. Besides this, I hear of several other places in North Carolina, that are ripening very fast for the gospel. "O that the Lord would send forth faithful labourers into his harvest!" Mr Robinson was the instrument of awakening several in Lunenburg and Amelia, with whom I lately spent a fortnight at their earnest desire; and there is a prospect of doing much service were they furnished with a faithful minister. I met with most encouragement in a part of Amelia county, where very few had heard any of my brethren. The assemblies were large even on week-days, and sometimes there appeared much solemnity and affection among them. There appears great probability of success, if they had a faithful minister. It was really afflicting to me that the necessity of my own congregation constrained me to leave them so soon. In Augusta there is a great number of solid lively Christians. There was a pretty general awakening there some years ago under the ministry of Messrs Dean and Byram. I believe three ministers might live very comfortably among them. In Frederick county there has also been (as I have been informed by my brethren who have been there) a considerable awakening some years ago, which has had a blessed issue in many, and the congregation have been seeking a minister for several years. In Maryland also, there has been a considerable revival (shall I call it?) or first plantation of religion, in Baltimore county, where I am informed Mr Whittlesey is likely to settle. In Kent county and Queen Anne's, a number of careless sinners have been awakened and hopefully brought to Christ. The work was begun and chiefly carried on by the instrumentality of that favoured man Mr Robinson, whose success, whenever I reflect upon it, astonishes me. Oh! he did much in a little time, and who would not choose such an expeditious pilgrimage through this world? There is in these places a considerable congregation, and they have made repeated essays to obtain a settled minister. There was a great stir about religion in Buckingham, a place on the sea-shore, about four years ago, which has since spread and issued in a hopeful conversion in several instances. They also want a minister. But the most glorious display of Divine grace in Maryland has been in and about Somerset county. It began, I think, in 1745, by the ministry of Mr Robinson, and was afterwards carried on by several ministers that preached transiently there. I was there about two months, when the work was at its height, and I never saw such a deep and spreading concern; the assemblies were numerous, though in the extremity of a cold winter, and unwearied in attending the Word; and frequently there were very few among them that did not give some plain indications of distress or joy. Oh! these were the happiest days that ever my eyes saw. Since that the harvest seems over there, though considerable gleanings, I hear, are still gathered. They have of late got Mr Henry for their minister, a young man, who, I trust, will be an extensive blessing to that part of the colony. I shall prize it, dear Sir, as a great blessing, if you and others of the Lord's servants and people in distant parts, favour us with your prayers. And shall be glad to correspond with them. Our acquaintance with the various parts of the church

qualifies us to adapt our prayers to their state. May your Divine Master bless you and succeed your ministrations, and pour out His Spirit on the land where you reside. I am, &c.¹

CHAPTER VI.

IN SCOTLAND, 1742, &c.

SECTION I.

OF THE WORK AT CAMBUSLANG.—CARE TO DETECT IMPOSTORS.—THINGS PREVIOUS TO THE WORK, VIZ., PREACHING ON REGENERATION: A WEEKLY LECTURE: MEETING OF THE SOCIETIES FOR PRAYER.—FEB. 18TH, 1742, ABOUT FIFTY PERSONS BROUGHT UNDER GREAT CONCERN.—NUMBERS RESORT TO THE PLACE.—IN A FEW WEEKS THE NUMBER OF THE AWAKENED ABOVE THREE HUNDRED.—THE GOOD FRUITS, SUCH AS REFORMATION, REMORSE, FORGIVENESS, RESTITUTION, FAMILY WORSHIP, LOVE TO THE SCRIPTURES, &c.—THE SUBJECTS OF THIS WORK OF DIFFERENT AGES AND CHARACTERS.—ATTESTATIONS BY MINISTERS, PREACHERS, AND OTHERS.

From the Narrative printed at Glasgow, 1742.

Attestation to the Facts in the following Narrative, by Mr McCulloch, Minister at Cambuslang, May 8th, 1742.

I HAVE perused the following short Narrative, and can attest the facts contained in it; partly from personal knowledge, partly from the most credible informations; but think it a loss that it is not more full. I have seen a larger paper compiled by different hands; which, besides the facts related in this, contains several useful reasonings, tending to prove that the favourable judgment formed by many, and even by some, who, through want of due information, hesitated at first about this work, is supported by all that kind of evidence that things of this nature are capable of in such a space of time. And, consequently, that there is good ground to hope that, by the Divine blessing, the confirmation arising from perseverance will be daily increasing as hitherto it has been, &c. &c.

WILLIAM McCULLOCH.

¹ May 22d, 1754, Mr G. Tennent and Mr Davies being at Edinburgh, as agents for the trustees of the college of New Jersey (an institution that promises well, if the Lord vouchsafe it his blessing, for the success of the Gospel) Mr Davies informs that one Mr Brown is lately ordained in Augusta county, where there were sundry congregations vacant ever since their first settlement; that he has the care of two meetings, and as he is a youth of piety, prudence, and zeal, there is reason to expect that his labours will be of extensive service in that wilderness, not only in his own more peculiar charge, but in the neighbouring places that have no minister of their own. Also, that Mr John Wright, who supplies Mr Davies' charge in his absence, has wrote, that since he has officiated in his place, there are considerable appearances of success in Caroline and Henrico, where Mr Davies was apprehensive he laboured much in vain. When Mr Davies left Virginia in August last, there was a hopeful appearance of a greater spread of a religious concern amongst the Negroes. A few weeks before he left home, he baptized in one day fifteen Negroes after they had been catechised for some months, and given credible evidences of their sincerely embracing the Gospel. He also says, that Isaac Oliver, the dumb man mentioned in his letter above, has behaved as one would expect from such promising beginnings, his conduct being such as becomes the profession of the Gospel.

A Narrative of the extraordinary Work at Cambuslang, in a Letter to a Friend, May 8th, 1742.

SIR,—As the report of the good work at Cambuslang, which has for several weeks engaged the attention of numbers in this city and country in the neighbourhood, is now spread over a great part of the nation, it is no wonder that one who lives at the distance you do should be curious to have a true relation of it; and as I would be glad of any opportunity to serve you, it is very agreeable to me to think I can gratify you in this matter, especially in what concerns the people in that parish and some other parishes near it, having had opportunity to converse fully with the minister of Cambuslang, and with many of the people there who are under this spiritual exercise, and also with some other ministers, who have several in their parishes that appear to be under the same happy impressions.

There is one thing in the entry I must apprise you of, viz., that I am to confine myself to a simple narration of facts, as the evidences on which the opinion of many concerning the present happy change that is wrought on that people, is founded; without entering into any reasoning, but leaving it to yourself to draw proper conclusions from the facts, after comparing them with Scripture rules and instances.

I must also acquaint you, as it was natural to expect, when on a singular occasion of this sort, great numbers of people from adjacent towns and country, came flocking to a place that became so remarkable, that in such a promiscuous multitude some counterfeits would readily happen; it was the early care of ministers who interested themselves most in that matter, to enter into a strict examination of those who appeared to be under a more than ordinary concern, so as to obtain satisfaction to themselves, whether the work was solid; being justly apprehensive that the powers of darkness would not fail to employ their devices to bring contempt on what might tend so much to the honour of the Gospel. In those watchful endeavours it must be owned, that some impostors were found to have mixed with the sincere; but there is reason to bless God, that, so far as yet appears, they have been very few; and as these have been severely rebuked, so the most awful warnings have been given against all such insincere pretensions, which warnings, there is ground to believe, have had very good effects.

Now, Sir, to give the short history of this matter. The minister of that parish, in his ordinary course of sermons, for near a twelvemonth before this work began, had been preaching on these subjects which tend most directly to explain the nature, and prove the necessity of regeneration, according to the different lights in which that important matter is represented in holy scripture; and for some months before the late remarkable events, a more than ordinary concern about religion appeared among that people; one good evidence of which was, that about the end of January last, a petition was given in to the minister, subscribed by about ninety heads of families, desiring that a weekly lecture should be set up; which was readily granted, and the day fixed on Thursday, as the most convenient for the temporal interests of the parish. On Monday the 15th of February 1742, there was a general meeting, at the minister's house, of the particular societies for prayer, which had subsisted in the parish for several

years before. On Tuesday there was another meeting for prayer there, the occasion of which was a concert with several serious Christians elsewhere, about solemn prayer, relating to the public interests of the gospel; in which concert only a small number of people in Cambuslang were engaged at first, but others getting notice of it desired to join, and were admitted: the people who met for prayer these two days, apprehended that they had been so well employed, and found so much leisure for it, that they had a third meeting on Wednesday: but on all these three days they returned timeously in the evening to their own houses, so far is it from being true that they rushed from some of these meetings to the church and continued immured there for some days and nights, as was reported.

Before Thursday, February 18th, they had week-days' sermons only on Thursdays, according to the above-mentioned desire of the parish; and before that day, though several particular persons came to the minister, from time to time, under deep concern about their salvation, yet there came no great numbers together. But on that day after sermon a considerable number of people, reckoned by some present about fifty, came together to the minister's house, under convictions and alarming apprehensions about the state of their souls, and desiring to speak with him. From this unexpected number, coming in an evening, in so great distress, and the necessity of the minister's exhorting them in general, and conversing with many of them separately, you will easily perceive that he behaved to spend that night with them, as he did most part of two or three more since this work began, which is now about twelve weeks.

After this, numbers daily resorted to that place, some to hear the word, some to converse with people who were under this remarkable concern, and others with different views; and the desires and exigencies of those were such that the minister found himself obliged, without any previous intimation, to provide them daily sermon, a few days excepted, and after sermon usually to spend some time with them in exhortations, prayers, and singing of psalms, being especially encouraged thereto by the extraordinary success with which God was pleased, from time to time, to bless his own ordinances, in so much that, by the best information that could be had, the number of persons awakened to a deep concern about salvation, and against whom there are no known exceptions as yet, has amounted to above three hundred. And, through divine mercy, the work seems to be still making considerable progress every week, and more for some weeks of late than some times formerly. Of the number just now mentioned the far greater part have given already, both to ministers and other serious Christians, a good account of what they have felt in their convictions and humiliation for sin, of the way of their relief by faith in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and of the change they feel in the prevalent inclinations and dispositions of their hearts. As to their devotion and other parts of their practice, which is that which chiefly attracts the attention and regard of this country, there are comfortable accounts given of it, by those who have the best and most frequent opportunities of knowing their daily behaviour. The parish of Cambuslang being of so small extent, that most of the people live within a mile of the church, and some who have the best intelligence, being almost every day with the minister, he and they

have abundant opportunities to know the practices of such of the people I am speaking of, as live within their bounds. And the account they give of it is, that they appear to be in a very hopeful way; and the like good accounts are given by several ministers and others, of such of those people as belong to other neighbouring parishes.

Among the particular good fruits, already appearing, both in Cambuslang and elsewhere, the following instances seem very encouraging: a visible reformation of the lives of persons who were formerly notorious sinners; particularly, the laying aside of cursing and swearing, and drinking to excess, among these who were addicted to that practice: remorse for acts of injustice, and for violation of relative duties confessed to the persons wronged, joined with new endeavours after a conscientious discharge of such duties; restitution which has more than once been distinctly and particularly inculcated in public since this work began; forgiving of injuries; all desirable evidences of fervent love to one another, to all men, and even to those who speak evil of them; and among those people both in Cambuslang and other parishes, more affectionate expressions of regard than ever to their own ministers, and to the ordinances dispensed by them; the keeping up divine worship in families, where it was neglected very often by some and entirely by others; the erecting of new societies for prayer, both of old and young, partly within the parish, where no less than twelve such societies are newly begun, and partly elsewhere, among persons who have been awakened on this occasion: and, together with all these things, ardent love to the holy scriptures, vehement thirsting after the public ordinances, earnest desires to get private instructions in their duty from ministers and others, with commendable docility and tractableness in receiving such instructions. This thirst after knowledge is particularly remarkable in those who were more ignorant; several who cannot read, and some of them old persons, being so desirous to be better acquainted with the word of God, that they are resolved to learn to read, and some of the younger sort actually putting themselves to school. I would farther add, that these good impressions have been made on persons of very different characters and ages; on some of the most abandoned as well as the more sober: on young as well as old; on the illiterate as well as the more knowing; on persons of a slower as well as those of a quicker and more sprightly genius; and, which seems to deserve special attention, on persons who were addicted to scoffing at sacred things, and at this work in particular at the beginning of it.

The sum of the facts I have represented to you is, that this work has been begun, and carried on under the influence of the great and substantial doctrines of Christianity, pressing jointly, the necessity of repentance towards God, of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and of holiness in all manner of conversation; that it came after such preparatives as an extensive concern about religion gradually increasing; together with extraordinary fervent prayer in large meetings, particularly relating to the success of the gospel; that great and successful pains have been taken, to discover and discountenance hypocritical pretences, and to warn people against what might have the least appearance of enthusiasm, or delusion: that the account given by a very large number of people, of their inward exercises and at-

tainments, seems to agree with the Scripture standard; and are bringing forth in practice, fruits meet for repentance, comprehending the several branches of piety, and of the most substantial morality, that can entitle men, to the regards of the friends of religion and virtue.

And now, Sir, I have given you a plain and simple account of the most material facts, relating to this extraordinary work at Cambuslang, and those awakened there belonging to other parishes; together with the proper documents by which these facts are supported; in all which I have avoided disputing, and studied brevity. I leave it to you to judge, how far such facts make it evident that this work is from God; when (to use the words of a pious divine, treating of a subject of the same nature),¹ "He that was formerly a drunkard lives a sober life; when a vain, light and wanton person becomes grave and sedate; when the blasphemer becomes a praiser of God; when carnal joy is turned into heaviness, and that professedly on account of their soul's condition; when the ignorant are filled with knowledge of Divine things, and the tongue that was dumb in the things of God speaks the language of Canaan." When secure sinners "have been roused with a witness about the state of their souls (Luke xi. 21, 22); those who were ignorant can speak skillfully about religious things; and even the graceless are increased in knowledge;—awearers drop their oaths, and speak reverently of God; vain persons who minded no religion, but frequented taverns, and frolics, passing their time in filthiness, foolish talking and jesting, or singing paltry songs, do now frequent Christian societies (for prayer); seek Christian conversation and talk of soul-concerns, and chuse to express their mirth in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; they who were too sprightly to be devout, and esteemed it an unmanly thing to shed tears for their souls' state, have mourned as for an only son, and seemed to be in bitterness as for a first born, Zechar. xii. 10. And persons who came to mock at the lamentations of others have been convinced, and by free grace proselyted to such ways as they formerly despised." I am, &c.

It may be of use to readers, who live at a distance, in perusing the following attestations, to know, as to the situation of Cambuslang, that it lies about four miles from Glasgow; the several parishes, whose ministers, heritors, and elders, sign most of the attestations, lie very near it, viz. the parishes of Kilbryde, Bothwell, Old Monkland, and Barony. That Mr Matthew Connell, and Mr William Hamilton, live but about three miles from Cambuslang, and are the eldest ministers of the Presbytery of Hamilton, in whose bounds that parish lies. That the two preachers who sign a joint attestation, and are young men of known probity, have frequently assisted Mr M'Culloch of late; that Mr Duncan resides in the parish, and Mr Young has resided a considerable time in the Gorbals, near Glasgow, where many of the awakened people dwell. Also that Mr Willison and Mr M'Kneight, who live at a good distance from Cambuslang, spent some time there, inquiring into this work, as their attestations bear.

¹ See Mr Finley's sermon, entitled, "Christ Triumphant," &c.

Extracts of Attestations, to the Facts in the Narrative, relating to the Fruits of this work.—I. By Mr Willison one of the Ministers of Dundee, dated Glasgow, April 16th, 1742.

R.D.B. Seeing some are desirous to have my thoughts of the work at Cambuslang, I am willing to own, that I have travelled a good way to enquire, and get satisfaction about it. And having resided several days in Mr M'Culloch's house, I had occasion to converse with many who had been awakened and under convictions there. I found several in darkness and great distress about their soul's condition, and with many tears bewailing their sins and original corruption, and especially the sin of unbelief, and slighting of precious Christ, and some who had been in this case for these several weeks past; yet I saw nothing in any tending to despair, but, on the contrary, their exercise pointed still at the great remedy, for often they would be breaking out in hopeful expressions, such as, "Though he slay me I will trust in him." Others I found in a most desirable frame, overcome with a sense of the wonderful love and loveliness of Jesus Christ, even sick of love, and inviting all about them to help them to praise him. I spoke also with many who had got relief from their soul trouble, and in whom the gracious work of the Spirit of God appeared in the fruits and effects of it, according to my apprehension; such as their ingenuous confessing of their former evil ways, and professing a hatred of sin; very low and abasing thoughts of themselves; renouncing the vanities of the world, and all their own doings and righteousness, and relying wholly upon Christ for righteousness and strength; and expressing great love to Christ, to the Bible, to secret prayer, to the people of God, and to his image, in whomsoever it was, without respect of persons, or parties; and also love to their enemies; and when they heard of some who called the work at C——g a delusion of the devil, they showed no resentment against them, but wished their eyes might be opened, and earnestly wished they could bring all their enemies, and all the world to their dear Redeemer. I conversed with some who had been very wicked, and scandalous, but now wonderfully changed: though some were very rude and boisterous before, they now had the meekness and mildness of the Lamb about them. When they spoke of their former ways they blushed, and wept, and said none in all the country round were so vile as they, and earnestly desired to exalt free grace: and when I was cautioning them against new temptations and relapses, they showed a sense of their own weakness, and were afraid on that account to come near their old companions, though they would fain had them also brought to Christ: they said, they would wish rather to die than go back to old sins, and if ever they should be left to any of them, they would incline to leave the country, because of the dishonour it would bring on the work of God, which they could not bear to see. Though I conversed with a great number, both men and women, old and young, I could observe nothing visionary or enthusiastic about them; for their discourses were solid, and experiences scriptural; and all the comfort and relief they got from trouble, still came to them by some promise or word of Scripture cast into their minds, and it was pleasant to hear them mention the great variety of these words up and down the Bible. And some who could not read,

told their words of consolation, not knowing well if they were in the Bible or not, and upon asking if they were Bible words or not, they greatly rejoiced to find they were. I had heard much of this surprising work by letters, and from eye-witnesses before I came, but all that made slight impressions on me, when compared with what I was eye and ear witness to myself. Upon the whole, I look on the work at C——g, to be a most singular, and marvellous outpouring of the Holy Spirit; and I pray it may be a happy forerunner of a general reviving of the work of God in this poor decayed Church, and a blessed mean of union among all the lovers of our dear Jesus. I am sorry I cannot stay to assist you farther in this good work; my business and circumstances oblige me to return homewards. May the Lord himself strengthen and encourage you in his work, and graciously carry on what he has begun, and take to him his great power, that he may reign gloriously through all the land. I remain with all sincerity, R.D.B., &c.

JO. WILLISON.

II. *By Mr Connell, Minister at Kilbryde, dated Kilbryde, April 19, 1742.*

R.D.B. Many have asked my opinion of the work at Cambuslang which I freely gave (as now I write to you) that I looked upon it as a work of God's Spirit: when I compared the exercise of several persons that had been there, with the Scripture accounts of conviction and conversion, I have been under a necessity to conclude that it is neither delusion nor imposture, as has been given out by those who are unacquainted with the dealings of God of that kind, or under the influence of party zeal. Some I have seen crying out of the evil of sin, and of their danger by it, sadly bewailing their guilt and misery, expressing a most earnest desire of an interest in Christ, which they said they would value more than all the world, but bitterly complaining of want of love to him, want of faith in him, and undutiful carriage towards him through their past life; and if now it might be their attainment, for former coldness and deadness, to have love to Christ; for unbelief, faith in him, and for an undutiful behaviour towards him, a sincere and hearty embracing of him in the Gospel offer; and living the rest of their time to the praise and glory of his name; this they would account their greatest happiness, and the remedy of all the evils in their case; and, for this effect, they begged the help of prayers. Others I have seen who lamented their lost time and opportunities, and the vanity and folly of their youth, saying many good sermons and prayers they had heard, but all had been lost to them, and had no good effect upon them, being wholly carried away with youthful vanities and follies: but added, now we are resolved in the strength of the grace of Christ (for, said they, of ourselves we can do nothing) to improve time and opportunities better, to value sermons and prayers, to read the Scriptures, to keep company with the fearers of God, and to shun fellowship with the wicked as much as possible, blessing God that he had not taken them away, before they saw the necessity of all these. Others I have conversed with, who, like doves of the vallies, were mourning for their iniquities, principally because they did strike against God, and wound their Redeemer, using the expressions,

Psalms, li. 4., and Zech. xii. 10., but with good hope, through the merits of Christ, and mercy of God in him, that it would be well with them. Others I have observed at one time much dejected and under a cloud, at another time possessed of a good measure of spiritual joy, as it happens with the best of saints. Others I have heard cry, they had spent their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which did not satisfy, having given their time and strength to the world, and the things of it, which now they resolved against, there being matters of greater moment, which they saw and were convinced they should be mainly taken up about. And to trouble you with no more, (for I could write you a volume on this subject) a young woman, after having given me an account of her distress and outgate said, I have lived about twenty years in the world, and all that time the devil had possession of my heart, and I am sure he is a bad guest, but blessed be God, I hope he is now in a great measure dispossessed, and shall never, through the strength of Christ, recover that power over me that formerly he had. Meantime, I observe to you, this person had all along been of a blameless life, and not chargeable with any scandal, but with tears regretted her careless way of going about secret duty, reading the Scriptures, and hearing sermons, or neglecting these altogether; but with much humility and seriousness, in the strength of divine grace, expressed her resolution that she would do so no more. Upon the whole, in most of all I have seen and conversed with, I observe, and have daily occasion to observe, the effects of godly sorrow mentioned by the apostle, 2 Cor. vii. 11, &c. Praying the pleasure of the Lord may more and more prosper in your hands, and begging the help of your prayers for me, and this people. I am, &c.

MATTHEW CONNEL.

III. *By Mr John Hamilton, Minister of Barony, dated Glasgow, April 26th, 1742.*

I understand it is expected from me, that I should declare my sentiments of the extraordinary work at Cambuslang; as a good many of my parishioners have lately been awakened there, to a great concern about their souls' happiness. As soon as I was informed of their condition, I made it my business, to wait on them, and found a good many persons under the deepest exercise of soul, crying out most bitterly, of their lost and miserable estate, by reason of sin; of their unbelief, in despising Christ, and the offers of the gospel; of the hardness of their heart and their former gross carelessness and indifferency about religion; and though some of them said, they had regularly attended the preaching of the gospel, yet they acknowledged with much regret, their misimprovement of it; how many sweet sermons they had heard without any benefit, and they came to a church with no design to be instructed, but only, as they said, to see, and to be seen. I have heard them expressing a great deal of sorrow for these things, and seemingly, in the most serious and sincere manner; and not so much, as some of them have told me, from the fear of punishment, to which they had thereby exposed themselves, as from a sense of the dishonour they had done to God, and the blessed Redeemer; and frequently aggravated their sins from this consideration, that they had been the betrayers, and murderers of the Lord of glory. And

though I have seen some of them under extreme affliction and distress, I could never observe the least disorder in their judgments: but their complaints were always suitable to their condition. Neither have I observed any of them carried away with despairing thoughts of the mercy of God: but all of them seemed to be seeking relief, in the method the Gospel proposes; and expressed the warmest desires after an interest in Christ, to obtain which they said they would cheerfully lay down their lives, and part with every thing that was dear to them in the world. I have at several different times conversed with many of these persons, and have received no small satisfaction from such conversations. When speaking of prayer, they have told me, how much that duty had been neglected by them, and in what a cold lifeless manner it was performed; from which therefore, they never did nor could reap any satisfaction: but now they said, it was an exercise in which they found much sweetness and comfort. Their love to the Holy Scripture all of them express in the most lively and moving manner, frequently calling it a precious and invaluable treasure; greatly surprised how they could possibly slight it so much in time past, and declaring they now saw many things in it, highly useful and comfortable to them which they never imagined had been there. They express a great deal of love to, and desire after the public ordinances; when I have asked some of them, if they had such affection as the Psalmist speaks of in the beginning of the 122d Psalm, when it was said to him let us go up to the house of the Lord, they have told me, that though it was quite otherwise with them before, yet now they found a vast pleasure in attending the church, and public worship of God, and a great unwillingness in them to withdraw from it, when the service was over. They are likewise exceedingly desirous of more private instruction in their duty, and take all opportunities of waiting on those, that can be of use to them, and such of them as are near at hand, do frequently come to my house, and receive my advice and assistance; and I never saw persons more docile than they are. I must own indeed that when I first conversed with them I found some of them pretty ignorant of the principles of religion; but this was what they seemed deeply grieved and afflicted for, and much condemned their former sloth and negligence; and since that time, have been making use of the proper means of knowledge, and I think I can say, with no contemptible success, considering the short time they have had. Some of them seem to discover devout breathings of soul after God, and the blessed Redeemer, and resolutions through grace, to depend upon him in the worst of circumstances, often making use of these words of Job xiii. 15, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." I have been much surprised to see how readily, nay even judiciously, some of them who had been formerly ignorant and unconverted, have spoken of the most important points of practical religion, and with what facility they have adduced passages of Scripture very suitable to what they were speaking about. There is another branch of Christian duty, that I do think they are likewise studying a conformity to; and that is love to mankind. I have heard them often wishing, and desiring that all men might be brought to Christ, and the knowledge of the truth; and particularly expressing a great regard for all that are the Lord's people. So far as I have yet access to know them,

they seem to be of a meek and quiet spirit, and willing to forgive; telling me they desire to wish well, and to pray even for the happiness of those who had been injurious to them. More might be said upon this subject, but I chuse rather to be sparing, till time make a clearer discovery of them. The persons I have conversed with, were of different characters: some of them had all along been pretty sober and regular in their lives, and duly enough attended the ordinances of the gospel, others of them were very careless this way, and addicted to many sins: but even those who were more blameless in their lives, have declared, that their hearts till now were never touched with anything they heard from the word of God; that they had never lived under the influence of religion, and were grossly unconcerned about their salvation. These now are the appearances I observe among some of my people, who were awakened to a concern about their souls at Cambuslang; which do strongly incline me to think that it is the work of God.

JOHN HAMILTON.

IV. *By Mr William Hamilton, Minister at Bothwell, May 7th, 1741.*

R. and D. B. I have seen the attestation by Mr Matthew Connell in Kilbryde, as also that by John Hamilton in Barony of Glasgow. As I have no new thing to add, so I heartily join in the same sentiments with my above-named brethren, as to the reality of that extraordinary work at Cambuslang, being in very deed a gracious work of the Spirit of God, designed, I firmly believe, for the saving conviction and conversion of many perishing souls, not only in that parish, but in the neighbourhood. May the Lord, in his infinite mercy, shed abroad the influences of his saving grace through all the corners of the land. There are a good number of my people, mostly young people, who have been awakened at Cambuslang, and have much the same account to give of them with my above-named brethren: all of them are very serious and concerned about their souls' case, and are very solicitous to have others brought to acquaintance with Christ, and the way of salvation through him: which has had this (I hope) blessed effect, that there seems to be a more than ordinary seriousness among a goodly number in several corners of this congregation, more conscience made of family worship, in several families who made but too little account of it before; as likewise there are some new societies for prayer and Christian conference set up in this congregation, wherein several persons, besides these awakened at Cambuslang, have joined. I hope these things, through the blessing of God, may prove the beginning of much good in this and in other places. May that blessed God, who has begun a good work, either with you, or any other place, carry on and perfect the same until the day of Jesus Christ. May the Lord direct and assist you and all his servants, to a right and faithful management of our great Master's work amongst our hands. I add no more, but am, Your's, &c.

WILLIAM HAMILTON.

V. *By Mr William Hamilton, Minister at Douglas, May 6th, 1742.*

R. and D. B. While I was with you, it gave me

great pleasure to see so much concern upon people's spirits about the salvation of their precious and immortal souls, a thing very rare amongst us: some whom I had occasion to discourse with, appeared to be in the utmost distress upon account of sin, both original and actual, and that principally as it is that abominable thing which God hates. Others, whose consciences God had awakened with a sense of guilt, but had now got believing views of Christ Jesus, as a most complete Saviour, both able and willing to save, and whom God had determined, by the power of his Spirit, to yield themselves to the Lord. They, in a very strong manner, expressed love to their God and Saviour, and to all his commands, both of the first and second table of the law; and declared that it was their firm purpose and resolution, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless; and seemed more afraid of offending God, than of any sufferings they might be exposed to in the world: and their practices, so far as I can hear, are as yet, agreeable to their resolutions; so that I not only hope, but think I have good ground to believe, that work begun and for some time past carried on amongst the people of Cambuslang, and strangers that have resorted thither from many distant parts, shall appear, to the conviction of all good men, to be the work of God, from the after holy life and conversation, of not a few of those whose consciences have at this time been awakened to a sense of their lost and undone state by nature. That the Lord may more and more assist, strengthen, and support you, and give you and all faithful ministers of the gospel many seals of their ministry, is the hearty prayer of, D. B. &c.

WILLIAM HAMILTON.

VI. *By Mr M'Knight, Minister at Irvine, May 6, 1743.*

R. and D. B. As I had, by information from letters, conceived a good opinion of the extraordinary and surprising work at Cambuslang before I went thither, upon an invitation from you to preach there last Sabbath; so my said opinion has been very much confirmed by what I was eye and ear-witness to, during my abode with you, from Saturday to Tuesday last; being still more and more persuaded that it is the real work of the Spirit of God. While I joined with your congregation in public worship, I observed amongst the vast numbers that flocked to hear the gospel preached at Cambuslang, not only the serious looks, the grave deportment, and the close attention to what was spoken, but also the weeping eyes of many that appeared to be in the greatest distress and trouble. Again, in the evenings, after public worship was ended, and when I had occasion to converse with several of these afflicted persons, I found their wounds and anguish of soul, together with their tears, did proceed not from a whimsical and enthusiastic imagination, but from a deep conviction of the great evil and demerit of sin original and actual, particularly of their sin of unbelief, and slighting precious Christ, and gracious offers of salvation by him; and when I exhorted and directed them to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the apostle Paul did the convinced and trembling jailor, Acts xvi. 31., they answered, "Lord, help me to believe; gladly would I believe,

but I cannot." However, while under their soul-exercises for sin, and because of God's wrath, I heard them expressing ardent desires after Christ, and an interest in him, and salvation by him; and a great thirst after the word, the knowledge of God and of divine things, and after a saving faith in a crucified Jesus, which gave me ground to hope that our Redeemer Jesus, would soon accomplish these longing desires in relieving them from their distresses of both body and mind. Likewise, I conversed with others who were under piercing and deep convictions of sin, and have left the sharp arrows of the Almighty sticking fast in their souls, and to whom the Spirit of God had, upon their believing in Jesus Christ, applied his precious blood to heal these wounds, and hereupon hath granted them relief and comfort, hath delivered their souls from death, their eyes from tears, and their feet from falling; for which distinguishing mercies, they were exalting free grace, saying with the apostle Paul, "It is by grace we are what we are; and blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ." They, when I conversed with them, declared distinctly the way and manner, how their convictions began and wrought, and how the relief they got from soul-troubles came to them. They also discovered the gracious work of the Spirit of God upon their souls, in their confession of sin with shame, sorrow, and blushing; in their professing a hatred of it, and loathing themselves on the account thereof, crying out, "Behold we are vile, we abhor ourselves, and repent in dust and ashes;" in their love to God, and his ordinances; in renouncing their own righteousness, and relying wholly on Christ for righteousness and strength; in their high esteem of, and ardent love to their dear Redeemer; in their charity and love to one another, and especially to those who are the real disciples of the Lord Jesus, and bear the image of their heavenly Father; in their tender sympathy with, and affectionate concern for those that fall under distress and anguish of spirit for sin; and in their endeavours to relieve them, by good advices and proper exhortations, and to comfort the dejected and disquieted in mind, with the consolations wherewith they themselves had been comforted. These are a few of the good fruits of the Spirit of God I observed among several I conversed with at Cambuslang. Therefore I cannot but bear a testimony, that, in my apprehension, the surprising work with you, dear brother, for these several weeks past, is of God. And if the work be of God, then neither the devil, nor all his agents, shall be able to overthrow it, &c. &c.

WILLIAM M'KNEIGHT.

VII. *By Mr M'Laurin, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, May 12, 1742.*

Having had occasion not only to converse with several in this city, who have been lately awakened at Cambuslang, to a deep concern about salvation; and upon inquiry to get good accounts of their behaviour; but also to bestow some pains, in conversations and inquiries of that kind, in the parish of Cambuslang itself; by these means, I am in a condition to affirm on good grounds, several of the most material things in the above narrative and attestations: but in regard of the intended brevity of

this paper, I judge it proper, to avoid too particular repetition of things already attested by so many good hands. By the accounts which several of these people give of their impressions of things of eternal importance, with great appearances of sincerity, supported by the accounts given by others of their conduct, they seem, in the judgment of charity, to be persons to whom the following scripture characters agree; viz. that "they are of broken hearts and contrite spirits; that they come to God through Jesus Christ as the way, the life, and the truth; that they endeavour, by the grace of God, to give all acceptance to the true and faithful saying, that Christ came to save sinners; that they have the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, and earnest desires to have his law written on their hearts;" while they are still deeply sensible of the remainders of evil, that cleave to them and others in this imperfect state. By the accounts given of their practice by those who have the nearest view of it, they appear to have forsaken the sins to which they were addicted; to delight in the duties to which they were averse; to watch against temptations to which they formerly yielded; and instead of separating one part of religion from another, to have a strict regard to the precepts of both tables of the divine law: herein exercising themselves to have consciences void of offence toward God and toward men. From the best observations I could make on their disposition and behaviour, compared with the observations made by others, they seem, in a particular manner, to excel in meekness, humility, self-denial and charity: in the wisdom from above, described in Scripture (James iii. 17.) as "first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits," &c., in aversion from things that tend to strife rather than to edification: and in ardent desire of the conversion and salvation of others. I would not be understood to assert such things of all whom I know to have pretended to seriousness about religion on this occasion; being particularly concerned to attest from personal knowledge, in conjunction with Mr M'Culloch, that part of the above narrative which relates to pains taken, with some success, in detecting deceivers: a correspondence having been set on foot, and being indeed kept up still, and several here having begun and resolving to continue a proper scrutiny from time to time, in order to such discoveries. Meantime, whatever ungrateful discoveries may have been made already, which indeed are not many, or may hereafter be the result of such inquiries, people of candour will own that the faults of a few particular persons ought not to be charged on a body of serious people, who to other evidences of sincerity, add that of a hearty concern, that deceivers or backsliders may be detected, admonished, and, by the divine blessing, reclaimed. Whereas an unknown person very lately wrote a letter to Mr M'Culloch, dated April 29th, (in which was inclosed another letter with a twenty shillings note to Mr J. J. merchant in this city, on account of wrong done to his father of two or three shillings value many years ago) and that unknown person desires that in the printed account, that was expected of the work at Cambuslang, there might be some instructions about restitution; it is thought sufficient, in regard of the shortness of this paper, to refer that person and others, to the Scriptures cited in our larger Catechism, where it treats of the eighth commandment; and to approved commenta-

ries on the ten commandments in general, asserting and proving the necessity of that duty.¹ While friends of religion will judge themselves obliged to desire, that all who have been awakened to serious concern about it, may prove real converts, persevering to the end: they and others should remember, that though several should backslide, which God of his mercy prevent, it can be no argument against the sincerity of the rest. So far as we have credible accounts of works to which this bears a resemblance, it does not appear, by what I can recollect or learn from persons well skilled in church-history, that ever there were so great numbers awakened to so deep concern about their souls, attended with so promising evidences, as these mentioned in the above narrative and attestations, without a happy issue: it appears therefore agreeable to the rules of charity and just reasoning, to hope for the like good issue as to this present case. It consists with my knowledge, that as to such of the people whom this paper treats of, as seem to have attained to joyful hopes, on which some particular scripture promises appear to have a remarkable influence; care is taken to examine them, and to direct them to examine themselves about the essential evidences of interest in Christ, and so promise all the promises in general.

JOHN M'LAURIN.

VIII. *By Messrs Young and Duncan, Preachers of the Gospel, May 1742.*

Having had access to examine several persons that have been awakened to a serious concern about salvation, by means of the ministrations of the Gospel at Cambuslang, we find with many of them what we cannot but construct, in the judgment of charity, to be promising appearances, or hopeful beginnings of a good work of grace; such as, a deep sense of their sinful and guilty state, and apprehension of the extreme need of the Saviour Jesus Christ, to be justified by his blood, and sanctified by his Spirit: their plain confession of their great ignorance, and blindness in the things of God, and mysteries of his kingdom, and earnest desire to know the truth as it is in Jesus; and laborious diligence to be better acquainted with the first principles of his doctrine: deeply lamenting their heart pollutions and abominations, as well as their great neglect of God's worship, and careless regard of the great salvation formerly; and with some, their gross vices, and scandalous profanations of God's name and day; their frequent complaints of the sin of unbelief in Christ, and of the deadness and hardness of their hearts, and anxious concerns and prayers to have them softened with the spiritual views of Christ as crucified, into the exercises of godly sorrow and repentance, and reduced in captivity to the obedience of the faith: their cautious guard against sin and temptation: their tender circumspection over themselves, lest the corrupt conversation of others, the hearing of which sometimes is unavoidable, might stifle their serious concern, and extinguish religious impressions, their frequent watchfulness unto the duties of worship, reading the Scriptures, &c. &c. And being tenderly sensible when the Spirit breathes on their souls in such exercises, as a Spirit of life and liberty; and anon when he withholds his sensible influences and

consolations of grace, their hearts are troubled. And when we consider that the young are early inquiring the way to Zion, seeking the Lord with weeping and supplication; that sinners are taught God's ways; the openly profane and profligate, who were running headlong in the paths of the destroyer, and enticing and corrupting others into the same pernicious courses, stopt in their career, and reformed by sovereign victorious grace, frequenting Christian fellowships, and abounding in Christian conference, and heartening and encouraging others to walk in wisdom's ways: we have good ground to rejoice at this remarkable success of the gospel, and to bless the name of God for giving such a sensible testimony to the word of his grace, and to plead in prayer to him, that he would spread it far and wide, &c.

JAMES DUNCAN.

ALEXANDER DUNCAN.

At Cambuslang, May 6th, 1742. In regard the parish of Old Monkland at present wants a minister, we subscribing heritors and elders of the said parish, hereby testify, that there is a considerable number of persons belonging to this parish, who have been awakened at Cambuslang to a deep concern about their salvation; and that we have conversed with several of them, who, to our apprehension, seem to be in a hopeful way.

ROBERT DONALD, } Elders.
ALEXANDER SCOTT, }

IX. *By Mr D. Connel, Preacher of the Gospel, Kilbryde, May 14th, 1742.*

You desire some account from me of what I have observed or know with regard to the work at Cambuslang, which I shall give without art or disguise. I have conversed with a good many in this parish that have been affected there. Some have told me that by what they heard in sermon, they had great desire raised in their minds to be burdened with sin, that so they might come to Christ; and then have got so great a sense of sin and guilt as they could well bear. Others that have come to me in great distress, when I asked them how they came to be in that condition, answered, that while they were hearing some private exhortations of the minister, a great many of their sins were brought to their remembrance. They thought they had been doing nothing but sinning all their days; that they were empty of all good, and that they were undone without Christ. Some have told me, they met with great opposition in going to attend upon the ordinances, but they became resolute and went: and what places of Scripture first fastened any sense of sin upon their minds; how this was more and more increased, and what text kept them from despair amidst the greatest terror one could readily be under. Others, that all things in the world were now become tasteless to them, seeing the danger their souls were in. I have seen some sitting alone all in tears, and when I asked them what was the matter, they said, they were afraid lest their convictions should go off without any good effect; and expressed a strong desire after Christ. Others that seemed to be under great concern, being asked what they wanted, said, conviction of sin and faith in Christ. I have been greatly surprised, to hear such a distinct account of

¹ See Mr Durham on the Ten Commands.

the provoking nature of sin, and the terms of our acceptance with God, given by those that are reputed the most ignorant, and who I believe knew scarce any thing at all of religious matters till this work began. I cannot say that among all I have conversed with here, I have found one in despair, but have heard them expressing a great sense of their inability to believe. I have heard them expressing the highest esteem of the mercy of God, and the mediation of Christ; the most earnest desire after an interest in him; and telling the promises and declarations of mercy, and representations of Christ in the Scripture, that were the foundation of their hope, and praising Christ as one altogether lovely. I have heard them expressing a sense of the evil of sin, and their own vileness by it; earnest desires after perfection in holiness, and fears lest they should fall back into their former sinful state; mentioning the promises that supported them under these fears, and telling what love and joy and praise these produced when cast into their minds. Their earnest desires and diligent endeavours after more knowledge; the deep sense and sweet relish of Divine truths they seem to have; their readiness to apply what they hear to themselves, even these things that discover more of the corruption of their hearts, or errors of their lives to them; the pouring out of their souls to God in prayer, which they speak of; the perplexity and dejection I have seen them in, when, as they told me, they have not been able to do this; the steadiness and fixedness of their minds on spiritual things, not only in stated duties, but when about their worldly affairs, that they inform me of; their grief when vain thoughts fill their minds, and restlessness till they recover their former spirituality; their charitable dispositions towards men, of which I could give a variety of instances; their great care to do the will of God, and fear lest they trust in their own righteousness. These and other things I have observed in or heard from them, and about them, put it out of doubt with me, that the finger of God is in this work, which I pray may more and more appear.—I am, &c.,

DAVID CONNELL.

SECTION II.

OF THE WORK AT KILSYTH, &c.—SUBJECTS OF SERMONS PREVIOUS TO IT.—NEWS OF THE WORK AT CAMBUSLANG.—APRIL 16TH, MR WILLSON PREACHES ON PSALM XL 2, 3.—NEXT SABBATH, MR ROBE ON GAL. IV. 19.—SABBATH, APRIL 25TH, ONE AWAKENED.—A RELIGIOUS MEETING OF CHILDREN AT KIRKINTILLOCH.—MAY 18TH, AN EXTRAORDINARY POWER ATTENDS THE WORD.—EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM MR ROBE TO MR LAURIN, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK.—THE AWAKENING IN SEVERAL OTHER PARISHES, VIZ., CUMBERNAULD, ST NINIANS, GARROUNNOCK, CALDER, CAMPSIE, BALDERNOCK, AND MUTHIL.—ATTESTATION OF THE GOOD FRUITS AT KILSYTH.

FROM MR ROBE'S NARRATIVE.

IN the year 1740, I began to preach upon the doctrine of regeneration. The method I followed was first to press the importance and necessity of it, which I did from John iii. 3, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Next, I showed the mysteriousness of the way and manner of the Holy Spirit in effecting it, from John

iii. 8, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." I proceeded, thirdly, to explain and apply the various Scripture views and expressions of it: as, 1st, being born again, from the fore-quoted John iii. 3. 2dly, A resurrection, from Rev. xx. 6, "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection." 3dly, A new creation, from Eph. ii. 10, "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works." 4thly, Christ's conquest of the sinner to himself, from Psalm cx. 3, "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." 5thly, The circumcision of the heart, from Ezek. xliv. 9, "Thus saith the Lord God, no stranger uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, of any stranger among the children of Israel." This was also intended to shew the necessity of regeneration, in order to the receiving the Lord's Supper worthily, to be dispensed in the congregation about that time. Here this project was interrupted until the end of last year; when I, resuming it, preached regeneration as it is, 6thly, The taking away the stony heart, and the giving the heart of flesh, from Ezek. xi. 19. 7thly, The putting of God's law in the mind, and writing it in the heart, from Heb. viii. 10. I sometimes could observe, that the doctrine of these sermons was acceptable to the Lord's people, and that there was more than ordinary seriousness in hearing them, yet could see no further fruit. But now I find that the Lord, who is infinitely wise and knoweth the end from the beginning, was preparing some for this uncommon dispensation of the Spirit that we looked not for; and that others were brought under convictions, issuing, by the power of the Highest, in their real conversion, and in a silent way.

When the news were first brought me of the extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Ghost at Cambuslang, I rejoiced at them. I prayed continually for the continuance of it there, and that the Lord would thus visit us in these bounds, and spake of it sometimes to the congregation, which was not without some good fruit, as I have learned since. Particularly, I was informed by the minister of Cambuslang and another brother, that a young man from the parish of Falkirk, who had been awakened at Cambuslang, and was in a hopeful condition, said, that the occasion of his coming there was his hearing me the Sabbath immediately preceding praise the appearance of the Lord at the aforesaid place; and that this strongly inclined him to go thither. There were few of the people under my charge went to Cambuslang, notwithstanding of what they heard me say of it. Some of the better sort went once or twice, but I scarce heard of any who needed most of the work of the Comforter to convince them of sin, righteousness, and judgment, that went there, until the 13th of May, when there were a good many; but came all away, as far as I knew them, without any deep or lasting impressions upon them. It was matter of discouragement to me, when I heard that my brethren in Cumbernauld, Kirkintilloch, Calder, and Campsie, had several persons in their parishes awakened at Cambuslang, and that I had not one so much as the least touched to my knowledge. What appeared the most hopeful was, that there appeared a concern more than ordinary among the hearers of the Gospel; and that there

were proposals for setting up societies for prayer, which had been long intermitted.

Upon the Thursday evening, being the 15th of April last, Mr Willison, minister at Dundee, came to my house in his return from Cambuslang, whither he went the Saturday before. I desired him to preach to us upon the Friday morning, which he readily complied with; a great multitude of people met, though the warning was very short. He preached a distinct, plain, and moving sermon, from Psalm xl. 2, 3, "He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock and established my goings. And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise to our God: Many shall see it and fear, and shall trust in the Lord." Several of these now awakened date their first serious concern about their souls from their hearing this sermon, and the blessing of the Lord upon it.

The following Sabbath I entered upon the view of regeneration, as it is expressed, Gal. iv. 19, "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you." I had more than ordinary tenderness in reading of that text, and could scarce do it without tears and emotion. I observed much seriousness among the hearers. Last Sabbath of April, being the 26th, one woman was awakened in this congregation to a very distressing sight of her sin and danger thereby. She lived in the parish of Campsie, which lieth to the westward of this parish. She was observed by some under great uneasiness in the congregation, but made no outcry. She went away when the congregation was dismissed, but was not able to go far: she was found soon in the fields in great distress and crying out, What she should do to be saved? She was brought back to me, and I conversed with her all that evening in the presence of several judicious persons. She fainted once or twice. I observed every thing narrowly and exactly about her, because it was a new thing to me, and I knew the objections made against the work at Cambuslang. She seemed to be a healthy woman, and about twenty years of age. She said that, in hearing the sermon, she was made to see that she was unlike Jesus Christ, and like the devil, and in a state of unregeneracy. She had strong impressions of the greatness of the wrath of God she was lying under and liable to. She went away composed and calm, in a hopeful condition. She continued many weeks, now and then much distressed; but hath some time ago attained, through grace, to sensible relief; and, by the testimony of the neighbourhood, her conversation is such as becometh the Gospel.

About this time sixteen children, or thereby, in the town of Kirkintilloch, were observed to meet together in a barn for prayer; the occasion of which was, that one of them said to the rest, What need is there that we should always play; had we not better go and pray? wherewith the rest complied. Mr Burnside (their minister), as soon as he heard of it, carefully enquired after them, and met frequently with them for their direction and instruction. And, as I am informed, they make progress and continue in a hopeful way. This made much noise in the country side, and deep impressions both upon young and old.

This week I visited the families of a part of this parish, where I observed more than ordinary seriousness amongst the people, and more than ordi-

nary liberty, freedom, and earnestness in my dealing with them. However, it was matter of trouble and exercise to me, that none under my charge, that I knew of, were awakened; and I was much, in my way of thinking, like several of these now awakened, who were concerned at first, lest the Lord had passed them by, when he was awakening others. Such were my fears about this parish. Nothing appeared more than ordinary upon the first Sabbath of May. Near this time, and a little before, there were societies for prayer erected in the parish. I was also informed that several young girls in the town of Kilsyth, from ten to sixteen years of age, had been observed meeting together for prayer in an out-house they had access to. May 9th, being the second Lord's-day of that month, were four or five awakened to a distressing sight of their sinful and lost estate, though only two of them were known to me upon the said day. I prayed, and hoped that this might be like some drops before a plentiful rain. May 11th, there was a great and a good day of the Son of Man at Auchinloch, in the parish of Calder, which lieth four miles north and east from Glasgow. Mr Warden their minister preached at the aforesaid place. There was a great cry in the congregation, and about fourteen brought under great concern and anxiety about their spiritual and eternal state. May 12, I went to Cambuslang, and preached there, as did also some other ministers upon the next day. I was witness there to a great day of the Mediator's power, and learned much, that, by the Lord's blessing, hath been useful to me in assisting the Lord's people brought under spiritual distress here. May 14, being Friday, I left Cambuslang in the morning. I met an event in my way homeward, which much surprised me; and I could not but observe the Lord's hand remarkably in it. I came to a house, which I was told belonged to Messrs Gray, and that their bleachfield was there. I remembered that these gentlemen were married to the daughters of a gentleman whom I knew, and highly esteemed from my youth; and, since I found myself at their gate, I inquired for them, with a purpose not to alight. One of the gentlemen and his lady were at home; they urged me to come into their house, though it should be only for a little; which I did. They told me, that six of their servants had been awakened at Cambuslang some days since, and desired me to converse with them. I had such a strong inclination to get forward in my journey, that I declined it. They desired me to pray in their family, which I cheerfully complied with. After prayer, I spoke a few words, as the Lord helped me, to their numerous servants who were present, relating to the case of those who were under soul-distressing convictions of their sin and danger, as also of these who never had been under them. Having dismissed them, I went to take my horse. Ere I got to him, a noise was heard among the servants; and we were told that one of them was fallen into great uneasiness, and was crying bitterly. I returned to the house, and she was brought to me. I had conversed but a very short time with her, when a second was brought to me, then a third, in a little after that two together, last of all a sixth, crying out of their lost and undone state, and what they should do. I prayed and conversed with them for some time. I was much moved with this providence. "The Lord, who leads the blind in a way they know not," led me to this house without any thought or purpose of mine, yea,

contrary to my inclination, which was to haste forward. He managed my aversion (which I now see to have been sinful) to converse with the first six under distress, to bring about his own holy and glorious ends: for, if I had conversed with them I had not seen the other servants.

May 16, I preached, as I had done for some time past, from Gal. iv. 19. In the forenoon I insisted upon an use of consolation, and in the afternoon pressed all the unregenerate to seek to have Christ formed in them. An extraordinary power of the Spirit from on high accompanied the word preached. There was a great mourning in the congregation, as for an only son. Many cried out, and these not only women, but some strong and stout-hearted young men, and some betwixt forty and fifty. After the dismissal of the congregation, an essay was made to get the distressed into my barn; but it could not be done; the number of them, and of their friends attending them, were so many, I was obliged to convene them in the kirk. I sung a psalm, and prayed with them; but, when I essayed to speak to them, I could not be heard, such were their bitter cries, groans, and the voice of their weeping. After this, I ordered that they should be brought unto me in my closet one by one. I sent also for Mr Oughterson, minister at Cumbernauld, to assist me in dealing with the distressed that evening, who readily came. In the meantime I appointed psalms to be sung with those in the kirk, and that the precentor, with two or three of the elders, should pray with the distressed; which the extraordinariness of the event seemed to me to warrant. At the same time I discharged any to exhort or speak to them in the congregation, that I might cut off occasion of calumny and objection from them who seem to desire it. The noise of the distressed was so great, that it was heard from afar. It was pleasant to hear these who were in a state of enmity with God, despisers of Jesus Christ, and Satan's contented slaves, some of them crying out for mercy; some, that they were lost and undone; others, "What shall we do to be saved?" others praising God for this day, and for awakening them; and others not only weeping and crying for themselves, but for their graceless relations. And yet it would have moved the hardest heart, that, as the children of Israel under Pharaoh's oppression, when I spake unto many of them, they hearkened not, for anguish of spirit, and the sense of the cruel bondage they were under. There appeared about thirty awakened this day, belonging to this and neighbouring congregations. About twenty of them belonged to this parish, some few to the parish of Campsie, and the remainder to that of Kirkintilloch: but I have found since, in conversing with the distressed, that the number of the awakened far exceeds thirty. Wednesday 19, We had sermon, for the first time, upon a week-day. I preached, as did also Mr Warden, minister at Campsie, and Mr M'Laurin, minister at Glasgow, who had come hither the night before, upon my invitation. The number of the awakened this day were as many as were upon the Lord's-day. The greatest number was from the parish of Kirkintilloch; there were also some from the parishes of Campsie and Cumbernauld. The number of the awakened, belonging to this parish, amounted this week to forty. May 20, The minister of Kirkintilloch, Mr M'Laurin and I, preached at Kirkintilloch. There we saw Zion's mighty King appearing in his glory and majesty,

and his arrows sharp in the heart of his enemies. Many were awakened there, and brought under great spiritual distress.

Extracts of Letters from Mr Robe to Mr M'Laurin, giving a view of the Progress of the Work from May 16, to July 19, 1742.

Mr M'Laurin at the conclusion of his attestation, page 136 of the Narrative, says, "When this good work began I could with the more freedom urge Mr Robe, however hurried, to favour me with accounts from time to time of its progress; because such intelligence would be very acceptable and edifying to many others, particularly in this city. And though it could not be expected that letters written by one having so much desirable work on his hands should be very full and particular; or that one writing to a friend, and in such haste, should have such regard to style, as in things intended for public view: yet as these letters give a pleasant view of the gradual progress of that work, together with several remarkable particulars; and also of the warm impressions which a train of so extraordinary and desirable events behoved to make on the mind of one, by duty and inclination, so deeply interested; at or near the very time that they happened, or while they were yet fresh in his memory; expressed in the natural manner usual between intimate correspondents; for these reasons I reckon it no small favour, that I have succeeded in taking pains to obtain his consent, that extracts of these letters should be published.

JOHN M'LAURIN.

GLASGOW, January 28, 1743.

Kilsyth, May 15, 1742.—After speaking of what happened in his journey from Cambuslang, [an account of which has been previously given] "The Lord is shooting his arrows fast; praise to him that they are not arrows of destruction as we deserve: may his holy arm get him the victory over Saran in these wounded souls." He is come to this country side! There was a great day of power at Calder on Tuesday last. We had a good day Sabbath last: I now know of six that came under convictions that day; and there may be others. O cry to him for a plentiful effusion of his Spirit, and for much zeal, skill, and humility, with singleness to—me. O if I could praise and magnify him, I would fain do it; pray that I may be kept out of my own eye, and that I may have Christ and the good of souls only in sight.

P.S., May 16.—This has been indeed one of the days of the Son of Man. The King of Glory has shot his arrows very thick into the hearts of his enemies not for their destruction but to fall under him. There was a great cry of awakened sinners this day; there have been seven and twenty awakened this day, all of them under as great agonies as we conceive those mentioned in the second of the Acts: besides others that were carried away by their friends whose names I have not yet; I have dealt with them all this evening, as also Mr Oughterson for a while, having sent for him. O praise him and pray much for us, and tell every body to praise him for his mercy to us, and that he will stay a long time with us after this sort. There are no fewer than five in—family under deep distress—two daughters and three servants. O, it is a gracious visit: he hath wounded

and will heal. Write this good news to Mr —, O, let heaven and earth praise him: I expect you, and am, &c.

May 23d,—The Lord hath been graciously present this day; his Spirit yet poured forth from on high, notwithstanding of our stupidity and ingratitude: there was an uncommon concern upon the congregation and attendance unto the word; there are seven awakened known to us this evening that were not known before: some newly awakened, viz., this day: others their convictions begun last Sabbath, brought to a distressing and complaining height this day: I am persuaded there are many more of whom I expect to hear to-morrow. There were two others came to us upon Saturday after you left us; both of them some years above forty; one the same day about fifty; another betwixt sixty and seventy. I rejoice at the Lord's coming near old sinners. I am much dissatisfied with myself, that I am not in raptures of love, joy and gratitude. I know I need not desire you and others of the Lord's people, both to pray and praise for us.

May 28th,—I have the great pleasure to tell you that the Lord yet continues to pour forth his good and free Spirit upon unworthy us; Wednesday last the congregation was much moved: Mr — and Mr — and I preached: the awakened were added to: my list amounts to seventy-six, of which there are about forty-eight in this parish: besides seven I am assured of, two of whom belong to Denny, two to Airth or Larbert, two to Cumbernauld, and one to this parish: and several others we presume are unknown to us. Some are come to solid relief; others are I hope not far from it.

June 22d,—I have just time to write you this. Mr — preached with me to-day: there was a considerable multitude: there appeared a concern among the people, though no outcry. I wait for the fruits, which I hope a sovereignly gracious God will show in his own time: I have some newly awakened since I wrote to you, besides others I hear of: this night there were three with me who never spoke to me before. N.B. They keep their distress as long as they can hold. There was another with me yesterday who was new; and one this morning awakened last Lord's-day.

June 8th,—I have just time to write this to you, having scarce a moment's spare time, the distressed or those who are come to relief coming continually to me. The parish list is now sixty. I can give no distinct account of those awakened here, in other congregations. The Lord is continuing graciously with us. Several are come to solid relief. I had one this day filled with inexpressible joy. I am wonderfully strengthened, have great pleasure, and made unwearied. O praise him who does it; —pray for a more plentiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

June 9th,—I wrote to you by the post this morning. We have had a glorious day this day. Many are added to the awakened, either altogether new, or those who were formerly slightly touched have been deeply awakened; there are eight I am certainly informed of; besides a great many others that I judge pretty probable; five of the first are in this parish. There was a general concern in the congregation: among these they say are — and — newly married. I find when I am weakest and have least expectation from my sermon, the Lord shows himself most. I preached from John xvi. 11. I was

far from being pleased with the composure. Mr —'s helper, preached with me from Matt. xi. 28. a good sermon. I am much straitened for help; but the Lord stands by me; blessed be he; and he will do it. Receive a third journal. I have a beautiful one, of one who was inexpressibly filled with the love of Christ shed abroad in her heart — and they tell me continues yet overcome with it. Some old Christians are getting wonderful reviving, and manifestations of the love of God.

June 11th,—Because I know what joy and thankfulness it gives you to hear of our dear Lord's appearing in his glory and majesty in conquering his enemies to himself, I embrace the opportunity to write to you that this has been a good week; one of the best I ever saw; though of the greatest labour, yet of the greatest pleasure. I had a closet full of little ones yesternight making a pleasant noise and outcry for Christ; and two of the youngest, one of them but ten, fainting and so distressed they could scarce go home. I cannot write unto you the wonders I saw: one of eleven crying out she was sick of sin, and crying out with hands uplifted to Heaven: when I told her that if she were willing to take Christ he would heal her: "I am willing with all my heart and from the bottom of my heart to take him;" I bid her wait with patience, and told her she minded the fortieth Psalm: she noted over the first twelve lines with calmness: I hear they have been very distressed last night and this day. I would fain hope that relief may not be far from her. O pray for the poor young babes. — tells me just now she is come to joy and peace in believing, for which I beg you will praise the Lord, and employ others to do it. Poor little — speaks to the distressed like herself. — This is — a pleasant country side — be it was. I wish you were here. Wednesday was a wonderful day when we were afraid that the work was like to stop: there have been ten new ones belonging to this congregation since last Lord's-day; so that if I count right they are about or near seventy; besides those who belong to other congregations of which I can have no account.

June 17th,—Receive a 4th journal, which I have with much difficulty, for want of time, got extracted from my book. It concerns the woman overcome with love. She uttered many things which I could not take down, and I seldom insert any thing from my memory: the girl was with me this day, and continues in the same good frame, only her tears are dried up, and she hath got a humble joy in her face. There is an elder Christian in her neighbourhood who hath got a considerable reviving, and marvellous manifestations of the love of Jesus Christ, showing themselves to be genuine by their effects. From Lord's-day was seven nights the King of kings has been riding gloriously upon the white horse, shooting his arrows thick into the hearts of his enemies, making them sensible of their evil state of unbelief, making them to cry out for fear of the Lord and the glory of his majesty, at the same time subduing others to himself. We had twelve awakened last week belonging to the parish, fifteen Sabbath last, four whereof were strangers belonging to Cumbernauld, Campsie, and Kirkintilloch: Tuesday we had fifteen and one stranger; and this day I had two who were among the first, but never came to me until this day; which make in all belonging to this parish, since Sabbath before the last, forty. I make no doubt but there are a great many strangers besides,

not known to me. I have also had some with me who are come I hope to solid relief. Though I am continually employed, yet the Lord gives such bodily strength, as I am not much wearied; and is not wanting to me otherwise; he gives uncommon strength, for uncommon service; which I acknowledge to his glory; and beg that you and others may help me to praise him for it. There was a good woman who I doubt not was a real Christian who blamed the people much for crying out, and said, could they not be serious enough without crying? Sabbath was eight days she was made to cry out herself, and was not able to come from the place of meeting to my house without being supported by two men: she acknowledges this day that she justly met with it for her rashness. Last Lord's-day there were a good many awakened at Cumbernauld. I cannot precisely tell how many the number of the awakened are with us now, for I have not time to number them.

June 28th.—I am so wearied this night that though I would incline to write a good length, yet I am not well able: yet blessed be the Lord, I have got as much strength as has been sufficient for the day's works: There are now, praises to the builder up of Zion appearing in his glory, such a number of the awakened as gives me no respite; neither do I allow myself to desire it. seeing I am not called to work in my own strength. The Lord was graciously with us yesternight: there were seven awakened yesterday newly: the child of six was in great distress during the most part of the sermon: I asked at her at night what she would give to get Christ: she answered with a great deal of composure, "I would part with my life to have him;" at which I was amazed.—Blessed be the Lord we are every day getting encouragement by some being brought to relief: these who have got it, walk answerably: we are, God willing, to observe Wednesday as a day of thanksgiving to the God of our extraordinary mercy: I beg you, and others will remember us that day.

June 30.—The Lord hath been graciously present with us this day. I looked upon it as a token for good, that we had a great congregation, seeing it was set apart for solemn thanksgiving to God. I am persuaded it was the best observed day of thanksgiving, in every shape, ever was in Kilsyth; yet vastly short of what should be rendered, according to the benefit. We look to the great Altar, Sacrifice, and High-priest for acceptance. I preached from Matt. xxi. 16. From which I prosecuted these two purposes, that extraordinary comings of the Lord Jesus to his temple and ordinances, should be welcomed with extraordinary praises, and that he is pleased when it is so. 2dly, That when he comes he will provide for his praise by those who are unlikely and unfeasible in the world's eye; which made two sermons in the forenoon. We had a good sermon from Mr Young in the afternoon. There were three newly awakened brought to me this day, belonging to this congregation: there were doubtless many more, for the concern was great. Five were added to the awakened at Cumbernauld last Lord's-day: blessed be the God of our salvation, the face of the congregation and country side is changed.

July 2d.—Blessed for evermore be our God in Christ, for his continued marvellous grace. I have fifteen new awakened this week before this day. I

know of two more this day: and expect others tomorrow. I have been at Cumbernauld all this day, and I think the body of this parish. There was a very great cry in the congregation, not only while the terrors of the law were preached, but the comforts of the gospel: the former five were awakened this day: I hear more and more of the vast change there is upon the face of this parish: iniquity as ashamed hides its head; the wolf and the lamb dwell together — I am obliged to stop at the cry of a number of distressed coming into the closet. There hath been brought to me, and come in about a dozen in great distress, most of them young; some of them awakened at home this day, and some at Cumbernauld: one of them was awakened while I was speaking to the rest; one weeding corn to-day; they were in such distress, that I could only speak in general to them. One of them was looked on as a ———: O amazing grace; I beg you will pray for me, I will have people to converse with me all day tomorrow, and nobody to preach for me on the Lord's-day; yet I will not fear, for I trust in the Lord; I doubt not but he will be my strength to all he calls to.

July 5th, The Lord is making us fishers of men indeed: he is present; and while we toiled years in his absence, and to apprehension caught nothing, at every letting down of the gospel-net, some are caught; he is driving them into the net; and making some prey to be enclosed; endless praises be, and will be to him for it. Yesterday was a Bochim in the congregation for unworthy communicating; and this evening there was a great cry in the church. Mr G——, Minister at Carnock, who came here this afternoon, preached. Last week the newly awakened were about thirty-six, of which about twelve or fourteen were awakened at Cumbernauld, Friday last: yesterday and this day, there were fifteen new, all belonging to this congregation: three of them were awakened while Mr—— preached: we never had so great a number in so short a time. Every day I have some acquainting me with their relief, which I find in the most to be solid and good. I have conversed with about forty this day from the town of Kilsyth, besides others; I trusted in the Lord for yesterday, and was helped. I had with me on Saturday, an honest man from Muthil, where Mr Halley is minister, who informs me, there have been, since March, fifty awakened in that parish, for which I bless the Lord. There is a person in this country—who is jealous that his family owed to the late—— about ten shillings; he hath put it into my hands to give it to his heirs. I know no hand so fit as yours to do it, seeing it may be some time before I come to town, and do not know his heirs: you will please to receive it from the bearer.

July 8th, There were eighteen awakened yesterday, Sabbath last, and since, all belonging to the congregation. There are only two to-day, one in Denny, and the other in Campsie.

July 15th, I have been busy in dealing with the distressed a good part of this day; we have only as far as I know yet, about a dozen or thirteen, newly awakened, of them who belong to this congregation, since Thursday last, and about fourteen we know of from Gargunnoch, Kippen, and Campsie: besides these, one from Muthill, and one from Carnock. There was a trillapse in fornication dropt down yesterday in the barn, just as I was dismissing the dis-

tressed; she was to be led home: was with me to-day; and in a hopeful way, Though we had some persons awakened every day; yet we have had fewer belonging to this parish these eight days past, than for some weeks before. Yet, blessed be the Lord, it is made up by strangers who have carried it home to their own congregations.

July 19th, We had a good day from the presence of the Lord yesterday. There were a good many strangers from beyond Stirling, and from Fife; there were two of these at a distance observed under deep concern, but they went away without speaking; eight have been with me; one from Gargunnoch awakened yesterday afternoon; blessed be the Lord, it is going comfortably over the mountain. Two from Kirkintilloch, and one from Cumbernauld, and only four of our own; blessed be the Lord for all. [Here end the extracts of letters. Let us return to the Narrative, page 37.]

*Farther Accounts of the number of the Awakened.
The Work appears in several other Places.*

There have been at least three hundred awakened in this parish since the beginning of this work, of which, about two hundred belong, or did belong, to this parish. There were indeed about fourteen or fifteen of them awakened when Mr Whitefield preached at Cumbernauld. In the parish of Cumbernauld, as the minister informs me, there are above eighty. In the parish of Kirkintilloch there are known to the minister about a hundred and twenty under a more than ordinary concern about their salvation, including the praying young, who are increased now to a greater number than formerly mentioned. In the parish of St Ninians, the number of the awakened must be considerable. The first remarkable appearance of this good work there, was at the giving the holy supper, upon the first of this current August. The Monday was one of the greatest days of the Mediator's power I have hitherto seen. By a letter from Mr Mackie, minister of that parish, I am informed, that the number of the awakened was increased upon the Thursday thereafter, when they had sermon. He appoints days for them to come to him for instruction and direction. In the parish of Gargunnoch, lying west from the parish of St Ninians, there are, as I am well informed, near an hundred persons awakened. Some of them, first of all at Kilsyth, when the Lord's Supper was given there; others at Campsie: others at St Ninians, (when it was given in these places.) Upon the Thursday thereafter there were eighteen awakened in their own congregation, while Mr Warden, their own aged and diligent pastor, preached to them. There was also a considerable awakening the week thereafter, the minister of Campsie, his son, preaching there. In the parish of Calder, according to the information I have from their minister, there are above an hundred awakened. There are about the same number in the parish of Campsie.

The case of the parish of Baldernock, lying north and west from Calder, is singular. There were above ninety awakened persons in that parish about the 6th of July last. They have been for some years past, and yet are, without a pastor. The Lord hath honoured their schoolmaster, James Forsyth, to be greatly instrumental in this good

work among them. I shall give the following extract from a letter of his, dated Baldernock, July 17th, 1742, concerning the impression made upon, and the awakening of several of the young ones. He writes, "Since the first of February last, I endeavoured to instruct the children under my charge, to the utmost of my power, in the first principles of religion, and that they were born in a state of sin and misery, and strangers to God by nature; I also pressed them, by all arguments possible, to leave off their sinful ways, and flee to Jesus Christ, by faith and repentance; which, by the blessing of God, hath not been in vain. Glory to his holy name, that backed with the power of his holy spirit, what was spoken in much weakness. I likewise warned them against the commission of any known sin, and told them their danger, if they persisted in the same, and that their sins would find them out. The which exhortations, frequently repeated, yea, almost every day, came at last to have some impressions on their young hearts. And I think the great concern that was at first among them, was a mean, in God's hand, to bring the elder sort to a more serious concern, and to more diligence in religious duties; yea, I heard some say, that they were ashamed to hear and see those young creatures so much taken up about their soul's salvation. That is some account of the rise of this good and happy work. There was one of the school-boys that went to Cambuslang in March, that was first awakened: he, after some few days, said to me in the school, "Will you let two or three of us meet together to sing psalms and pray?" I said, I was very well pleased to hear that they inclined to such a good exercise. So they joined themselves together, and it hath had very good fruit; for, some few days after, there were some of them under concern; and that day fourteen days they first met, there were ten or twelve awakened, and under deep convictions, some very young, of eight or nine years of age, some twelve and thirteen. They still inclined more and more to their duty; so that they met three times a-day, in the morning, at night, and at noon. Also, they have forsaken all their childish fancies and plays; so these that have been awakened are known by their countenance and behaviour. There were some, that by a word of terror in their lesson, were very distressed, and would cry out, and weep bitterly. There are some of them very sensible of their case, both of the sin of their nature, and their actual transgressions, and even of the sin of unbelief; for, when I would exhort any of them that were distressed to believe in Christ, because he is both able and willing to save to the uttermost, they replied, "That they knew he was both able and willing, but they could not believe themselves, unless God gave them a heart so to do: for, they said, they felt their heart so hard that they could do nothing." This is the account he gives of the younger sort. As to the elder sort, he says, "That the first among them were awakened at Cambuslang, others at Calder and Kirkintilloch; but that the greatest part have been awakened at their society-meetings. They met twice a-week for prayer and praise, where all the awakened in the parish, with as many others as please to come, are admitted." There are also several other little meetings, almost every day, in different places of the parish. At the second of these meetings there were nine awakened; at the third there were four; at another meeting there five or

six. In another letter, dated July 6th, 1742, he saith, "That this good work still continues among them, and that there are a considerable number newly awakened in their parish, besides strangers that come to their meetings from other parishes." I have been more particular and large in this article concerning Baldernock, that we who are ministers of the gospel may learn from this, not to be lifted up from any success we may have in our ministrations; seeing, that though the Lord maketh especially the preaching of the word an effectual means of convincing and converting sinners, and of building up them that are converted, yet he also bleaseth the reading of the word, Christian communion, and religious education by parents, schoolmasters, and others, for the foresaid blessed ends; and that he can, and sometimes doth, make use of weak and inconsiderable instruments for beginning and carrying on a good work upon the souls of men, while men of great gifts, and even godliness, are not so successful.

In the parish of Killearn, lying about seven miles to the north west of Campsie, this good work is also begun. Their minister, Mr Baine, hath been well affected to it from the beginning, and was early witness to it, and assisting to carry it on at Cambuslang. There was a considerable awakening in this parish, when the Lord's Supper was given there, upon the third Sabbath of July, especially upon the Monday, when Mr Potter, professor of divinity at Glasgow, and Mr Mackie, minister at St Ninian's, preached. In the county, west from Glasgow, there are very joyful accounts of the entrance and progress of this blessed work there. In the town of Irvine there were a few awakened first at Cambuslang; but now there are a good many awakened that never were at Cambuslang, and are in like distress and anguish of soul. They are happy under the inspection and care of their worthy minister, Mr McKnight. In the parish of Long-Dreghorn, and other parishes about, there are several awakened. In the town of Kilmarnock there were about fifty from that place awakened at Cambuslang; but there have been many more since, in their own congregations. In the parish of Denny there are several, some of whom have been awakened in their own church. There are several in the united parishes of Dunipace and Larbert, some of whom have been likewise there. In the parish of Torphichen, south from Linlithgow, there were seven awakened, when the Lord's Supper was given there, upon the first Sabbath of August.

As to Muthil, the reader will be best informed by the following extracts of letters I have received from Mr Halley, minister there:—

Muthil, Sept. 28th, 1742.—R. D. B. For some time past, I have been much refreshed with tidings of great joy, not only from New-England, and other remote parts, but also from different corners of our own land, particularly from the parish whereof you have the pastoral charge, from whence I hear of a gathering of the people to the blessed Shiloh. That you may rejoice with me, and help with your prayers at the throne of grace, I thought it proper to acquaint you with something of the like glorious work in this congregation. I do not in this missive pretend to give you a full and particular account of what the Lord has done amongst us for some time past. In general, for about a year hence, there has been an unusual stirring and seeming concern

through this congregation, and some now then falling under convictions. A closer attention to the word preached, and a receiving of it with an apparent appetite, was by myself and others observed—until the Lord's Supper was dispensed here, the third Sabbath of July last, at which time, I think, our conquering Redeemer made some visible inroads upon the kingdom of Satan. I hope there are not a few, both in this and other congregations, that can say, "That God was in this place, and that they felt his power, and saw his glory." But whatever the Lord was pleased to shed down of the influences of his Spirit upon that solemn occasion, comparatively speaking, may be accounted but a day of small things, in respect of what he has been pleased to do amongst us since. I must acknowledge, to the praise of our gracious God, that an unusual power hath attended the word preached every Sabbath-day since; few, if any Sabbaths, having passed, but some have been awakened, and particularly last Lord's-day, which, I hope I may say, was a day of the Son of Man in this place; for, besides the general concern that was seen in this congregation, about eighteen persons, which I came to know of that night, were pricked at the heart, and deeply wounded with the arrows of the Almighty. I have been very agreeably entertained with the visits of distressed souls, crying out for Christ, "and what shall we do to be saved?" And I may say, that the work of the law has been severe, and outwardly noticeable upon all that I have conversed with; their convictions have been deep, cutting, and abiding, not (as we have formerly seen) "like a morning cloud and early dew, that soon passeth away." And yet, I have not observed in any that I have spoke with, the least tendency to despair, but giving, so far as I judge, satisfying evidences of a kindly work of the Spirit, and the law acting the part of a schoolmaster, leading them to Christ, in whom, I hope a great many of them are safely landed, and have had their souls filled with peace and joy in believing; and some have received such a measure of the joys of heaven, that the narrow crazy vessel could hold no more. Though some old people have been awakened, yet this work is most noticeable among the younger sort: and some very young (within twelve years of age) have been observably wrought upon, and the fruits are very agreeable; amongst others, their delight in prayer, and their frequent meeting together for that end. And they who have noticed them, have informed me, of their speaking in prayer the wonderful things of God. As the Lord has been pleased observably to own us in the public ordinances, so, I think, no less have we felt a down-pouring of his Spirit at our evening-exercises upon Sabbath nights: for, immediately after public worship is over, such crowds of people come to the manse, as fill the house, and the close before the doors, discovering a great thirst after the word, and such an unusual concern in hearing of it, that their mourning cries frequently drown my voice; so that I am obliged frequently to stop, till they compose themselves. And many on these occasions fall under deep and abiding convictions. So that I am taken up in dealing with them for some hours after the meeting is dismissed. Many here give such evidences of a saving real work of the Spirit, that to call it into question, would put old experienced Christians to doubt of their own state, yea, to call in question, the experiences of the saints recorded in Scripture.

And yet there are here, as well as elsewhere, who are contradicting and blaspheming; they are objects of pity, and ought to be prayed for. I give you this account of the Lord's work in this parish, for your own private satisfaction, and of those with you who may join with us, in prayer and praises, to our gracious God, who has done such great things for us.—We are mindful of you, and your congregation, and of the work of God in other parts, not only in public and in private, but in our praying societies, several whereof have been of late erected in this parish, and many people flocking to them. We expect the like from you, and your people. That the Lord may carry on his work with you and us, and other parts of the land: and that he may signally countenance that solemn occasion you have in view next Lord's-day, is the earnest desire and prayer of, &c.

WILLIAM HALLEY.

I received, upon the 29th of October, a letter from the same worthy brother, giving a further account.—R. D. B. Yours of the 17th instant, I received—by which I was exceedingly refreshed, with the account of the continuance, and progress of the Lord's work. These things brought about with you, here and elsewhere, are the doings of the Lord, and wonderful in our eyes: and, considering the almost universal deadness, degeneracy, despising of gospel-ordinances, slighting the ambassadors of Christ, and the many other crying abominations of the land; this reviving, this surprising visit may fill us with wonder and amazement, and make us say, "When the Lord turned again the captivity of our Zion we were like men that dream." But his ways are not as our ways. Glory to him, he has seen our ways, and is healing them. It gave me much pleasure, to hear Mr Porteous and some of my people, giving such an account of the work of God with you, at your last sacrament. Such of my flock as have attended that solemn occasion, I hope, have not lost their travel.—About seven and twenty of them, all in a company, coming home, were, by a kind of providence, overtaken upon the road, by Mr Porteous Mrs Erskine, and Mr David Erskine, who by the blessing of the Lord, were made eminently useful to them. For such was the distress of many of them, that in all appearance they had lodged in that desert place all night, if the Lord by means of these instruments, had not sent them some support and relief; so much did their soul-distress affect their bodies, that they seemed not able to travel much further. I doubt not but it will give you some little satisfaction, to be informed that the same good work upon souls, is daily advancing and going on in this parish. Every Sabbath-day, since I wrote to you last, I may say, to the glory of free grace, has been a day of the Son of Man. The arrows of the Almighty King are still flying thick amongst us, and wounding the hearts of his enemies, and laying them down, groaning at the feet of the conqueror, crying under the sense of guilt, and the frightful apprehensions of wrath, and thirsting after a Saviour. For many months past, I have observed a general and unusual concern upon the whole congregation, their hungry-like attention to the word, the serious and concerned-like airs appearing in their faces; many being so deeply affected in hearing, that frequently a general sound of weeping, through the whole congregation uses to rise so high, that it much drowns my voice. Their carriage and spiritual converse in coming and going from public ordinances, and the many prayers that are

put up through this parish—these good and promising appearances, make me, through the blessing of God upon his ordinances, to expect yet greater things. I told you in my last, what multitudes attended our evening exercise upon Sabbath-nights. But now, though the day be short, I am obliged to go to the kirk with them, where almost the whole congregation (which is very great) wait and attend. Many of them not regarding the difficulty of travelling through a long dark moor, under night, and a good number after they have heard a lecture and two sermons and the evening exercise, stay and retire to the school-house, and there spend some hours in prayer: and the Lord has signally owned them, not only to their own mutual edification but to the conviction of by-standers, and such as have heard them without the walls of the house. Our praying societies are in a most flourishing condition, and still more members flocking to them. The meetings for prayer amongst the young boys and girls, gave me great satisfaction, one whereof began soon after the sacrament, and is now increased to about the number of twenty. Several of them falling under deep concern, I was sent to speak with them, where I found some of them all in tears. Since that time (that I may have them near me) I give them a room in my house where they meet every night. And O how pleasant is it to hear the poor young lambs addressing themselves to God in prayer; O with what fervour, with what proper expressions, do I hear them pouring out their souls to a prayer-hearing God; so that standing at the back of the door, I am often melted into tears to hear them. We have another praying society of young ones, lately erected in another corner of the parish, where one Mr Robertson teaches one of the charity schools. The young ones, of late, desired his allowance to meet in the school-house for prayer, which he very readily went into (for it is his great pleasure to promote and encourage religion both in young and old) and there about twenty of them meet twice every week, though they have a good way (many of them) to travel in the night-time. I may say in general, that such a praying disposition as appears amongst this people, both young and old, was never seen nor heard of before, which gives me ground to expect more of divine influences to come down amongst us; for where the Lord prepares the heart, he causes his ear to hear. As to the parish of Maderty, which you desire to be informed about; soon after the sacrament at Foulis, a neighbouring parish, some few boys met in the fields for prayer, and when observed were brought to an house, to whom, many others, both young and old, resorted since, and are now, according to my information, in a very flourishing condition. This presbytery are resolved to divide themselves into societies for prayer, for the progress of this blessed work, and to have frequent meetings for this end. That the pleasure of the Lord may more and more prosper in your hand is the earnest prayer of Yours, &c.

WILLIAM HALLEY.

From another Letter from Mr Halley to a gentleman in Edinburgh, dated Muthil, August 29, 1743, printed in Prince's Christian History, No. 75, 76.

About a year before this work came to be openly observed, there was a secret stirring and concern

among the people. This I was informed of by some religious elders from different corners of the parish. Something of it appeared in public upon the first Sabbath of January 1741-2, which happening to be a stormy day, and I having prepared somewhat to be delivered that day, which I was fond the whole congregation should hear, and expecting but a small meeting upon Sabbath morning, I changed my text, and finding more than ordinary freedom in preaching upon it that day, I insisted upon it the next Lord's-day also. Both days I observed an unusual tenderness among many of the hearers, and I was told much more of it afterwards. I was informed of a praying disposition stirred up among the people, beyond what had been formerly observed. Thus it continued till the third Sabbath of July thereafter, at which time the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed in this place, &c. [See his two former letters.]—In some a law-work has been carried on by degrees, and at length arrived at an exceeding great height. Others have been suddenly struck, as with an arrow shot into their hearts, and could be so particular as to condescend upon the particular words in the sermon that the Spirit of God made use of for their awakening.

In conversing with them, I have solemnly charged them to speak their minds freely and truly, and nowise to dissemble their case. And, upon examination, I have found them deeply affected with a sight of their lost state and condition by nature, trembling under the apprehensions of Divine wrath, grieving for the dishonour they had done to God, by sinning against Him, and particularly lamenting over their sin of unbelief, in rejecting a Saviour; in slighting so many Gospel calls; in despising so much Gospel grace. I have found them thirsting after Christ, and some of them expressing their desires in a most passionate manner, viz., That they would give ten thousand worlds for an interest in Him. And all this with such emotion of spirit, and with such a flood of tears, that often, out of sympathy with them, I have been obliged to shed tears too. I have been filled with wonder to hear some of them pray, who, I had reason to suspect, wholly neglected secret duty till of late. Before this good work began amongst us, we had but two praying societies, and now they are increased to eighteen, to which many resort, both men and women. We have six praying meetings of young ones. One of them meets twice in the week in my house. I have frequently wished to have had some of the contradictors and blasphemers of this work standing with me at the back of the door, to hear these dear young lambs (some of them below twelve years of age) pouring out their souls to a prayer-bearing God, with such fervour, with such copiousness and propriety of expression, that I have not only been filled with wonder, but melted down in tears to hear them. With great satisfaction I admitted about forty of these young ones to the communion-table at our sacrament this summer, which occasion the Lord signally owned. There is something of the like work begun and spreading in two neighbouring congregations, Crief and Monyvard, &c.

W. H.

From MR ROBE'S NARRATIVE, page 53.

and the gospel as much as possible in the same sermon; and I observed such composesures most blessed of God. The formerly converted, and the awakened who had made progress, I perceived were most affected with the sweet truths of the Gospel. I have seen the congregation in tears, and crying out, when the law of grace from Mount Zion, without any express mixture of the terrors of the law, was preached. It is true indeed, several of the awakened have had their spiritual distress increased thereby, as also some of the secure have been awakened; but then it was from their being convinced that they had as yet no interest in these glorious blessings, and so were miserable, and that it would be the worst part of their eternal misery to be deprived of them! And thus it was as terrible to them to hear heaven preached of, as hell; seeing they saw themselves shut out from it by their unbelief. I observed, that the far greatest part of every public audience were secure, unconcerned and fearless; and therefore I preached the terrors of the law in the strongest terms I could, that is to say, in express scripture terms. I feared to daub or deal slightly with them, but told great and small, that they were the children of the devil while they were in a state of unbelief, and that if they continued so to the end, in our Lord's plain terms, they would be damned. I resolved that I would cry aloud and not spare, and preach with that seriousness and fervour, as one that knew that my hearers must either be prevailed with, or be damned.

I looked up and saw what I never saw before, the fields already ripe unto the harvest. I heard the Lord of the harvest commanding me to put in my sickle and reap; I considered that I had now an opportunity put in my hand that was not to last long, the harvest being the shortest time of labour in the whole year: and therefore I resolved to bestir myself, and attend wholly to this very thing. I looked upon my pulpit-work, though great, but a small part of my task. I knew that several of the awakened were ignorant; that all of them needed particular direction, instruction, and consolation under their sharp convictions, and wanted much, under the conduct of the Holy Spirit, a spiritual guide to direct them to faith in Jesus Christ, to which they were shut up. I appointed therefore Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays, for the awakened and spiritually distressed to come to me for the aforesaid purposes; which they did assiduously and diligently from morning to night, the same persons sometimes coming to me not only twice which was ordinary, but oftener in a week; yea, even upon Saturdays, which I often grudged, but durst not send them away who had come at some distance without conversing with them. At this time I could not allow myself to be diverted from this attendance by any visitants coming to my house, ministers or others. I was also greatly assisted by some ministers and preachers who stayed with me for some time; particularly at the beginning of this work, Mr Young, preacher of the Gospel, who had been much at Cambuslang, and had great experience and skill in dealing with the distressed, was greatly helpful to me; but of all others, Mr Gillespie, minister at Carnock. He came to me upon the Monday before the Lord's-supper was given in the congregation, and stayed ten days. Both of us had as much work among the distressed as kept us continually employed from morning to night; and, without him, it would have been impos-

As to the doctrines I preached in the congregation or elsewhere, they were a mixture of the law
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sible for me to have managed the work of that week. Without such dealings with them, humanly speaking, many of them must have miscarried, or continued much longer under their spiritual distress. It is very true, God will devise means to bring home his banished, as I have seen; but, where there are ministers, these are the outward means; if people in distress will not use them, they themselves are to blame, and they cannot expect a desirable outgate; and, if we will not apply ourselves diligently to the care of distressed souls, willing to make use of us, the Lord will provide without us, that his own elect may not miscarry. But woe will be to us; their blood, as well as those who shall miscarry, will be required at our hands.

I was not without temptations to slacken my hand; both my own mind, and others who wished me well, said, Spare thyself. I was afraid my body would not stand through; and others told me I should take care of my health; but when I considered my natural temper, that it must be employed somehow, and that I spent near as much time in reading, I thought I could suffer no more by this application, and had not so much to fear from it as from any other constant sedentary employment. But most of all I was influenced from the consideration of the Lord's call to this service; that my time, health, and life were in his hand; that I had dedicated all to his service and glory; that he had promised needful strength; that he would preserve my health and life so long as he had use for them, and that it would be highly unreasonable for me to desire it longer: I resolved not to spare myself. It became soon the pleasantest work ever I was engaged in. I found the distressed profiting under the means of grace by the Lord's blessing, first coming to hate sin, and mourn for it, out of a regard to God, and then pressing after an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ. It diverted me to see young and old carrying their Bibles with them, and either reading some passage that had been of use to them, or looking out and marking some passages I recommended to them. The world appeared changed to me; and (as I noticed to them) when I came to their doors to catechise them, once or twice in the year, the least trifle hindered their attendance; but now they were glad to come twice or thrice a week, and greedy to receive instruction; and what cold soul would not have rejoiced at such a change, and welcomed them in the name of the Lord? Though I was wearied when I went to bed, yet, like the labouring man, my rest was sweet to me. The Lord gave me the sleep of his beloved, and I was fresh by the morning. And now, after labouring so much for near these four months, and preaching more than at any time for a whole half year, I mention it to the praise of my great Master's goodness, my body is fatter in flesh than when I began, and my bodily ails nowise increased. The way of the Lord hath been my life and strength.

I have kept a book, wherein, from day to day, I wrote down whatever was most material in the exercise of the distressed. This may appear an unportable labour at first view, especially where the number of the distressed are so many; yet I found it to be very easy; it saved much time to me. An index I kept brought me soon to the part of the book where the person's case was recorded. I had then a full view of their case, as it was when they were first with me: I saw what progress their convictions had made, and knew where I was to begin with

them, without examining their case every time from the beginning a-new, as I would have been obliged to do. It (also) gave a full view of their whole case when it came to an issue, and made me more able to judge of it. I have laboured to be very cautious in pronouncing persons to be brought out of a state of nature into a state of grace: I have in many cases declared to persons that the grounds of ease and rest they took up with were not solid nor good, which frequently had good effect. And also to others, that if their exercises were such as they declared them to be, that they were really the scripture qualifications and experiences of the converted.

[See several Journals extracted from the book just now mentioned in his Narrative, and in the Glasgow Weekly History, giving an account of the exercise of the subjects of this work, and of several edifying scriptures that made impression upon them. The following is an extract of one remarkable instance:]

G. H. was first awakened, May 16th, of a blameless life, and an ordinary communicant for some years past; her spiritual distress was considerably great. The keeping a Journal of the progress of the work of God upon her was omitted [for some time]. June 8th, She was with me, and told me it was better with her than when she was with me on the 4th current. She said she was somewhat comforted by the instructions the Lord directed me to give her that day, and began to be cheerful that night. Upon the Saturday she was filled with doubts and fears lest she was building upon a false foundation, and was so uneasy at night that she could not sleep. Upon the Lord's-day her spiritual distress increased to a great height. In her way home, she was greatly afraid lest death should seize her before she got into Christ. She sat down by the way and composed herself to spiritual meditation. The following scripture came into her mind with great power—"Be still, and know that I am God;" the effect of which was, that it composed her to wait with patience until the Lord's time should come to relieve her, and that she was free from distressing doubts and fears that disturbed her, and was composed in prayer. Upon the Monday, while she was employed in her worldly affairs, she thought that she could have been content to be constantly employed in praising God. All the while that word was strongly enforced upon her, "Be still, and know that I am God." In the evening, while she was late at her wheel, the following scriptures were impressed upon her, "Fear not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. I will deliver thee in six troubles; yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee." She found her heart begin to rise so with wonder at the mercy of God, that she was ready to cry out in his loud praises. She rose and ran to her chamber, and broke out in the praise of God. She was so much filled with love to Christ, and views of the greatness of his love to her, that she was overwhelmed with them. It was said to her, "Daughter, be of good cheer, for thy sins are forgiven thee;" which filled her so with joy, that she could not contain it: she cried out, "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us

kings and priests unto God, and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen." She says she thought she could not cry loud enough to express his praises, thinking that all that was within her was too little to do it, and that she was so overwhelmed, that her heart was like to come out; yet felt no pain, but much sweetness. She cried out, "Come all ye that fear the Lord, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul;" and said, "That if all they who ever were, or shall be, were present, she would think it too little to tell it to them; and if they who opposed the work of the Spirit of God were present, she would tell it to his praise, if they should kill her." She said, "That she was composed in a while after; but could not be satisfied, is not satisfied, nor ever will be satisfied with uttering his praises. She said further, that she would lay her mouth in the dust, and be deeply humbled before the Lord so long as she lives, and that she thinks she could lie down with Mary at Christ's feet, and wash them with her tears, and wipe them with the hairs of her head. She said, Christ says, "I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me." But alas! cried she, I have been too long a seeking him, I thought I had been seeking him before; but it was not a right seeking him: so long as I regarded sin in my heart, the Lord did not hear me. She said that this morning she sung the forty-sixth Psalm beginning at the tenth verse, and when she came away, she thought it was said to her, "Why weepst thou? whom seekest thou?" (it is to be observed that she continued to shed tears abundantly.) She said further, worldly thoughts are away from me now, and oh, if they would never return again! ten thousand worlds could never give me the love and joy Christ filled me with yesterday, and are not so much as to be compared with them. In the strongest manner she expressed her hatred at sin, and resolutions against it in Christ's strength. And when I put several questions to her, which she satisfactorily answered; she said, Sir, though you put questions to me as was done to Peter, Christ knows my heart, and he who knows all things knoweth that I love him. She said, she resolved to show her love to Christ by keeping his commandments, and that she was sensible her duties are worthless, and can never deserve anything; but that she had taken Christ's righteousness to be her righteousness in the sight of God. She broke out in surprising words of love and assurance, such as, "He is my sure portion, whom I have chosen for ever." O what hath He done for me, when I had ruined myself by sin original and actual! Though both my parents have left me, yet the Lord hath taken me up. She said with great emotion, that she desired to have all the world brought to Christ, and for to feel what she felt and doth feel. June 10th, She told me this day, that she is still under doubts and fears, lest she is too much encouraged; but the following scripture gives her relief, "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me." And that yesterday when she heard the judgment to come preached upon, she was not afraid of the threatenings; for she saw security in Christ for her; and that she would not be afraid if she saw him coming in the clouds; but that it would be a blythe sight to her, for he was her friend. And that such scriptures as these came into her mind: "Be not afraid, for I am thy God;" and "Why art thou disquieted, O my soul, why art thou cast down within

me? Hope still in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God." She said that she sang the ninety-eighth Psalm with the congregation that day, with such joy and comfort, as she never could before; and that she might say, as in the fourth Psalm, that she had more joy than corn and wine could give her.

From MR ROBE'S NARRATIVE, page 68.

[As to the virile reformation among the people of Kilsyth, since this work began, the following paper will testify.]

R. S.—In compliance with your desire to know what remarkable reformation and change we observe and see upon the outward behaviour, lives and conversations of the people of this parish, we observe, that whereas the profaning of the holy Sabbath by idle discourse, walking abroad in companies, and sitting about doors, were the ordinary practice of numbers in and about the town of Kilsyth. We now see not only this abandoned; but instead thereof, the private and secret duties of prayer practised, and spiritual and religious conversation prevailing upon all occasions, especially in coming and going to and from the public ordinances; and further, that the ordinary and habitual practice of cursing, swearing, drinking to excess, stealing, cheating, and defrauding, and all gross immoralities, are generally restrained; and several, that were ordinarily guilty of such crimes, now detest and abhor the same. Also malice, envy, hatred, strife, contention, and revenge, are so much decreased, that we have had few or no instances thereof this summer; but, on the contrary, love, peace, forgiving of injuries, and a charitable Christian temper and disposition of mind now prevail among several of those who have been most frequently overcome by those unruly passions. There are also numbers of people who have either wholly or ordinarily neglected family worship that now ordinarily practise it, and have more than ordinary concern for the glory of God and the good of their own souls. There are not only a good many societies for prayer, both of young ones, and also of those of riper years, set up of late; but also several using endeavours, and desirous to be admitted, whom formerly no arguments could prevail with to join in such religious and necessary duties; and many are observed now frequently retiring to private places for secret prayer upon the Sabbath-days, in the interval of public worship. The obscene, idle, wicked conversation of our servants and daily-labourers is now much abandoned and forsaken; serious edifying religious Christian discourse much practised, which used to be much neglected, especially now in harvest-time. Written by Mr John Buchanan, session-clerk, and subscribed by the following elders, at Kilsyth, the 5th day of September, 1742: and likewise the several heritors here present do attest the truth of the same.

ROBERT GRAHAM, of Thomraver.
JOHN GRAHAM of Auchinloch.
ALEXANDER MARSHALL of Ruchill.
WILLIAM PATRICK of Oldhall.
WALTER KIRKWOOD.
JOHN BUCHANAN, Clerk.
ALEXANDER PATRICK, Elder.
JAMES RENNIE, Elder.
JAMES ZOULL.
HENRY EWAR, Elder.

JOHN FORRESTER, Elder.
JOHN ACHIE, Elder.
WILLIAM ADAM, Elder.
MARK SCOTT.
JAMES RANKEN.
JAMES MILLER.
JOHN SWORD.
ANDREW PROVAN.

Sept. 7. JOHN LAPSLIE, Elder.

Kilsyth, September 8, 1742.—I, Alexander Forrester, bailie-depute of Kilsyth, do hereby certify, That so much of the spirit of mildness and friendship prevails amongst the people in this place, that there have been no pleas before our court for these several months past; whereas formerly a great many were brought before me every week.

ALEX. FORRESTER.

[There are also particular attestations to this work, expressing a good opinion of it, by the following ministers, who were witnesses to it for a longer or a shorter time, viz. Mr Spears at Linlithgow, Mr Ogilvy at Aberdeen, Mr Young, a preacher, Mr Blair at Brechin, Mr M'Lanrin at Glasgow. See the *Narrative*, page 112, &c.—I conclude with the the following extract of a letter to Mr Robe from a country man, *Narrative*, page 152.]

February 4, 1743.—Indeed the going to Kilsyth and Cambuslang has made me to be hated by some that formerly loved me: but I desire to bless the Lord that led me by his Spirit. I many a time think that such days of power have not been seen under the Gospel, since the apostles' first preaching the glorious Gospel. O Lord, never let my soul forget what I did see at Kilsyth and Cambuslang of thy glorious power. On Saturday's night before the sacrament, after the sermon was over, I went to the braehead Eastward, and looked around: the candles were burning in every place; that blessed echo of prayers, and sweet singing of songs made me almost faint for joy, and lament over my dead heart that was so lifeless; and put me in mind of the sweet songs that are sung in heaven at God's right hand. On Sabbath, at his table, the Lord did manifest himself to me, as he does not to the world: I never did think to see so much of heaven as I was eye and ear witness to that night, on this side of time. "O Lord, our God, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! who has set thy glory above the heavens. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength; because of thine enemies that thou mightest still the enemy and avenger. The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion, his tender mercies are over all his works. All thy works shall praise thee, O Lord, and thy saints shall bless thee; they shall speak of thy glory and thy kingdom, and talk of thy power; to make known to the sons of men his mighty acts, and the glorious majesty of his kingdom. What tongue can speak of thy power and thy glory?" We will but darken the light of thy power when we speak of it. O Lord, let that cloud that has appeared in the west of Scotland spread east, west, south, and north, that thy glory may fill the whole earth, as the waters cover the seas. O Lord, let thy heavenly dew come down upon our souls, that we may grow as the willows by the water courses. O Lord, let not our sins provoke thee to restrain the downpouring of thy Spirit on these sinful lands. O Lord, for thy name's sake, pass not by this poor parish; and, O Lord, may these that thou hast

brought in to thyself, in a remarkable way evidence themselves to be thy children by their good works, they being the fruits of true faith and love: help them to forgive their enemies, and to pray that their sins may be forgiven them. They have been praying for the day of the Lord: and now, because it has not come in the way that they looked for, they are grieved, and wish it away again; it is darkness and not light to them. O, dear Sir, exhort them to be ware of carnal security, and the pride of humility, for I have found them to be two great sins, &c.

SECTION III.

OTHER PLACES IN SCOTLAND THAT FELT LESS OR MORE OF A REVIVAL ABOUT THIS TIME.—NIGG, ROSSKEEN, NAIRN, ROSEMARKY.—CRIEF, MONYVARD, AUCHTERARDE.—EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, IRVINE.—COLDINGHAM.—KILJENMUIR. EASTER-LOOIE, ALNESS, KILLEARN, CROMARTY, KIRKMICHAEL, AYON, GOLSPY, AND ROGART.

From ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1743, No. II., p. 54, &c.

By a letter from Mr Hally, minister at Muthil, dated November 28th, I have the following information: "I had lately occasion to see a letter from a minister in the Synod of Ross, bearing some very agreeable accounts of the success of the gospel in these parts, particularly in the parish of Nigg, where last summer, eighteen new communicants were admitted. I am informed, that it is much the custom through that synod to admit none to the Lord's table till they be in a condition to give some satisfying account of their experiences in religion. As also in the parishes of Rosskeen, Nairn, and Rosemarky, God is giving some testimony to the word of his grace, though not accompanied with such observable awakenings as have been observed in other corners of the land." By the foresaid letter he gives the present state of religion at Muthil, and other parishes in its neighbourhood, as followeth: "Though the public awakenings are much ceased with us, which I never expected would long continue, I hope these wrought upon in this congregation are persevering, and bringing forth agreeable fruits. Our praying societies are in a flourishing condition; and it is very agreeable to see the young lambs gathering together again, after they were a little scattered in the summer by the herdings. Some of them keep their meetings twice every week. The hungry-like attention to the word preached still continues in the congregation. Though some of them have three, some four, and others five miles to travel home through a dark muir, yet few go away from the evening exercises. I hope there are some promising appearances in some neighbouring parishes. In Crief there are eight praying meetings; in Monyvard four; and in Auchterarder six. None were in any of these parishes till of late. Glory to our gracious God, who, in many places, is seeing our ways, and healing them."

Upon the 23d of Octo'er last, the Lord's Supper was given at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Irvine. The evidences of the revival of religion in and about these three cities, from appearances at this solemn time, are such as these:

Edinburgh, October 23d.—The number of the communicants, in the several churches of this great city, are within these two years much increased. And though several usual communicants have gone

away with the secession, yet the number of communicants are so far from being lessened, that they are considerably increased beyond what they were before the secession. Week-days sermons are much better attended than they have been for many years past. While I was in town, about that time, I visited several of the societies for prayer, consisting of young people, with whom I was pleased. They appear to thirst strongly after instruction, and to be pliable and teachable to a great degree; they no doubt need much the oversight and frequent direction of their spiritual guides and elder Christians. And I am persuaded that by the Lord's blessing upon such oversight and direction, which doubtless will not be wanting, many of them shall be a seed to do service to the Lord, and shall be reckoned a generation. By all that I could see or hear, I am of opinion that the success of the gospel, by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Edinburgh, upon many of the young, and of the inferior sort, hath been extraordinary, when compared with a former dead time, of not a few years. Blessed be the Lord, there are also not a few of a superior rank, who can witness the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in his saving operations.

At Glasgow, in October last, the increase of the number of tables, when the Lord's-supper was given there, is computed by persons fit to give a just account of that matter, to amount to about eighteen tables, beyond what was usual for a course of years before the late revival; and it is computed that almost in all the churches there, three tables may contain about, or near 200 communicants. This increase is indeed supposed to be owing, in some measure, to numbers from the adjacent country, and so to be a confirmation of the revival there; but also owing, in a good measure, to a more than ordinary addition, of late years, to the numbers of new communicants in the town itself. As hath already been observed, as to Edinburgh, several old communicants having, of late years, gone off to the secession, the number of the communicants now behoved to be less than in former times, were it not for an extraordinary increase another way. There was a more than ordinary concern to be observed upon many, both in hearing the word and receiving the sacrament; and several are said to have felt effects of more than an ordinary presence of the Lord's grace and spirit.

As to Irvine, by a letter from a worthy minister who assisted at the giving the Lord's Supper there, at the time mentioned, the number of communicants was much the same as when it was last given, but about two or three hundred more than in former times, which is reckoned betwixt a fourth and a fifth part increased beyond former years.

From the parish of Coldingham in the Merse, near Berwick, a worthy correspondent writes me in a letter I received this month of December, that there are these promising evidences of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit there, beyond what hath been for several years past, viz., a more diligent attendance upon ordinances, a more earnest thirsting after

them, a more general warm impression of religion, and a greater love to religious discourse; societies for prayer not only increasing in numbers, but the members of some of these societies so increasing, as the meeting, of which my correspondent is a member, expect, in a short time, to divide themselves into two sufficient ones; and, what is most of all to be regarded, the members of these societies grow in light and life; so that some of the elder Christians say, that they never had such comfort and satisfaction as they have now. Their worthy minister, Mr Brydon, is earnestly diligent in improving this beginning. The Lord of the harvest assist and prosper him. I have letters from other persons confirming what is above.

From the Account of the Revival in Nigg, dated February, 1744.—ROSE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1744, No. iv., p. 45, &c.

The following account of the revival in the parish of Nigg, in East Ross, and lying within a mile of the town of Cromarty, is given by Mr Balfour, minister of said parish, at the desire of Mr Sutherland, minister at Golspy, and transmitted to me by him.

The revival of religion in the parish of Nigg, in East Ross, has been upon the advance since the year 1730, though for most part in a gradual slow way, and with several stops and intermissions at times. As to new awakenings, the most considerable concern appeared in 1739; then several persons awakened (and who had never done it before) applied to the minister about their spiritual interest, each day in the week, for one week, Saturday not excepted. The awakening which has been here from time to time (and which continues still in some desirable measure, by which is meant the accession of such as did not before profess, or at least, did not declare a religious concern) has not been in that extraordinary way, for the number of persons awakened at a time, nor attended at all with such unusual bodily symptoms, as were in sundry instances the effect of awakenings in some other parts, and most unreasonably excepted to on such account merely, where the blessed work proceeded under a more plentiful effusion of the Spirit of grace, and where a more glorious display of the power and demonstration thereof attended the means of salvation. But in other respects the work of grace upon convinced souls here, appears to be in its rise, progress and issue, in the same scriptural way, and the same in kind and substance, as in these other parts, from which narratives have come to hand. Very few, not one in forty, who have been awakened, have fallen off from a religious profession, or given open scandal to it. The general meeting for prayer and spiritual conference, which sometime consisted only of the members of session, and a few others, became at length so numerous, that about three years ago, it was necessary to divide it into two, each of which is since considerably increased. Besides these general meetings, which convene in two places of the parish, at a proper distance, each, every third Monday respectively, and in which the minister always presides, there are ten societies which meet in several places of the parish every Saturday for prayer, and other religious exercises. Care is taken that in each of these societies, one or more of the elders, or some Christians of distinguished experience, be always present; and nothing as yet

1. A further information as to Edinburgh and Glasgow, and places near them, may be had in the following passages of *Prince's Christian History*:—As to Edinburgh, &c. Mr Willison's letter to Dr Coleman, February 28, 1743, No. 11.—Concerning the religious societies in Edinburgh. Mr George Muir's letter to Mr Aitken, August 8, 1743, and Mr Bowre's to Mr Muir, Nos. 34, 35. Mr John Erskine's letter to a gentleman in New England, September 10, 1743, No. 77. As to Glasgow, &c. Mr McCulloch's letter to Mr Whitefield, No. 25. Mr Hamilton's to Mr Prince, Sept. 47, 1742, No. 10. Mr McLaurin's to Mr Cooper, August 9, 1743, No. 77.

appears about them, but what has a tendency to promote the most valuable ends and interests of religion. Besides those who have applied for access to the meetings, and who are not admitted till after giving some account of their concern to the minister, as also to some of the elders, and other Christians in their neighbourhood, the body of the parishioners seem generally to be under serious impressions of religion. Worship is kept up in all the families of the parish, except three or four. The Lord's-day is very solemnly observed. After the public worship is over, there are meetings in all parts, where neighbouring families join in prayer, reading, and repetitions of sermons, and yet care is taken, that such meetings and exercises do not interfere with, nor hinder the more private exercises of religion in each family apart. Ordinances are very punctually attended on Lord's-days; and diets of catechising, in whatever part of the parish they are kept on week-days, are much crowded by people from other parts. The civil magistrate has had no crimes here to animadvert upon for many years; and the kirk session has very little else to do, but to inform, and consult about the religious concerns of the parish, and to concert how these may be looked after and managed to greatest advantage. And it is specially to be remarked, that the people are very diligent and industrious in their secular callings, and more forward in the business of their husbandry, than their neighbours in other parts of the country.

There is the like appearance of success to the Gospel in other parishes in this country, particularly the parishes of Rosekean and Killmuir Easter, of which the ministers of these parishes may give information, as they are known to have the advancement of the great interest of the Gospel much at heart. The people here were much refreshed with the several accounts they have had of the glorious work of God elsewhere, and particularly, in these parts of our native country, where the same appears with such blessed and shining evidences of the divine power and presence, with ministers and people. They affectionately remember both, in prayer and conference; and are much afflicted on account of the reproaches cast upon this blessed work, and the contradiction and opposition given it, by those of whom this would be least expected. As notes have not been taken in writing of past occurrences and cases, it is judged the safer way to give this general account of matters only at this time; though it is not doubted if particular cases and instances were recollected, with their special circumstances, a narrative of them would be entertaining and edifying to all that have a relish and value for such subjects.

From MR BALFOUR'S LETTER, dated Nigg, June 20, 1744.—ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1744, No. vi., page 30, &c.

R. D. B. Since February last, that I sent you a state of the revival of religion in this parish, the work of awakening has proceeded upon new subjects more currently than in any former period, and still continues, to the praise of free grace; with several it appears to be more distinct and lively than formerly.

The far greater number that profess religion in this parish are illiterate, and understand only the Irish language. All that I shall say of the language is, that it is no disadvantage to their edification and in-

struction in religion. I never conversed with more intelligent, savoury, and distinctly exercised private Christians, than some illiterate men in this country, or that challenged, and got more respect on a religious account from all sorts of persons of their acquaintance. It is surprising to observe with what industry many, especially of the younger sort, endeavoured to acquire reading. Some read the Psalms in Irish metre, and teach others in the same way, without knowing or attending to the power of letters, or the use of syllabication, by considering words as complex characters, which are to be always pronounced in the same way. Some of the elder sort likewise recover their reading, which they had been taught young, but neglected and had forgot afterwards. But as the generality are still illiterate, that disadvantage is much made up to them, by the hearing of others read the Scriptures and other good books, which they translate currently as they read, and without any stop. Such a readiness has been acquired this way, that it is become very practicable to those that understand both languages. This way of reading is one of the exercises performed in the several weekly meetings for prayer, as also in many families. By these means the knowledge of the Scriptures, and practical religion is greatly increased. It is really astonishing to me to observe what a copious and pertinent use of the Scriptures many illiterate persons have acquired, and with what a readiness and fluency they pray in Scripture language. I love not to make comparisons, nor at all to exaggerate things, but I must be allowed to declare ingenuously, they often fill me with a conscious blush, when I am amongst them, and hear them praying, as well as speaking to religious cases. Thus in the most literal sense, "Faith comes by hearing." *Surgunt indocti, et Coelum rapiunt*. The men of letters dispute Heaven, these live it. O what a sweet significance is there in our Lord's words, "to the poor the Gospel is preached," *ptochoi evangelizontai*. The poor are evangelized. There must be something else intended than the external administration, for that was offered then, and still is, to all as well as to the poor. I cannot conceive of what is peculiar in it, but what the apostle mentions, Romans vi. 17, and the accomplishment of one of the great Old Testament promises under the evangelical dispensation, Isaiah lvii. 13, accommodated by our Lord, John vi. 45. I beg the help of your prayers still, and that you kindly remember me to the worthy brethren in your bounds, particularly Messrs M'Laurin and Corse. I am, with most affectionate regard, &c.

JOHN BALFOUR.

P. S.—The subsequent account of the state of religion in the parish of Rosekean, which lies within six miles of the town of Tain, was lately transmitted to me by the minister of that parish, and is transcribed verbatim. The worthy man, in his letter to me, desires such corrections may be made in the style as may be needful, to fit it for public view, in case you think proper to publish it. This I leave to you to do therein as you shall see occasion.

State of Religion in the Parish of Rosekean.—ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1744, No. vi., page 45, &c.

Mr Daniel Beton, Minister of the Gospel at Rosekean, was transported to that populous parish 1717,

and is the first Presbyterian minister there since the Restoration. The Lord blessed the ministry of his Word there at the beginning, so far, that he was encouraged to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the year 1721, though he had then but six or seven of his own parishioners that were admitted, as far as he can remember. There was a pleasant appearance of good in his parish for nine or ten years thereafter; the number of serious persons increasing, love and holiness maintained among them. Such of these as are yet in time (as most of them are) seem to be growing in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But from the year 1732 to the year 1742 things were much at a stand, comparatively; though, during that space, one and one was engaged to the Lord, and a testimony left in the conscience of some, which appeared thereafter, and the Lord's hand held to them whom he had prevailed with more early. But, from the harvest 1742, to Martinmas 1743, or thereby, (which he reckons the most remarkable period of his ministry in that place,) there came a surprising revival and stir among the people of this parish; about the number of six and thirty men and women fell under a concern about their salvation during that period; were some weeks thereafter received into the monthly fellowship meeting in the parish; several of them were admitted since that time to the Lord's-table, and others of them are to be admitted, if the Lord shall spare them and their minister, who is much broken in his constitution by sharp afflictions of different kinds. This work began most sensibly about the end of October, 1742. He found, by conversing with these persons, that the subjects the Lord blest most for their awakening, drawing, and encouraging them (together with close catechising through his parish) were Hosea xiii. 13, "He is an unwise son, for he should not stay long in the place of the breaking forth of children;" and Gal. iv. 19, "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, till Christ be formed in you;" and John iii. 3, "Except a man be born again," &c. But especially the first of these subjects was the principal mean of the first stir. In the general, some of them were plunged in the depths of fear and dependency, and are still for most part; others have attained to more courage in a way of believing; and all of them as yet walk suitably to their profession. And it is hoped the Lord has not ceased to add to the number of these; for this season some few are coming to the minister in a private way, to communicate the afflicted case of their souls by reason of their sin and misery, and honest people in the parish tell him that others are upon the way of coming. The Lord knows what may come of these things, but we hope for the best.

Some children, boys and girls, in the easter end of the parish, about twelve in number, betwixt nine and fifteen years of age, began last winter to meet in a private house, (the landlady being a godly poor widow,) every Lord's-day evening, and Monday's night, where they exercise themselves in prayer by turns, singing and conferring about what they hear in public. They keep strict discipline among themselves, and admit none into their society, but such as undertake to pray with them. At first, some of the serious people of the place hearing of it came to overhear them, without their knowledge, who were greatly surprised and affected with their massy, sound expressions, and the savour they found with them in prayer. And now one or other of the serious people

join often with them. They watch close over the behaviour of each other. They are constant hearers of the word, and examine one another about it. Their outward deportment is grave and quiet, without any childish levity yet discovered about them. They are illiterate, but fond of learning.

From Mr Wood's LETTER of the State of Religion in the Parish of Rosemarky, May 1st, 1744.—ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1744, No. vi., page 47, &c.

R. and D. S.—It is indeed but a day of very small things with us, in comparison with the goings and steps of the majesty of our God and King in his sanctuary with you and elsewhere; but ill would it become us to de-pise even that, or even conceal or disown it, though I know a more public mentioning of it requires much prudence and caution, much of a single eye and upright heart. The least gracious revival is the more remarkable to me, as I had been groaning under the burden of labouring in vain, as to any considerable appearance of success, for several years before. Of the few professors of serious religion in the place, the most lively and judicious were removed by death. In such melancholy circumstances, it must be peculiarly refreshing that the Lord of his own mere goodness should in any measure have visited us. His coming was not, indeed, with observation; being attended with none of these more extraordinary circumstances, as in some other places, but in a gentle gradual way. Since the communion here in July last, the bulk of the congregation seem to have a desire after instruction and the knowledge of the Gospel much greater than formerly. And this holds with respect to the more private as well as more public ordinances; for, in the course of my examinations last winter and spring, I never had so little reason to complain of absentees, being crowded wherever I went, by persons from other corners of the parish, besides those who were there then to be catechised. There are now about thirty persons, of different ages and sexes, who, since that time, have come to under convictions and awakenings of conscience, through the Word. Upon conversing with them, I found several had been under some gradual work of this sort for a good time before, (some two years,) though they never discovered it till now. There are now four praying societies in different corners of the parish, (some whereof meet weekly, some once in the two weeks,) besides a general meeting with myself once a month. I am informed by some of the serious people of several others in their respective neighbourhoods, to the number of fourteen or sixteen, who seem to have some promising appearances of a spiritual concern beginning in them, but they have not yet been to speak with me; and, indeed, I have found none of them forward to discover anything of this kind as long as they were able to conceal it. I would fain hope what of this kind we have met with are only some drops and forerunners of a plentiful shower, wherewith the Lord, of his sovereign goodness, which he has prepared for the poor, will refresh this corner of his weary heritage, as he has done other corners. I am the more earnest in this longing expectation when I observe the stedfast eyes, the piercing looks, the seemingly serious and greedy desires of many in the congregation at times in hearing the word, who as yet have discovered their concern of soul in no other way. And, indeed, one principal view I have in this, is to engage your in

terest at a throne of grace, and that of such of the friends and children of Zion as you think proper to communicate it to; that you and they would strive mightily in prayer for us, and give the great Lord of the vineyard no rest till he look down upon this poor desolate country-side, and this parish in particular, that is under some peculiar disadvantages, and turn our wilderness into a fruitful field. I see mention made in the same number of your History of some other parishes in this synod, as Nigg, &c. I doubt not you will have more distinct information sent you of what of the Redeemer's grace and power is appearing there, and at Rosekeen and Killimuir. I have heard likewise comfortable accounts of the same kind of the parish of Logie, (whose worthy minister is lately called home.) All these are in the Presbytery of Tain. I have also had very agreeable accounts of the success of the Gospel in the parishes of Alness and Killearn, in the Presbytery of Dingwall. In the Presbytery of Chanry, there is at Cromarty a good number of lively, solid, and judicious Christians gathered in, by the ministry of their godly and judicious, and now aged pastor, Mr George Gordon, and their number has considerably increased of late. The work of the Gospel is likewise advancing in Kirkmichael, where I am informed there were fifteen new communicants admitted at the last communion there. I hear likewise of some promising stir beginning in the parish of Avon.—R. and D. S., &c.

JOHN WOOD.

From MR BALFOUR'S LETTER, dated January 29th, 1745.—ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1745, No. ii., page 30.

R. and D. B.—“I have further to add, to the praise of sovereign grace, that matters proceed still in my parish as formerly. New awakenings continue, and these formerly awakened persevere, and I hope are making progress in Christian experience. Sometime ago, I had notice from Mr Beton at Rose-keen, signifying that there were then about nine persons awakened, since the account I had sent Mr Robe of that parish; as I had likewise from Mr Sutherland, that there was a beginning of that kind in his parish, where about six or seven had come under a concern. This is certainly very refreshing to the good man, who longed much for such effects of his ministry, and greatly lamented the want of them.”

From MR BALFOUR'S LETTER, dated May 23d, 1745.—ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1745, No. iii., page 61.

It will no doubt be very agreeable to you, and our other friends and brethren,—to hear that I had yesterday a letter from Mr Sutherland at Golspy, in which he writes thus:—“I often regretted to you the wretched situation of my parish in former times; but, since the beginning of November last, the Lord has, in his wonderful mercy, granted cause of praise and thanksgiving; for from that time there have been about, or upwards of sixty persons come to me under kindly awakenings of conscience, many whereof have since that time been helped so to advance and increase in knowledge and experience, that the work appears to be from the Spirit of God. Sundry of them have felt such shocking temptations from the malicious spiteful enemy, that I must still conclude it must be a work destructive of Satan's interest.” Thus far he; and I shall offer but one remark about

it, which is, that the commencement and progress of this blest event falls in with that of the concert¹, and I think should be improved for our encouragement in prosecuting it, as I hope the Lord will afford many more such encouragements.

From MR Sutherland's Letter, dated Golspy, May 5, 1745.—ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1745, No. iii., p. 61.

I had a thanksgiving day in the parish three weeks ago, on account of this manifestation of grace; and I began, at their desire, a weekly lecture on Wednesday last; and I was told since that day, that the Lord gave countenance, by awakening one that day who came not yet to me.

From MR Sutherland's Letter, dated Golspy, August 8, 1745.—ROBE'S MONTHLY HISTORY for 1745, No. v., p. 130, &c.

R. and D. B.—I was favoured with yours, &c.—This parish of Golspy, in the county of Sutherland, was for some time before the year 1688, become a sanctuary (by means of the family of Sutherland's steady adherence to the interests of religion, and by means also of their residence in the parish) to sundry eminent Christians persecuted from a neighbouring county, for their non-compliance with the grievous impositions of the times. These refugees might with safety have returned to their native country immediately after the happy revolution; yet such was their gratitude to the foresaid noble family, that they chose rather to spend the remainder of their days in their respective callings, under the wings that covered them in their distress. Hereby, through the blessing of God, religion flourished in the parish during the forty years' ministry of Mr Walter Deunne, my immediate predecessor, who also, before his settlement, suffered much from the fury of the period above-mentioned, as Woodrow's History narrates. At my admission to the ministry in this parish in the year 1731, there was a goodly number of devout Christians in the place, some whereof were the posterity of these refugees. But in a few years after my said admission, sundry of the serious people were called to the joy of their Lord; whilst we who survived them found cause to bewail that but few were wrought upon to fill up their places. It is true, in that long period of time from the year 1731 to the year 1744, there were some awakened, who, to this day, adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour, yet their number was so very small, and the scandals of others amongst us so frequent and heinous, that I often concluded my time and labours were almost lost.

In this uncomfortable state of things, and amidst my greater fears than hopes, I took care to notify to the people the blessed and wonderful success of the Gospel in the British colonies of America, so soon as I had certain accounts of it, by the printed declarations of Messrs Edwards and Cooper, and others. I likewise communicated to them the displays of divine mercy and grace, your congregation, that of Cambuslang, and sundry other congregations in the west and south of Scotland, were so highly honoured with, immediately after I found that blessed work so well attested by you, by Mr Willison of Dundee, Mr Webster of Edinburgh, and by sundry more of our brethren of unquestionable credit.

¹ The concert for prayer. See Section v. of this Chapter.

After my return from the assembly 1743, I also reported to them, what with great joy I had myself observed of the Lord's work, when with you at Kilsyth, and at Muthil, and Cambuslang, in my way to that assembly; if by these means I might provoke the people to emulation; yet no success was observed. In the month of August 1743, after the administration of the sacrament of the Holy Supper at Nigg, at which I assisted, for some short time thereafter I lamented to our dear and worthy brother Mr Balfour, the wretched security of the generality of the people of my parish, and my unsuccessful ministrations amongst them. He thereupon reported how much cause he had to bless the Lord for the success of the Gospel amongst his people from the time he had constituted societies for prayer in his parish; immediately I resolved to essay the like means in imitation of his successful example; and, in consequence thereof, and on my return to my charge, I communicated this design to some of the serious people of my parish, and directed them to meet in three distinct societies on Saturday evenings, with earnest recommendations to them to pray for the influences of the Spirit of God to accompany the ministration of gospel ordinances in the place. This number called the rest of the communicants together, and soon set about the duty according to recommendation, but could observe no remarkable change wrought on any for the space of a year thereafter. But when our hopes were almost gone, the great and bountiful God, who ever does wonders, was mercifully pleased to breathe upon a number of dry bones, and to visit them with his salvation: for, from the beginning of November last to the date hereof, there were upwards of seventy persons came to me under various exercises of soul. A few of this number who had visited me in or about November last, told, among other things, that they had been for sundry months bowed down in spirit under a sense of their aggravated guilt; but, for reasons they mentioned, could not get themselves prevailed with to disclose their sad circumstances to any till then. Soon after this hint I shewed to the congregation, in a doctrinal way, that it was the duty of awakened sinners, next to their application to a throne of grace, to lay open their sense of sin and misery to ministers and experienced Christians, lest through want of appointed helps, Satan and lusts might get advantages of them. This public notice given, so far encouraged such as were awakened before or after that date, that they afterwards resorted to me frequently as their occasions required. [After speaking of the exercises and temptations of the awakened, he adds:] With regard to their conversion, I may affirm, that the change to the better is evident in their lives, as their neighbours testify of them. This work was advanced in some by quicker, and in others by slower degrees; yet in both a decent, grave, and solemn deportment, or shedding abundance of tears, which they concealed as long as they were able, were all the visible signs we had, in time of hearing, of the inward concern of their minds. And by reason of the silence and calmness that accompanied this work in its beginning or progress hitherto, we have heard of none that ventured to reproach it. About forty of them have, with weeping eyes and trembling hands, received tokens for the Lord's table at the late solemn ordinance here, and it is hoped the rest will be encouraged to follow their example in a little time. With respect

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to the effects produced on their bodies, some have told that they have been deprived of many nights' rest, others of many hours of almost every night, in which they were deeply exercised with the apprehensions of the wrath of God, or much comforted. Some have for some time almost lost their appetite for their natural food, or forgot to eat bread at their set meals. Others felt their bodily strength and health much impaired; and a few have owned they had felt bodily tremblings on some occasions, but besides had no other effects on their bodies. I must further remark, that since the beginning of this work, those of a long standing in religion have been sensibly revived and enlarged, and are much comforted now with what they observe in others, and are very assisting to them. Even the secure multitude attend ordinances better, and seem to listen to the Word preached with greater attention than before. The far greater number of the awakened are of ages from twenty to fifty years; few of them below twenty, and four only from sixty to seventy. They are of the farmers and tradesmen, or their wives and servants, and but few of their children; and amongst them are seven widows in low circumstances. The terrors of the Lord denounced in his Word against the wilful transgressors of his holy laws, and the impenitent unbelieving despisers of his Gospel grace; the impossibility of salvation on the score of self-righteousness; the absolute necessity of the efficacious influences of the grace and Spirit of God, in order to a vital union with Christ by faith, for righteousness and salvation; that all the blessings of the new covenant, freely given by the Father to the elect, and purchased for them by the sufferings and death of Christ the Son, are effectually applied to them by the Holy Ghost, were the doctrines insisted on to the people of this congregation. Those wrought upon have told me, that a course of lectures on the Gospel according to Matthew, especially the conclusion, that narrates the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ, together with sermons preached on Deut. xxxi. 21, 22, Eph. iv. 30, 1 Pet. iv. 17, 18, to which I subjoined 2 Pet. ii. 9, Eph. v. 14, and Mat. xxii. 4, were the means the Lord had blessed to their edification. To conclude, the change on sundry amongst us was so remarkable, that we saw good cause to set a day apart for thanksgiving to God for what of his work appeared to us. I have also enquired into the state of the religious concerns in the parish of Rogart, adjacent to this: and, by the report I had, find, that in the year 1740, there were fifteen persons awakened in that parish; that the foresaid fifteen, with a few other serious persons, felt themselves, in the years 1741 and 1742, fallen under sad decays of soul, and observed that others in the parish were remaining under their former stupidity; that thereupon they had associated for prayer, and at their meetings mourned and wept over the causes of the Lord's withdrawals from their own souls and prayed earnestly for powerful days of the Son of Man; and that in the years 1743 and 1744, especially the former, there were about fifty more of the people awakened, and that they are in a hopeful way. I entreat you to assist us to praise the bountiful hand that hath, in some measure, been opened to supply our great necessities already, and that you continue your supplications for our country-side and for this flock in particular. I offer my hearty respects to our dear brother, Mr M'Laurin of Glasgow.

I kindly salute the two pleasant societies I saw at Kilsyth.—I am, &c.,

JOHN SUTHERLAND.

SECTION IV.

THE PERSEVERANCE OF NUMBERS OF THE SUBJECTS OF THE ABOVE REVIVAL, ATTESTED IN 1751, BY THE FOLLOWING MINISTERS:—MR ROBE, MR WARDEEN, MR ERSKINE, MR HALLT, MR BAINE, MR M'LAURIN, MR M'COLLOCIE.

From the Conclusion of Mr ROBE'S NARRATIVE.

I AM now to conclude my Narrative of this extraordinary work at Kilsyth, &c., with this article concerning the perseverance of these who appeared to be converted in this and other parishes of the neighbourhood, in the year 1742 and 1743. It hath been long delayed, and in the opinion of several, who often called upon me to finish it with such an article, too long.

[After observing the providential seasonableness of publishing it at this time, in answer to what was falsely alleged abroad by some that were unfavourable to a like blessed work in Holland, viz., "That this work in Scotland was come to nothing, and that the subjects of it were fallen away, and become worse than they were before." And, after impartially declaring that there were many of the awakened, whose convictions and impressions ceased without coming to any good issue,—he observes, there were a considerable number of the awakened who gave him and others good reason to hope well of them, and charitably to conclude, that they had undergone a saving change. And that these, a few excepted, continue to this day to have their conversation such as becometh the Gospel. And adds:]

There are two things I expressly assert, and am able to make good, that of those who were judged hopefully converted and made a public profession of religion, there have been fewer instances of scandal and apostacy than might be and were expected; yea, further, that there have been fewer instances of apostacy of these, than of those who gave me hopes of their conversion in former years, in proportion to their numbers.

[Then, after owning, with grief, that many of them had lost much of the liveliness they had for some years, and that several of the numerous societies for prayer were ceased; for which he assigns several other reasons, besides degrees of backsliding and coldness of love;—he says:]

I have this further to add concerning the hopeful subjects we speak of, that I never had such satisfaction and clearness in admitting any others to the Lord's table, as I have had in admitting them; and that there are few or none gave me such comfort and satisfaction about their spiritual state and condition, as these do, when they have been sick or dying, or in any other state of trial or affliction. A few of them, after that they had lived several months or years, to outward appearance, walking worthy of the Lord to all well-pleasing, have been taken from us by death. And is it not a part of that charity which thinketh no evil, and hopeth all things, to hope that these [others] who have continued so many years blameless and harmless, shall continue so unto the end? For this reason I required the following attestation of the kirk-session, only to the perseverance of these persons, who had been blameless in their lives, according to the mea-

sure of good Christians; leaving out those who had fallen into gross sins, although they had given good evidences of their repentance; as also those who had some things which some one or other of the session complained of, and wanted to have them admonished for, even where these things, if true, were not sufficient grounds to doubt of their conversion. Yea, it was said in the session, by some members, and not contradicted by others, that there were several omitted in the list of persons proposed to the session, as hopeful as those who were inserted, and who are from time to time admitted to the Lord's table; and who would have been admitted, if the holy supper had been dispensed in the congregation at this time; though, indeed, after warnings and admonitions suitable to the verity and importance of the complaints made. But I choose rather to lessen the number of the persons attested, to cut off occasion of cavilling and objection from those who desire and wait for it. I shall now subjoin an extract from the session minutes of the attestation referred to.

Manse of Kilsyth, March 19, 1751. The session being met for prayer, according to a former appointment; the minister read unto them the names of above an hundred persons, who were the most of them brought under notour spiritual concern, in the years 1742 and 1743; and of whom he had good ground to entertain good hopes. The under-subscribing members of the session, elders and deacons, hereby testify and declare, "That all those of them, who are now alive, have been, from year to year, admitted by the Kirk-Session to the Lord's table, since their first admission, either in these fore-mentioned years, or since; and, in as far as is known to the said members, they have had their conversation such as becometh the gospel; as also, that four or five of the said list, who are now removed by death, behaved until their said removal, as became good Christians. The above testimony, written by Ebenezer Paterson, session-clerk, is subscribed day and date foresaid, by

JOHN LAPSLIE,
ALEXANDER PATRICK, } Elders.
HENRY EWAR,
JAMES MILLER,
JOHN RANKEN, Deacon.

March 24, 1751. The which day, the session being met, the persons' names being read before the members present, that were read in the meeting of the session upon the 19th of this month; the said absent members did now subscribe the aforesaid testimony, viz. :—

ROBERT GRAHAM,
ANDREW PROVAN, } Elders.
HENRY MARSHAL,
DAVID AUCHINVOLL,
WALTER KIRKWOOD,
WILLIAM SHAW,
DAVID SHAW,
JAMES RANKEN, } Deacons.
JAMES ZOULL,
MARK SCOTT,

I now proceed to insert letters I have received, part of which follows :—

From a Letter from MR WARDEEN, Minister, formerly at Campsie, now at Perth, dated March 26, 1743.

R. and very D. S.—In answer to yours, desiring

me to inform you of what I know as to the perseverance of the subjects of that spiritual concern, which appeared so remarkably in the years 1742 and 1743, I might refer you to what I wrote you of the 16th of December, 1743. The particulars of that I can, with great freedom, re-attest: but, if you would have me more express, I do hereby attest, That of persons in the parish of Campsie, whose concern was known to me, there were not above four persons, of whom, at my leaving that place, I could conclude that they were fallen from their profession. There were others, of whom I knew little particularly, as I had very few opportunities of conversing with them; but whose practice, as far as I could observe, was unblameable. And, with great pleasure, I yet think on many of them, of whom I could not but entertain the greatest hopes. A solid and lively sense of divine things seems to fill them with love to God, humility, self-deniedness, meekness, and charity: and a jealousy of themselves and their own attainments seems to animate them with a peculiar earnestness in every religious exercise. In a word, their devotion is exemplary; and remarkably produces the fruits of religion in a regular and industrious discharge of relative and social duties. I hope God will strengthen what he has wrought for them, and their fellow-Christians in Kilsyth, and the neighbourhood, &c.

JOHN WARDEN.

From a Letter from MR ERSKINE, Minister at Kirkintilloch, Feb. 23, 1751.

R. D. B.—My sentiments of the religious concern in this place are the same as when I wrote you, April, 1748. If I understand anything of the Bible, it obliges me to judge charitably of every professed Christian, who understands the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and whose conversation is as becometh the gospel; I mean, whose behaviour is pious and devout, sober and temperate, humble and patient, just and honest, meek, charitable, and forgiving. Such has been the behaviour of most of the subjects of the late religious concern in this place. The joy which some of them have expressed in the immediate view of death and eternity; the patience and resignation others of them have discovered under very heavy afflictions; their meekness under injuries and reproaches; their contributing, to their power, yea, and some of them beyond it, for the relief of the afflicted in propagation of the gospel; and the candid teachable disposition I have observed in most of them, even when I have thought it my duty to oppose some of their favourite opinions or practices, are things which argue them animated by another spirit, than most among whom they live. I am persuaded that a thorough acquaintance with these people would effectually remove the prejudices of fair and honest minds. I am, &c.

JOHN ERSKINE.

From a Letter from MR HALLEY, Minister at Nuthill, Feb. 23, 1751.

R. D. B. Yours of the 20th I received upon the 25th instant; and in answer thereunto, the remembrance of the glorious goings of our God and King in his sanctuary in this place in the years 1742 and

1743, gives me still much pleasure, and cannot but beget a longing to see such days of the Son of Man again. I am fully persuaded that the gracious fruits of that work will abide with many in this congregation, to eternal ages. I never did expect that all that were awakened should arrive at a real conversion. I doubt not but when the Spirit of the Lord is in some extraordinary way concurring with gospel ordinances for the conversion of the elect, that others may feel of his common operations, which may vanish as a morning cloud. About six of these persons that were the subjects of that glorious work (I have all reason to believe) are gone to partake of the rest remaining for the people of God. As they had a gospel-walk, so at their death they gave a notable testimony to the truth and reality of religion; some of them who had been long in the dark about their state, at evening with them it was light, doubts and fears dispelled, and an abundant entrance ministered unto them, to the heavenly kingdom of our Lord. There are a great many in this and some neighbouring parishes, yet living, who were the subjects of that work, to whom it has been saving so far as men can judge: if we are to judge the tree by its fruits. Their walk being (as to human observation) such as becometh the gospel, nothing (so far as I have been informed) appearing about them inconsistent with a gracious state. There are indeed both with them and Christians of a longer standing, great complaints of much deadness, withdrawing of the spirit, and suspending of his influences, from public ordinances, private and secret duties; which I am informed, is a general calamity over the whole national church at this day, and no wonder that it be so, all things considered. I am, &c.

WILLIAM HALLEY.

From a Letter from MR BAINE, Minister at Killern, April 18, 1751.

R. and D. S. I cannot but reflect upon it with sorrow, that during the late revival, the subjects of religious concern in this place were but few; there being scarcely eight persons upon whom it was then visible; but it will give you pleasure to know, and you may rely on it, that of these there are three or four who continue to give most satisfying evidence of their being affectionate disciples of the Redeemer; and particularly some of them are among the most eminent private Christians I was ever acquainted with, being remarkably poor in spirit, and humble in their walk with God, frequently blessed with high measures of sensible communion with him, and fervent in love to the whole of human kind, even their enemies. What pity that some of our dear brethren in the ministry and others who have no access to see this grace of God, or by some unlucky means disbelieve it, should be deprived of a cause of joy which makes glad the inhabitants of heaven itself. I am, &c.

JAMES BAINE.

From a Letter signed by twenty-five Members of Session in Glasgow, March 20, 1751.

R. S.—We subscribers, members of the kirk-sessions of Glasgow, understanding that you are collecting proper informations, anent the reputed subjects of the late revival of religion in the year 1742,

and about that time ; in answer to an inquiry, whether all of them, or the generality of them, have proven backsliders, as it would appear is alleged by some at distant places :—we judging it our duty to embrace this opportunity, do attest, from our personal knowledge of several of these persons, and from credible information from persons of undoubted characters, who know many of them, that the said unfavourable allegation is not fact ; but that to this present time, goodly numbers of them, both in town and country, who were looked upon to have obtained a gracious outgate under their awakenings and convictions, and were admitted to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, give the same kind of evidence of their perseverance, that founds a judgment of charity in others' cases. That whereas an estimate was made in the year 1743, of our additional communicants ; and was published in your Monthly History for December in that year, being No. 2,—we reckon that that computation was very moderate ; and think it requisite to observe, that, preceding the time of this revival, for a course of years, for ordinary there was, at most, only about fifty-four tables of communicants, at giving of the Lord's Supper in this place, containing about three thousand six hundred communicants : and since that to this time, there has been little or no decrease of these numbers, amounting, in all, to four thousand eight hundred persons : and, that the number of backsliders, since that time, so far as we know, or have been able to learn, is comparatively small : that several of those persons, who were the subjects of the late revival as above, and have since died, gave comfortable evidences of their perseverance to the end. Had it been needful and expedient, we could have been more particular, both as to the numbers and names of those we write of. That preceding this reviving period, religion seemed to be at a low ebb, and like to degenerate in its life and power, to mere form. The benefits of this revival were not confined simply unto those above-noticed, said to be the subjects of this work ; but, also, great numbers, who, in the judgment of charity, might be termed God's own people, (many of them of long standing) did share deeply in these extraordinary showers of the divine influences, to their great joy, confirmation, and up-building : so that it is with much pleasure they do reflect upon that ever-memorable period : and we may add, that a very uncommon liberty, life, and strength, were bestowed upon numbers of the ministers who were employed at these places, (some of whom attended from very distant corners.) We have reason to bewail the misimprovement by ourselves and others, of such blessed days of the Son of Man ; and we desire to join you and others, in supplicating Him, with whom the residue of the Spirit is, for a more plentiful effusion than ever, of the Holy Spirit from on high, upon this, and all the reformed churches. Wishing you all success and welfare, we are, &c.

From a Letter from Mr M'LAURIN, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, May 8th, 1751.

R. D. B.—When you are publishing attestations of the perseverance of goodly numbers of the subjects of the revival in 1742, and about that time ; however much we here came short, at that period of other places near us, yet, as that period did, and still does, appear to me the most extraordinary I

ever saw, as to evidences of the success of the gospel : and as I am almost the only minister of this town that was in that station here, during the whole of that period ; and have had all along the evidence which things of this kind admit of, and which is sustained in other cases, of the perseverance of goodly numbers of this people ; I judge it incumbent on me, on these accounts, to join with others, in attesting what is so fit to be remembered and recorded. If facts that have the important character of public notoriety, are on that account attended with distinguished moral evidence ; that character appears plainly applicable to the fact relating to the increase of persevering communicants, so well attested by twenty-five members of sessions of this city, in a letter signed by them, and directed to you. It is proper to observe, that though it were only supposed that one fourth part of the increase mentioned in that estimate were inhabitants, it must far surpass anything of that kind known here, these twenty-eight years, that I have been a minister in this place ; or, so far as I can learn, in the memory of any now living in it ; though it is still to be much regretted, that there are not many more communicants, I mean worthy ones, in so populous a place ; that after so uncommon an increase of communicants, as the estimate referred to, had there been as numerous backslidings, as some aspersions must imply, a proportional increase of suspensions from the sacrament must be presumed to have ensued, which is not the case : that continued admissions, are really continued attestations of the perseverance now inquired into ; that the attestations implied in such admissions, and these contained in the above-mentioned paper, have the concurring characters, which, in other cases, render testimony valid, viz., that the witnesses are sufficient as to their character, their number, and their means of knowing what they testify ; that, among real backsliders, there are, through divine mercy, instances of returning backsliders ; that some, who were at first much suspected to be deceivers, have, for a tract of time, given to those who know them best, strong proofs of their uprightness ; that persons, whose conduct has occasioned reproach to the revivals, are not always found, upon inquiry, to be persons whose profession of religion began at that period ; that the favourable things above-mentioned, are far from being said in the way of mere charitable conjecture ; that instead of that, they are the consequences of such evidence, as arises partly from extensive personal acquaintance with these persons, partly from occasional inquiries about them from time to time, partly from more laborious scrutines, set on foot privately, both formerly, and of late, among persons attentive to such things. And lastly, that if any who possibly know only backsliders, can be supposed to claim a right of judging harshly of those, whom they own they do not know, by those whom they do know, merely, because the religious profession of both began about the same time or place ; it must be easy for the unprejudiced to observe, what principles such reasoning must be built on, what consequences it must infer, and what affinity it has to some people's way of judging of all professors of religion in general, at whatever time their profession began. I am, &c.

JOHN M'LAURIN.

From a Letter from Mr M'Culloch, April 30th, 1751.

After calling to mind the glorious days of the gospel in 1742 and 1743: (what a heaven upon earth some enjoyed)—he proceeds to some useful observations upon the parable concerning the seed falling upon the wayside, the stony ground, and the thorny ground, of all which sorts there were at Cambuslang. And adds, glory to God! setting aside all these that appeared under awakenings here in 1742, who have since remarkably backslidden, whether persisting in their backsliding, or returning from it, there is a considerable number of the then awakened, that appear to bring forth suitable fruits. I do not talk of them at random, nor speak of their number in a loose, general, and confused way; but have now before me, at the writing of this, April 27th, 1751, a list of about four hundred persons, awakened here at Cambuslang in 1742, who, from that time to the time of their death, or to this, that is, for these nine years past, have been all enabled to behave, in a good measure as becometh the gospel; by anything I could ever see, and by the best information I could get concerning them by word or writing, from others of established characters for religion, who know them and their manner of life all along. I am not free at present, (says Mr M'Culloch, Attestation, page 57,) to publish any of their names, or those of the attesters, nor is it at all proper or needful to do so; but all the above number are severally attested, either by ministers, elders, or private Christians of established characters, who have known them, and their manner of life, from 1742; and all these attestations in sum, bear not only, that such persons they mention were awakened at Cambuslang in 1742, or were under convictions and remarkable concern there at that time; but that they have all along, from that to their death, or to this time, behaved well, and as became their Christian profession, charitable allowances being made for involuntary weaknesses and infirmities, as to other Christians in this imperfect state.

This he explains more particularly. 1. negatively.—I do not pretend to say that they are free of all faults and follies—or that this list is complete—or that they are all now alive—or to determine that they are all converted. But, 2.—positively. They have a Christian profession and an answerable conversation. Some, indeed, further require (says Mr M'Culloch, Attest. p. 56,) that persons who would have a place in their charity, should give some account of their experiences of the grace of God; and this is what a great number, perhaps above a fourth part of the persevering subjects here in 1742, have done. They gave me very particular accounts of God's dealings with their souls, in their first awakenings and outgates, with their following soul-experiences, distresses, deliverances, and comforts, in 1742, 1743, and 1744, and some of them also continued these accounts to 1748. And I set down very many of these from their mouths, always in their own sense, and very much also in their own words; and many of these accounts have appeared to competent judges, to whom they have been shown, and who have perused them with care, to be very rational and scriptural, and worthy to see the light; which perhaps might be done hereafter. I know partly by credible information from others, that they practise justice and charity, relative duties, public-spiritedness, humility, meekness, patience,

and a close and diligent attendance on gospel ordinances, heavenly-mindedness, watchfulness against all sin, especially these sins that used formerly easily to beset them. The cursers and swearers have learned to speak of divine things with holy awe. I have to say for my own part, (says an aged and experienced Christian, in his letter to Mr M'Culloch, Attestation, page 45,) that I am able to go to death with it, that the Spirit of God was so powerfully at work in Cambuslang, that not only sinners, who knew nothing of God before, were reached both by conviction and conversion, but even saints themselves were made to attain to that which they had been strangers to in the matters of religion. I am able, if time would allow, to give a most satisfying account of not a few, both men and women, who, I hope, will bless God to all eternity for that happy time; particularly, there were among others, two young men living not far from me, who came over to you in 1742, on purpose to mock the work; and, as they had formerly been horrid cursers and swearers, the one swore to the other, he would go see the "falling" at Cambuslang, asking his comrade, if he would go with him to that place? The other swore he would go too, but that they should not make him fall, for that he would run for it. And upon their going there together, they were both caught the same day; and, for a quarter of a year after, they continued under very deep convictions, and have ever since kept fellowship meetings weekly; and I have been sometimes with them, and heard them both pray and converse in Christian experience, to my great satisfaction.

Such of them as used to be late in taverns, for these nine years past, shun all occasions of that kind and keep at home, and spend the night in Christian conference, things profitable to their families, and in secret and family devotion. The tippling sot that lay a-bed till eight or nine in the morning, for these nine years gets up at three or four in the morning, to read and pray, till he calls his household together at seven or eight to family devotion. Some wives, who before 1742, were at variance with their husbands, have, since that time, lived in much love and peace with them. Others, when the husband's passions break out against them in boisterous language, run to another room to their knees, asking of God forgiveness, and a better temper to the husband, and patience and meekness to herself. The formerly covetous and selfish have got a public spirit. They join cheerfully to their power, and some even beyond it, (so that I have sometimes seen it needful to check some of them for too large quotas or offers) in collections for promoting the interests of religion, or for relief of those in straits. They carefully observe the concert for prayer. They flock to the hearing of the word. Are careful to prepare for the Lord's Supper, and frequent in partaking of it at different places. Abound much in prayer, not only in secret, and in the family, but in fellowship meetings. In 1731, when I came to this parish, there were three of these meetings in it. In 1742, they increased to a dozen or more; now they are decreased to six. In every town or village almost in this side of the country, where there is any competent number of serious lively Christians, and where religion is in a thriving way, there are of these societies for prayer; and the persevering subjects of the work I speak of, in parishes where any such persons are, always make a part of these societies.

Tradesmen, who are members of them, and who work for so much a-day, allow their employers to deduce so much from their day's wages, as answers to the time they happened to be absent at the meeting for prayer. Some of these societies, besides their ordinary fixed times for meeting, which is usually once a-week in the evening, have also their meetings for fasting and prayer upon extraordinary occasions; as sudden tidings of remarkable losses or dangers to any of their concerns; or of events whereby it appears that the interest of religion is in great danger. And sometimes the Lord gives much of his gracious presence and of a spirit of prayer to his people in these, though, alas! not so much as in former times. Upon the whole, I think I may say, the Lord has done great things for us, whereof we are glad. To him alone be all the glory and praise of whatever good was got or done, in that remarkable work of his grace. Amen.—I am, R. and D. S., your affectionate brother and servant,

WILLIAM M'CULLOCH.

From the Attestation of the Kirk-Session of Cambuslang, April 30th, 1751.

Having heard the foregoing attestation read to us by our pastor, and having maturely considered the same, paragraph by paragraph, we do heartily join with him in said attestation; and hereby make it our own, being persuaded that it contains a just and true account of the extraordinary work here in 1742, and the comfortable abiding effects of it on many, probably more than the four hundred mentioned in the foregoing attestation; and particularly, as to about seventy of that four hundred, who lived in this parish in the year '42; and who were among the awakened here that year, and from that time to this, or to the time of their death, lived, (so far as we know ourselves, or by credible information) in a blameless inoffensive way, and as becomes their Christian profession. Though the most of the subjects of the awakening, whose exercise contained a mixture of strong fancy and imagination, are relapsed to their former sinful courses: yet, there are several instances of persons, whose exercises were mixed with fanciful apprehensions, and which they gave out to be real representations of objects and visions, are of the number of those who are persevering in a justifiable Christian profession, and unblemished conversation. The decrease of the number of meetings for prayer, from about a dozen or more in this parish in the year 1742, to the number of six this present current year, mentioned by our pastor in his attestation, was occasioned not only by the backsliding of several, that at the beginning of the revival, formed themselves into these meetings, but also, by the death of several of the members, the removal of others from this parish, and by marriages of others, who were obliged to mind the affairs of their families. By all which, some of these meetings were quite broken up; and the remaining persevering members have adjoined themselves to the subsisting societies within this parish, or to other societies for prayer, where providence hath now cast their lot. The reason why we declare there are probably more than the four hundred persevering subjects of awakening contained in our minister's attestation, is, that when the list of the above subjects came to hand from other parishes, there were no accounts sent up from the west country, where we

know great numbers of the subjects of the late work lived, and do live; and we doubt not, numbers of these have brought, and are bringing forth fruit with patience. And now, upon the whole, we the undersubscribers, with the greatest freedom, after the most impartial inquiry and diligent care for information about the premises, being all the elders belonging to the kirk-session of this parish, save one occasionally absent from this meeting, day and date aforesaid, do hereto subscribe our names.

ALEXANDER DUNCAN
ARCHIBALD FIFE
INGRAM MORE
CLAUD SOMERS
BARTHOLOMEW SOMERS

} Elders.

SECTION V

OF THE CONCERT FOR PRAYER, BEGUN 1744.—RENEWED 1746.—A PROPOSAL OF RENEWING IT AGAIN, 1754.

From the Preface to Mr ROSE'S Sermons.

THIS concert was first set on foot, spread, and carried on, without printing any thing about it for some time, in the way of private friendly correspondence by letters, in 1744. Afterwards some account of it was published in the Christian Monthly History for 1745, No. 1. Sometime after this, a considerable number of ministers in this country, in consequence of laudable advice from abroad, concurred in recommending the continuance of the concert for a greater number of years than what had been agreed to at first. Of all which there is an account in the following memorial, drawn up by the foresaid ministers, and by them sent to their correspondents both abroad and at home.

Memorial from several Ministers in Scotland to their Brethren in different Places for continuing a Concert for Prayer, first entered into in the Year 1744.

"Whereas it is the chief scope of that concert to promote more abundant application to a duty that is perpetually binding, viz., prayer that our Lord's kingdom may come, joined with suitable praises: and whereas it contained some circumstantial expedients apprehended to be very subservient to that design, relating to stated times for such exercises; (so far as this would not interfere with other duties: particularly a part of Saturday evening, and Sabbath morning, every week; and more solemnly of some one of the first days of each of the four great divisions of the year, that is, of each quarter; as the first Tuesday, or first convenient day after:;) and whereas the concert as to this circumstance was extended only to two years, it being intended, that before these expired, persons engaged in the concert should reciprocally communicate their sentiments and inclinations, as to the prolonging of the time, with or without alteration, as to the circumstance mentioned; and whereas it was intended by the first promoters, that others at a distance should propose such circumstantial amendments or improvements, as they should find proper; it is hereby earnestly intreated, that such should communicate their sentiments accordingly, now that the

¹ The meaning is, the first Tuesdays of February, May, August and November, or the first convenient days after these.

time first proposed is near expired.—2. To induce those already engaged to adhere, and others to accede to this concert, it seems of importance to observe that declarations of concurrence, the communicating and spreading of which are so evidently useful, are to be understood in such a latitude as to keep at the greatest distance from entangling men's minds: not as binding men to set apart any stated days from secular affairs; or even to fix on any part of such and such precise days, whether it be convenient or not; nor as absolute promises in any respect; but as friendly, harmonious resolutions; with liberty to alter circumstances as shall be found expedient; on account of all which latitude, and that the circumstantial part extends only to a few years, it is apprehended the concert cannot be liable to the objections against periodical religious times of human appointment.—3. It is also humbly offered to the consideration of ministers, and others furnished with gifts for the most public instructions, whether it might not be of great use, by the blessing of God, if short and nervous scriptural persuasives and directions to the duty in view, were composed and published, either by particular authors or several joining together; which last way may sometimes have peculiar advantages; and that from time to time, without too great intervals, the better to keep alive on men's minds, a just sense of the obligations to a duty so important in itself, and in which many may be in danger to faint and turn remiss, without such repeated incitements; and whether it would not also be of great use, if ministers would be pleased to preach frequently on the importance and necessity of prayer, for the coming of our Lord's kingdom; particularly near the quarterly days or on these days themselves, where there is public worship at that time.—4. They who have found it incumbent on them to publish this memorial at this time, having peculiar advantages for spreading it, entreat that the desire of concurrence and assistance contained in it, may by no means be understood as restricted to any particular denomination or party, or to those who are of such or such opinions, about any former instances of remarkable religious concern; but to be extended to all who shall vouchsafe any attention to this paper, and have at heart the interest of vital Christianity, and the power of godliness: and who, however differing about other things, are convinced of the importance of fervent prayer, to promote that common interest, and of scripture persuasives to promote such prayer.—5. As the first printed account of this concert was not a proposal of it, as a thing then to be begun, but a narration of it, as a design already set on foot, which had been brought about with much harmony, by means of private letters: so the farther continuance, and it is hoped, the farther spreading of it seems in a promising way of being promoted by the same means; as importunate desires of the renewing of the concert have been transmitted already from a very distant corner abroad, where the regard to it has of late increased; but notwithstanding of what may be done by private letters, it is humbly expected, that a memorial spread in this manner, may, by God's blessing, farther promote the good ends in view; as it may be usefully referred to in letters, and may reach where they will not.—6. Whereas in a valuable letter, from the corner just now mentioned as a place where regard to the concert has lately increased, it is proposed that it should be continued for seven years, or at least

for a much longer time than what was specified in the first agreement: these concerned in this memorial, who would wish rather to receive and spread directions and proposals on this head, than to be the first authors of any, apprehend no inconvenience, for their part, in agreeing to the seven years, in the latitude above described, which reserves liberty to make such circumstantial alterations, as may be hereafter found expedient; on the contrary it seems of importance, that the labour of spreading a concert which has already extended to so distant parts, and may, it is hoped, extend farther, may not need to be renewed sooner, at least much sooner; as it is uncertain but that may endanger the dropping of it; and it seems probable there will be less zeal in spreading of it, if the time proposed for its continuance be too inconsiderable. Mean time declarations of concurrence for a less number of years may greatly promote the good ends in view: though it seems very expedient that it should exceed what was first agreed on; seeing it is found on trial, that that time, instead of being too long, was much too short.—7. If persons who formerly agreed to this concert should now discontinue it, would it not look too like that fainting in prayer, against which we are so expressly warned in scripture? And would not this be the more unsuitable at this time, in any within the British dominions, when they have the united calls of such public chastisements and deliverances, to more concern than ever about public reformation, and consequently about that which is the source of all thorough reformation, the regenerating and sanctifying influences of the Almighty Spirit of God." [This Memorial is dated Aug. 26th, 1746.]

The reasons and advantages of such a concert for prayer may be seen in the *Monthly History* for 1746, No. 1, particularly from the middle of the 18th page to the end of the letter. Also the reader may find most excellent scriptural persuasives and directions to fervent and abundant prayer, for the public interests of religion, in the *Monthly History* for 1746, No. 10, contained in remarks on the three first petitions of the Lord's prayer, by the learned and judicious author of the said letter.

I also refer the reader, for the utmost satisfaction on this point, to an excellent performance of Mr Edwards, minister at Northampton, in New England, entitled, *A humble Attempt to promote explicit Agreement, and visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer, &c.* That I may excite desires and endeavours after the perusal of such a pious, learned, and ingenious essay, I shall here inform the reader of its contents. It is divided into three parts.—In the 1st, the text, Zech. vii. 20, 21, 22, is opened, and an account given of the concert for prayer proposed in the memorial from Scotland.—The 2d part contains motives to a compliance with what is proposed in the memorial, under the following titles:—The latter day glory not yet accomplished.—The great glory of the latter day.—The Holy Spirit the sum of Christ's purchase.—The latter day eminently the day of salvation.—How the creation travaileth in pain for that day.—Scripture precepts, encouragements, and examples of prayer for Christ's kingdom.—Dispensations of providence at this present day, with many motives to pray for it.—The beauty and tendency of uniting in such prayer.—The particular and great encouragement in the Word of God to such an agreement in prayer.—The 3d part contains objections answered.

The contents are,—No superstition in the case.—The concert not fanciful.—The concert not pharisaical.—The slaying the witnesses considered.—The fall of Antichrist approaching.—The time not known beforehand.—The time not at a very great distance.—His fall will be gradual.—Good reason to hope, that that work of God's Spirit will soon begin, which will, in its progress, overthrow Antichrist and Satan's kingdom on earth.—The sixth vial probably now a-fulfilling.—Antichrist's ruin speedily follows it.—However, if otherwise, yet our prayer will not be in vain.—Such an agreement no new thing.—The duty of agreeing to prayer no new duty.¹—The like practised in 1712, with the wonderful consequences.—The conclusion. It hath a preface prefixed by the Rev. Messrs Sewall, Prince, Web, Foxcroft, and Gee, pastors in Boston, much esteemed in all the churches, who have also agreed to the concert, and in this preface recommend it in these words: "And this design we cannot but recommend to all who desire the coming of that blissful kingdom, in its promised extent and glory, in this wretched world."

[Then Mr Robe adds several very moving arguments, from the misery of the unconverted world, &c. See preface to his sermons, page 13, &c.—In page 20, &c., he says.] Your zeal in this may provoke many to join in this glorious undertaking: and, on the other hand, your slackness or refusal may discourage those who have already entered into it. But more especially you, who, to appearance, zealously entered into it, and have now given it over, and restrain this extraordinary prayer from God, of which last sort, I am afraid, there are too many at this day. In letters we lately had from New England, we have a very particular account of the great progress this concert hath made in these provinces. Many ministers, private Christians, yea, congregations and churches, have entered into it, and continue to enter. In one of these letters, a minister of Christ writes, May 23, 1749, "'Tis matter of great thankfulness and joy, that God puts it into the hearts of so many, in various parts, to unite in extraordinary prayer for the coming of Christ's kingdom: and surely it is a thing that bodes well. It would tend to cause this concert to prevail much more here, if we could hear that it was greatly spreading and prevailing on your side of the Atlantic, where it was first begun, and from whence it was first propagated to us. On the contrary, it will undoubtedly be a discouragement to people here, if they hear that the matter decays and languishes, or is come to a stand." Can you be easy, not only to faint and weary in this duty you once thought so excellent and necessary, but also by this fainting to discourage your brethren, &c.—Glasgow, June 24, 1754. The time expressly agreed on for the continuance of the above concert being elapsed, it has been proposed to renew it. Accordingly, several members of the societies for prayer in this place have signed the following agreement: "June 3, 1754. We, whose names are subscribed, agree, that the concert for prayer should be continued for seven years after this date." Such few members of societies in other places and ministers to whom the proposal has been mentioned, have also agreed to it. It might have been mentioned to

many more, and spread in private letters, had there not been an opportunity of inserting it here: It is therefore entreated that all into whose hands this may come, would join in so blessed a mean of promoting the kingdom of Christ. The Lord incline them to comply!

CHAPTER VII.

AMONG THE INDIANS IN AMERICA.

SECTION III.

OF THE INDIAN BOYS AT STOCKBRIDGE,¹ (FORMERLY HOUSATONCK) MAINTAINED AND INSTRUCTED BY THE CHARITY OF MR ISAAC HOLLIS (A MINISTER NEAR LONDON.)

From a Letter from MR SARGANT, Minister at Stockbridge, to the above MR HOLLIS, dated April 7th, 1742—CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 19.*

R. S.—You have a particular account of the laying out of your money in maintenance of your boys.² Sundry of them have arrived at considerable degrees of knowledge; several appear virtuously disposed, and some to be affected with a divine sense and relish of things. One in particular, on whom I have chiefly had my eye, and have in a special manner favoured, has made extraordinary progress in his learning, and appears a virtuous pious young man; and has been singularly serviceable to me in assisting me in my translations, expositions, and applications of the scripture; and has been very helpful, especially among the young people, in a general religious concern that has of late prevailed among them, and been a great promoter of a religious meeting held among them every Lord's-day evening, for repeating what they hear in the day, and praying and singing. And he is well qualified to teach school among his countrymen; and after a few years more will probably be fit to be a preacher of the Gospel among them. He has lived considerably with me, and was lately engaged as an interpreter for a young man now preaching to a number of Indians not far distant from us. Two or three others of them have been and are serviceable in improving the rest of the Indians in knowledge and virtue. I entertain some thoughts of one's being sent as a missionary among his countrymen, to preach the gospel to them; two others of the younger ones promise very fair to prove virtuous, pious, and useful. I design to take one of them into my house, and spend what money of yours I have yet in my hands upon him, till I receive further orders from you. A continued series of unwearied kindness to the Indians has, I think, at length entirely overcome their jealousies and suspicions, and an almost universal disposition to receive instruction seems to prevail among them in these parts; I pray God increase it; and of late a reformation is very visible among us. Also, a Moravian missionary, not far from hence, has, to appearance, had wonderful success among a number. Sir, I have lately proposed, what has been for many

¹ Where Mr Edwards is now minister.

¹ See an example of it in 1634, in *Rutherford's Letters*, Part 2d, Letter 17th, to Lady Kenmure.—Another in two printed papers dispersed through Scotland, dated February 24, and March 9, 1732.—Another, January 14, 1745.

² Mr Sargeant was ordained in 1735, to be minister to the Indians there, many of whom desired the gospel at that time. See Mr Appleton's sermon at his ordination.

³ The number was twelve.

years in my mind, a design to set up a free boarding school in this place, for the education of Indian children; in which I propose that they shall be brought up to labour as well as learning, and the exercises of devotion; with which proposal the Indians now seem to be mightily taken; being sensible of their folly in having been formerly so backward to improve the advantages put into their hands. Whether Providence will so smile on the design as to make it take effect I know not, but I am full of faith in the matter, and doubt not but we shall have your prayers, if not your assistance, although you have already been at so generous an expense for us, which has prepared the way for this design, for which the Indians seemed not disposed till now. But I can think of no better method, in a natural way, to change the whole state of the Indians in America; and to prepare them for an effectual reception of Christianity, to change their habit of wildness, and spread the knowledge of Christ through all their tribes; the disposition to these things seems more and more to prevail and spread among them; may Almighty power effect the merciful purposes of sovereign grace among them. Sir, as to your making any allowance to me, for my care and trouble, of which you speak in your very obliging letter to me, I neither ask nor desire it, and beg of you not to think of it; for I should indeed be ashamed to accept anything else of you (though my stated allowance is not large) but your intercessions at the throne of grace for me, of which I stand in great need. We can never be thankful enough to you, under God, for having put it in our power to do so much to promote our general design. Through your liberalities, thanksgivings abound to God; who, I am sure, will reward your charity; and I doubt not but generations to come will bless your name; and you will find your reward in eternity. I beg the favour of your correspondence, and a continual interest in your prayers for me, and the poor people, for whose salvation I have the honour and happiness to be employed.

JOHN SARGEANT.

SECTION II.

OF THE BLESSED INFLUENCES OF THE DIVINE SPIRIT ON DIVERSE TRIBES OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE END OF 1743, AND BEGINNING OF 1744.—PARTICULARLY THE NARRANGSETS IN RHODE ISLAND COLONY, UNDER THE MINISTRY OF MR PARK. THOUGH THEY COULD NOT READ, THEY ABOUNDED IN GRACIOUS EXPERIENCES.—WARMLY EXHORTED ONE ANOTHER.—THEIR OUTWARD CHANGE AS TO DECENCY, SUITABLE TO THE INWARD.—OPPOSERS SILENCED.—THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE INDIAN AFFAIRS WILLING TO ENCOURAGE A SCHOOL AMONG THEM.

From the CHRISTIAN HISTORY, No. 55, 56.

It is no small part of the wonderful dispensation of the grace of God in the present day, (1743, 1744,) the surprising effusion of his Spirit on divers tribes in these ends of the earth, who would never before so much as outwardly receive the gospel, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made these three hundred years to persuade them to it. Their extreme love of hunting, fishing, fowling, merry-making, singing, dancing, drinking, and utter aversion to industry, have rendered them extremely

averse to the Christian religion: and though several tribes of them, both in Plymouth and Massachusetts' colonies, and in the island of Martha's Vineyard, have been prevailed on to hear the Gospel, many among them hopefully converted, and divers churches gathered and maintained among them for near an hundred years; yet very small impressions of religion have been ever made till now, on the Mobegean Indians in Connecticut, and scarce any at all on the Montauk Indians in Long Island, or the Narrangsets in Rhode Island colony.

To the Author of the CHRISTIAN HISTORY,
February 6, 1743-4.

SIR,—I have thought for some time, that the glory of God, and the joy and comfort of his people, called for a further declaration of the wonderful work of God in this place. Although there is even at this time among us of the English, a remnant according to the election of grace, yet the throne of God's glory, in his earthly temple here, is among the Indians. The number of names who have yielded a professed subjection to the gospel of Christ among us, are an hundred and six, of which sixty-four are Indians. It was sometime before they rightly understood the nature of gospel ordinances, and therefore they were kept back through fear of unworthiness; looking for greater things wrought in themselves, and larger manifestations of the Lord Jesus, before they approached unto him in special ordinances; hearing others give an account of wonderful manifestations of the love of Christ to them, thinking they must have the same before they were fit for the table of the Lord. But when it pleased God to bless means for their clearer understanding of the Christian religion, which I endeavoured publicly and privately to open up to them, and teach them; that if they knew the power and love of God upon their hearts; had been shewn from whence they were fallen, their utter inability to recover themselves, the freeness and all-sufficiency of Christ to save them, and bring them back to God and the Father; had their hearts wrought upon by the grace of God, sincerely to submit themselves to God in Jesus Christ, to be pardoned, taught and governed; that they should in this way of the gospel wait upon God; and that it was a device of the devil to put objections in the way to keep them back; they then began to offer themselves; and the Lord shined more abundantly unto them. The first considerable body who offered themselves to covenant with the Lord, was upon the 9th of October, when eight Indians were baptised, and received to full communion; who gave very hopeful evidence of a work of saving grace wrought in them, several of which were some of the most substantial ones among them. January the 15th, 1743-4, twenty-six more were baptised and received to full communion. February the 5th, 1743-4, fifteen came under the bonds of the gospel. The others were received in smaller numbers at various times, which I judge is not material to mention. And God is abundantly glorified by them herein, his work is truly glorious, for which his name is most worthy of praise. They come before God and his people, and with awful gravity and becoming solemnity, give away themselves to the Lord in an everlasting covenant, with their whole souls flowing forth to God. They cleave to the Lord with purpose of heart; they are diligent

in attending the means of grace ; they come rejoicing in hopes to meet the Lord and be refreshed with the word of his grace. They have set up the worship of God in their families. They have frequent private meetings among themselves for prayer and praise, and conference, particularly stated on Sabbath-day evenings, and Wednesday evenings. Upon the last of which, I meet with them as often as the providence of God permits, to pray with and for them, to read the word of God, and preach, and discourse with them upon matters of importance which occur, as the Lord enables me. And they drink in the word of God, and grow up in gracious experiences ; that considering the disadvantages they are under by not knowing to read, they may well be called experienced Christians ; and are examples of faith, patience, love, humility, and every grace of the Spirit of God. I have sometimes been ashamed, and even confounded before God at myself, when I have been among them, and heard their conversation ; heard them express their strong confidence in God, and beheld their zeal, and fervent charity among themselves ; their love to their minister, and all such as bring glad tidings of good things unto them, is singular. They are abundant in their endeavours to bring over opposers, by setting forth the evil of their ways, in which they used to walk with them, and the comfort and sweetness of a divine life ; exhorting one another daily, while it is called to-day. And when they are assembled together for religious worship, and God gives them a sense of divine things under the word preached, their hearts are drawn out to plead with their brethren to come over on the Lord's side ; and with rejoicing I can sometimes stand still and see the salvation of God. Their faith and hope in God encourageth and quickeneth them in duty to obtain the promises of the good things of this life, and of that which is to come ; so that there is among them a change for good respecting the outward as well as the inward man. They grow more decent and cleanly in their outward dress, provide better for their households, and get clearer of debt. The most of the Indians, that are here in a body, are come into the kingdom of God ; and the most of those that are without are hopefully convinced that God is in the others of a truth, and of the necessity of their being partakers of his grace. And the Lord seems to be spreading forth his power, to such as are scattered abroad. The Lord has wrought so wonderfully and apparently among the Indians, that it greatly stops the mouths of opposers, and they are ready to gnash their teeth and melt away. They are forced universally to grant, that there is something good among the Indians ; if it does but hold. But alas ! they seem to comfort themselves that they will return and be as bad and worse than ever. But as all the attempts of Satan against the Lord Jesus are overruled to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom : so I trust through grace, this has been eventually for their further establishment in grace ; by proving a means of warning and watchfulness to them, and of quickening me to greater labouriousness among them. And God has been very gracious, and has even appeared remarkably for them ; in keeping them hitherto by his power, through faith, and I hope will, unto salvation. Inasmuch that nothing of scandal has appeared against them ; but they have appeared themselves faithful in the covenant of God, by having their conversation as becomes the gospel of Christ. And they appear living and lively to-

wards God, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, fearful of the least sin ; being taught by experience, that the least sin known and continued in, separates from God, and causes him to hide his face from them. Especially they have been kept perfectly free, for ought that has appeared to me, from the sin of drunkenness, the sin which so easily besets them. Many of them say that they have no desire after strong drink, but loathe it ! others that a little dram satisfies and refreshes them more than to guzzle it down as they used to do, and they do not lust after more. And I entreat the prayers of all that love the Lord Jesus, particularly for them, that God would keep them from being tempted to sin, or support and deliver them when tempted. They manifest great sorrow of heart, for their brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh, when they hear of their drinking and quarrelling. God appears leading them farther and farther into the extensiveness of his gracious covenant in Christ ; that they are bringing their children more and more, and offering them up to the Lord. One with good old Abraham, offered up his whole household ; his own children and two adopted children. And God seems to be pouring out his blessing upon their offspring ; many little ones seem full of love and sweetness. Ever since the Lord has been graciously among the Indians manifesting his power and glory, they have been desirous of a school among them, that their children and all such as can, might learn to read. And it has been what my thoughts and endeavours have been much exercised upon. But the powers of darkness have hitherto stood so in the way, that but little has been done to purpose. The commissioners for the Indian affairs have given encouragement to assist in that affair, if any scheme was laid, and matter proposed, which should be a ground of encouragement to them. But I have been nonplussed in all my attempts hitherto, to ripen such a thing. All that we have been able yet to do, is to employ an Indian woman to keep school in a wigwam, where she teaches a number of the children to read ; but it is vastly short of that usefulness which is needful among them, and as it appears more than probable it would be, if there was a school erected among them. The end of my inserting this account is, to excite such as wish the prosperity of Zion to thoughtfulness, and all such endeavours as they may be directed unto, to assist in bringing this design to pass, that the work of God may not be hindered, by the want of such a necessary help, &c. I subscribe an unworthy ambassador of the Lord.

JOSEPH PARK.

SECTION III.

SOME MINISTERS IN THE BRITISH PLANTATIONS REPRESENT THE MISERABLE STATE OF THE INDIANS UPON THE BORDERS OF NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, AND PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.—THE SOCIETY AGREES TO SEND TWO MISSIONARIES TO THESE INDIANS.—THE FIRST THAT UNDERTAKES IT IS MR AZARIAH HORTON.—A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS LABOURS AND SUCCESS FROM AUGUST, 1741 TO 1744, ON LONG ISLAND.—THE NEXT MR DAVID BRAINERD.—A SHORT NARRATIVE OF HIS SUCCESS FROM APRIL 1743 TO NOVEMBER 1744.—AT KAUNAUMEEK IN ALBANY.—AND THE FORTS OF DELAWARE RIVER IN PENNSYLVANIA.—AND SUQUHEHANNA.

From the APPENDIX TO MR PEMBERTON'S SERMON AT THE ORINATION OF MR DAVID BRAINERD, printed at Boston, 1744.

THE deplorable perishing state of the Indians in these parts of America, being, by several ministers here, represented to the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge, the said Society charitably and cheerfully came into the proposal of maintaining two missionaries among them, and sent their commission to some ministers, and others here, to act as their correspondents, in providing, directing, and inspecting the said mission.

As soon as the correspondents were authorised by the Society's commission, they immediately looked out for two candidates of the evangelical ministry, whose zeal for the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and whose compassion for poor perishing souls, would prompt them to such an exceeding difficult and self-denying undertaking. They first prevailed with Mr Azariah Horton to relinquish a call to an encouraging parish, and to devote himself to the Indian service. He was directed to Long-Island, in August, 1741, at the east end whereof there are two small towns of the Indians; and from the east to the west end of the island, lesser companies settled at a few miles distance from one another, for the length of above an hundred miles. At his first coming among these, he was well received by the most, and heartily welcomed by some of them. They at the east end of the island especially, gave diligent and serious attention to his instructions, and were many of them put upon solemn inquiries about what they should do to be saved. A general reformation of manners was soon observable. They were careful to attend, and serious and solemn in attendance, upon both public and private instructions. A number of them were under very deep convictions of their miserable perishing state; and about twenty of them give lasting evidences of their saving conversion to God. Mr Horton has baptised thirty-five adults, and forty-four children. He took pains with them to learn them to read; and some of them have made considerable proficiency. But the extensiveness of his charge, and the necessity of his travelling from place to place, makes him incapable of giving so constant attendance to their instruction in reading as is needful.

In his last letters to the correspondents, he heavily complains of a great defection of some of them, occasioned by strong drink being brought among them, and they being thereby allured to a relapse into their darling vice of drunkenness: a vice to which the Indians are everywhere so greatly addicted. He likewise complains, that some of them are grown

more careless in the duties of religious worship. But as a number retain their first impressions, and as they generally attend with reverence upon his ministry, he goes on in his work, with encouraging hopes of the presence and blessing of God with him in his difficult undertaking.¹

It was some time after Mr Horton was employed in the Indian service, before the correspondents could obtain another. At length they prevailed with Mr David Brainerd, to refuse several invitations unto places where he had a prospect of a comfortable settlement among the English, to encounter the fatigues and perils that must attend his carrying the gospel of Christ to these poor miserable savages. A general representation of whose conduct and success in that undertaking, is contained in a letter we lately received from himself, and is as follows:—

To the Rev. Mr PEMBERTON. Forks of Delaware, November 5th, 1744.

R. S. Since you are pleased to require of me some brief and general account of my conduct in my mission among the Indians, I shall now endeavour to answer your demands, by giving a brief but faithful account of the most material things.—On March 15th, 1743, I waited on the correspondents at New York, and the week following at Woodbridge in New Jersey, and was speedily dismissed by them, with orders to attempt the instruction of a number of Indians in a place some miles distant from the city of Albany. And on the first day of April following, I arrived among the Indians at a place called by them Kaunaumek.—The place, as to its situation, was sufficiently lonesome and unpleasant, being encompassed with mountains and woods, twenty miles distant from any English inhabitants, six or seven from any Dutch, and more than two from a family that came some time since from the Highlands of Scotland, and had then lived (as I remember) about two years in this wilderness. In this family I lodged about the space of three months, the master of it being the only person with whom I could readily converse in those parts, except my interpreter; others understanding very little English.—After I had spent about three months in this situation, I found my distance from the Indians a very great disadvantage to my work amongst them. I was obliged to travel forward and backward almost daily on foot. And, after all my pains, I could not be with the Indians in the evening and morning, which were usually the best hours to find them at home.—I therefore resolved to remove, and live with or near the Indians.—Accordingly I removed soon after; and, for a time, lived with them in one of their wigwags; and not long after built me a small house, where I spent the remainder of that year entirely alone; my interpreter (who was an Indian) choosing rather to live in a wigwag among his own countrymen.—This way of living I found attended with many difficulties, and uncomfortable circumstances, in a place where I could get none of the necessities and common comforts of life (no, not so much as a morsel of bread) but what I brought from places fifteen and twenty miles distant, and oftentimes was obliged, for some time together, to content myself

¹ See extracts from Mr Horton's Journals, in Mr Robe's Monthly History for 1744, No. 5, and 6, containing many remarkable particulars.

without, for want of an opportunity to procure the things I needed.—Yet I can truly say, that the burden I felt respecting my great work among the poor Indians, the fear and concern that continually hung upon my spirit, lest they should be prejudiced against Christianity, and their minds embittered against me, and my labours among them, by means of the insinuations of some, who (although they are called Christians) seem to have no concern for Christ's kingdom, but had rather (as their conduct plainly discovers) that the Indians should remain heathens, that they may with the more ease cheat, and so enrich themselves by them: the burden, I say, the fear and concern I felt in these respects were much more pressing to me, than all the difficulties that attended the circumstances of my living.

As to the state or temper of mind, in which I found these Indians, at my first coming among them, their heathenish jealousies and suspicion, and their prejudices against Christianity, were in a great measure removed by the long continued labours of Mr Sargeant among a number of the same tribe, in a place little more than twenty miles distant; by which means there were, in some good degree, prepared to entertain the truths of Christianity, instead of objecting against them, and appearing almost entirely untractable, as is common with them at first, and as perhaps these appeared a few years ago.

In my labours with them, I studied what was most plain and easy, and best suited to their capacities; and endeavoured to set before them from time to time (as they were able to receive them) the most important and necessary truths of Christianity; such as most immediately concerned their speedy conversion to God.—First, the sinfulness and misery of the estate they were naturally in, the evil of their hearts, the pollution of their natures, the heavy guilt they were under, and their exposedness to everlasting punishment; as also their utter inability to save themselves, either from their sins, or from those miseries which are the just punishment of them; and their unworthiness of any mercy at the hand of God, on account of any thing they themselves could do to procure his favour: and consequently their extreme need of Christ to save them.—And, secondly, I frequently endeavoured to open to them the fulness, all-sufficiency, and freeness of that redemption, which the Son of God has wrought out by his obedience and sufferings, for perishing sinners; how this provision he had made, was suited to all their wants; and how he called and invited them to accept of everlasting life freely, notwithstanding all their sinfulness, inability, unworthiness, &c.

I then gave them an historical account of God's dealings with his ancient professing people, the Jews; some of the rites and ceremonies they were obliged to observe, as their sacrifices, &c., and what these were designed to represent to them. Afterwards I proceeded to give them a relation of the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ: As well as his ascension, and the wonderful effusion of the Holy Spirit. I next proceeded to read, and expound to them the Gospel of Matthew (at least the substance of it) in course. These expositions I attended almost every evening, when there was any considerable number of them at home; except when I was obliged to be absent myself, in order to learn the Indian language with Mr Sargeant. Besides these means of instruction, there

was likewise an English school constantly kept by my interpreter among the Indians: which I used frequently to visit, in order to give the children and young people instructions and exhortations suited to their age. The degree of knowledge to which some of them attained, was considerable. But that which gave me the greatest encouragement amidst many difficulties and disconsolate hours, was, that the truths of God's word seemed, at times, to be attended with some power upon the hearts and consciences of the Indians. Several of them came, of their own accord, to discourse with me about their souls' concerns; and some, with tears, enquired what they should do to be saved? and whether the God that Christians served, would be merciful to those that had been frequently drunk, &c. There likewise appeared a reformation in their lives and manners. Their idolatrous sacrifices were laid aside, and their heathenish custom of dancing, halloing, &c., in a considerable measure broken off. And I could not but hope, that they were reformed in some measure from the sin of drunkenness. They likewise manifested a regard to the Lord's-day. Yet after all I must confess, that there were some things more discouraging. And while I rejoiced to observe any seriousness among them, I was not without continual fear lest such encouraging appearances might prove like a morning cloud, that passeth away.

When I had spent near a year with them, I informed them that I expected to leave them in the spring, and to be sent to another tribe of Indians at a great distance; upon which they appeared very sorrowful, urging that they had now heard so much about their souls' concerns, that they could never more be willing to live without a minister, and further instructions in the way to heaven, &c. Whereupon I told them, they ought to be willing that others also should hear, seeing those needed it as much as themselves. But they added, that those Indians, to whom I had thoughts of going, were not willing to become Christians as they were, and urged me to tarry with them. I then told them, that they might receive further instruction without me; but the Indians to whom I expected to be sent, could not, there being no minister near to teach them. And hereupon I advised them, in case I should leave them, to remove to Stockbridge, where they might be supplied with land, and be under the ministry of Mr Sargeant; which proposal they seemed disposed to comply with.

April 6th, 1744.—I was ordered by the correspondents to take leave of them, and to go to a tribe on Delaware River, in Pennsylvania. These orders I soon attended, and on May 10th met with a number of Indians in a place called Minisinks, about an hundred and forty miles from Kaunaumuck, and in my way to Delaware River. With these I spent some time, and first addressed their king in a friendly manner; and, after some discourse and attempts to contract a friendship with him, I told him I had a desire (for his benefit and happiness) to instruct him in Christianity; at which he laughed, turned his back upon me, and went away. I then addressed another principal man in the same manner, who said he was willing to hear me. After some time, I followed the king into his house, and renewed my discourse to him; but he declined talking, and left the affair to another, who appeared to be a rational man. He began, and talked very warmly near a quarter of an hour together. He inquired why I desired the

Indians to become Christians, seeing the Christians were so much worse than the Indians. The Christians, he said, would lie, steal, and drink, worse than the Indians. It was they first taught the Indians to be drunk; and they stole from one another to such a degree that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it, and that was not sufficient to deter others from the like practice. But the Indians, he added, were none of them ever hanged for stealing, and yet they did not steal half so much; and he supposed that if the Indians should become Christians, they would then be as bad as these. And hereupon he said, they would live as their fathers lived, and go where their fathers were when they died. I then freely owned, lamented, and joined with him in condemning the ill conduct of some, who are called Christians; told him these were not Christians in heart, and when he appeared calmer, I asked him if he was willing that I should come and see them again. He replied, he should be willing to see me again, as a friend, if I would not desire them to become Christians. I then bade them farewell, and prosecuted my journey toward Delaware, and, May 13th, arrived at a place called by the Indians Sakhawotung.

Here also I informed the king of my desire to instruct them in the Christian religion. After he had consulted a few minutes with two or three old men, he told me he was willing to hear. I then preached to those few that were present, who appeared very attentive and well-disposed; and the king in particular seemed both to wonder and to be well pleased with what I taught them respecting the Divine Being, &c., and since that time he has ever shown himself friendly to me, giving me free liberty to preach in his house whenever I think fit. Here, therefore, I have spent the greater part of the summer past, preaching usually in the king's house. The number of Indians in this place is but small. There are not more than ten houses that continue to be inhabited, and some of these are several miles distant from others. When I first began to preach here, the number of my hearers often did not exceed twenty or twenty-five persons, but towards the latter part of the summer I have frequently had forty or more. The effects which the truths of God's Word have had upon some of them are encouraging. Some few individuals among them not only detest their old idolatrous notions, but strive also to bring their friends off from them; and as they are seeking salvation for their own souls, so they seem desirous, and some of them take pains, that others might be excited to do the like.

In July last, I heard of a number of Indians residing at a place (called Kauksesauchung) more than thirty miles westward from the place where I usually preach. I visited them, found about thirty persons, and proposed my desire of preaching to them. They readily complied, and I preached to them only twice; they being just then removing from this place (where they only lived for the present) to Susquehanna River, where they belonged. While I was preaching they appeared sober and attentive, and were somewhat surprised, having never before heard of these things. There were two or three who suspected that I had some ill design upon them; and urged that the white people had abused them, and taken their lands from them, and therefore they had no reason to think that they were now concerned for their happiness; but, on the contrary, that they designed to make them slaves, or get them on board

their vessels, and make them fight with the people over the water, (as they expressed it), meaning the French and Spaniards; however, the most of them appeared very friendly, and told me they were then going directly home to Susquehanna, and desired I would make them a visit there. This invitation gave me some encouragement.

In the beginning of October last, with the advice and direction of the correspondents, I undertook a journey to Susquehanna; and after three days' tedious travel, two of them through a wilderness, almost impassable by reason of mountains and rocks, and two nights' lodging in the open wilderness, I came to an Indian settlement on the side of Susquehanna River, called Opeholhaupung, where were twelve Indian houses, and (as high as I could learn) about seventy souls, old and young, belonging to them. Here also, soon after my arrival, I visited the king, addressing him with expressions of kindness, and informed him of my desire to teach them the knowledge of Christianity. He hesitated not long before he told me that he was willing to hear. I then preached, and continued there several days, preaching every day as long as the Indians were at home; and they, in order to hear me, deferred the design of their general hunting (which they were just then entering upon) for the space of three or four days. The men, I think, universally (except one) attended my preaching. Only, the women, supposing the affair we were upon was of a public nature, belonging only to the men, and not what every individual person should concern himself with, could not readily be persuaded to come and hear; but, after much pains used with them for that purpose, some few ventured to come and stand at a distance. When I had preached several times, some of them very frankly proposed what they had to object against Christianity; and when I had endeavoured to answer their objections, some appeared much satisfied. I then asked the king if he was willing I should visit and preach to them again, if I should live to the next spring; he replied, he should be heartily willing for his own part, and added, he wished the young people would learn, &c. There were sundry other things in their behaviour which appeared with a comfortable and encouraging aspect, so that, upon the whole, I could not but rejoice I had taken that journey among them.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a faithful and brief account of what has been most considerable in my mission. I shall only now take leave to add a word or two respecting the difficulties that attend the Christianizing of these poor Pagans: — 1. Their minds are filled with prejudices against Christianity, on account of the vicious lives and unchristian behaviour of some that are called Christians. These not only set before them the worst examples, but some of them take pains to dissuade them from becoming Christians, foreseeing that if these should be converted to God, the hope of their unlawful gain would be lost. 2. These poor heathens are extremely attached to the customs, traditions, and fabulous notions of their fathers. And this one seems to be the foundation of all their other notions, viz., That it was not the same God made them who made the white people, but another, who commanded them to live by hunting, &c., and not conform to the customs of the white people. If the miracles of Christ and his Apostles he mentioned to prove the truth of Christianity, they also mention sundry miracles which

their fathers have told them were anciently wrought among the Indians, and which Satan makes them believe were so. They are much attached to idolatry, frequently making feasts, which they eat in honour to some unknown beings, who they suppose speak to them in dreams, promising them success in hunting, and other affairs, in case they will sacrifice to them. They oftentimes also offer their sacrifices to the spirits of the dead, who they suppose stand in need of favours from the living, and yet are in such a state as that they can well reward all the offices of kindness that are shown them. And they impute all their calamities to the neglect of these sacrifices. 3. They are much awed by those among themselves who are called Pawaws, who are supposed to have a power of enchanting or poisoning them to death, or, at least, in a very distressing manner; and they apprehend it would be their sad fate to be thus enchanted, in case they should become Christians. Lastly, The manner of their living is likewise a great disadvantage to the design of their being Christianized. They are almost continually roving from place to place, and it is but rare that an opportunity can be had with some of them for their instruction. There is scarce any time of the year wherein the men can be found generally at home, except about six weeks before and in the season of planting their corn, and about two months in the latter part of summer, from the time they begin to roast their corn, until it is fit to gather in.—I am, &c.,

DAVID BRAINERD.

SECTION IV.

SOME FURTHER HINTS OF MR BRAINERD'S LABOURS AMONG THE INDIANS, FROM NOVEMBER 1744 TO JUNE 1745, IN THE FORES OF DELAWARE.

From his Life published by MR EDWARDS, page 133, &c.

Thursday, November 22.—Came on my way from Rockcitious to Delaware River. About six at night, I lost my way in the wilderness, and wandered over rocks and mountains, down hideous steeps, through swamps, and most dreadful and dangerous places; and the night being dark, so that few stars could be seen, I was greatly exposed, was much pinched with cold, and distressed with an extreme pain in my head, attended with sickness at my stomach; so that every step I took was distressing to me. I had little hope for several hours together but that I must lie out in the woods all night, in this distressed case. But about nine o'clock, I found an house, through the abundant goodness of God, and was kindly entertained. Thus I have frequently been exposed, and sometimes lain out the whole night; but God has hitherto preserved me, and blessed be his name, such fatigues and hardships as these serve to wean me more from the earth, and, I trust, will make heaven the sweeter. Within the space of the next twelve days (says Mr Edwards from his diary) he passed under many changes in the frames and exercises of his mind. He had many seasons of the special influences of God's Spirit, animating, invigorating, and comforting him in the ways of God and duties of religion, but had some turns of great dejection and melancholy. He spent much time, within this space, in hard labour, with others, to make for himself a little cottage or hut, to live in by

himself through the winter. Yet he frequently preached to the Indians, and speaks of special assistance he had from time to time in addressing himself to them; and of his sometimes having considerable encouragement from the attention they gave. But on Tuesday, December 4th, he was sunk into great discouragement, to see most of them going in company to an idolatrous feast and dance, after he had taken abundant pains with them to dissuade them from these things. Thursday, December 6th.—Having now a happy opportunity of being retired in a house of my own, which I have lately procured and moved into, and considering that it is now a long time since I have been able, either on account of bodily weakness, or for want of retirement, or some other difficulty, to spend any time in secret fasting and prayer; considering also the greatness of my work, and the extreme difficulties that attend it, and that my poor Indians are now worshipping devils, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken with them, which almost overwhelms my spirit; moreover, considering my extreme barrenness, spiritual deadness, and dejection of late; as also the power of some particular corruptions, I set apart this day for secret prayer and fasting, to implore the blessing of God on myself, on my poor people, on my friends, and on the church of God. Friday, December 7.—Spent some time in prayer in the morning; enjoyed some freedom and affection in the duty, and had longing desires of being made faithful to the death. Spent a little time in writing on a divine subject, then visited the Indians, and preached to them, but under inexpressible dejection. Lord's day, December 9th.—Preached both parts of the day at a place called Greenwich in New Jersey, about ten miles from my own house. In the latter exercise, blessed be the Lord, I had some fervency, both in prayer and preaching; and, especially in the application of my discourse, was enabled to address precious souls with affection, concern, tenderness, and importunity. The Spirit of God, I think, was there; as the effects were apparent, tears running down many cheeks. Wednesday, December 12.—Found my interpreter under some concern for his soul, which was some comfort to me, and yet filled me with new care. I longed greatly for his conversion; lifted up my heart to God for it, while I was talking to him; came home and poured out my soul to God for him; enjoyed some freedom in prayer, and was enabled, I think, to leave all with God. Thursday, December 13.—Endeavoured to spend the day in fasting and prayer, to implore the divine blessing, more especially on my poor people; and, in particular, I sought for converting grace for my interpreter, and three or four more under some concern for their souls. I was much disordered in the morning when I arose; but having determined to spend the day in this manner, I attempted it. Some freedom I had in pleading for these poor concerned souls several times. Friday, December 14.—Near noon, went to the Indians, but knew not what to say to them, and was ashamed to look them in the face; I felt I had no power to address their consciences, and therefore had no holdness to say anything. Was much of the day in a great degree of despair about ever doing or seeing any good in the land of the living. Tuesday, December 18.—Went to the Indians, and discoursed to them near an hour, without any power to come close to their hearts. But at last I felt some fervency, and God

helped me to speak with warmth. My interpreter also was amazingly assisted; and I doubt not but the Spirit of God was upon him (though I had no reason to think he had any true and saving grace, but was only under conviction of his lost state); and presently upon this, most of the grown persons were much affected, and the tears ran down their cheeks, and one old man (I suppose an hundred years old) was so affected that he wept, and seemed convinced of the importance of what I taught them. Wednesday, December 19.—Spent a great part of the day in prayer to God for the outpouring of his Spirit on my poor people; as also to bless his name for awakening my interpreter, and some others, and giving us some tokens of his presence yesterday. And, blessed be God, I had much freedom, five or six times in the day, in prayer and praise, and felt a weighty concern upon my spirit for the salvation of those precious souls, and the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom among them. My soul hoped in God for some success in my ministry; and blessed be his name for so much hope. Tuesday, December 25.—Enjoyed very little quiet sleep last night, by reason of bodily weakness, and the closeness of my studies yesterday; yet my heart was somewhat lively in prayer and praise. I was delighted with the divine glory and happiness, and rejoiced that God was God, and that he was unchangeably possessed of glory and blessedness. Though God held my eyes waking, yet he helped me to improve my time profitably amidst my pains and weakness, in continued meditations on Luke xiii. 7: "Behold these three years I come seeking fruit," &c. My meditations were sweet; and I wanted to set before sinners their sin and danger. Wednesday, January 9.—In the morning God was pleased to remove that gloom which has of late oppressed my mind, and gave me freedom and sweetness in prayer. I was encouraged and strengthened, and enabled to plead for grace for myself, and mercy for my poor Indians; and was sweetly assisted in my intercessions with God for others. Blessed be his holy name, for ever and ever; Amen, and Amen. Those things that of late have appeared most difficult and almost impossible, now appeared not only possible, but easy. Lord's-day, January 27.—Had the greatest degree of inward anguish that almost ever I endured; I was perfectly overwhelmed and so confused, that after I began to discourse to the Indians, before I could finish a sentence, sometimes I forgot entirely what I was aiming at, or if, with much difficulty, I had recollected what I had before designed, still it appeared strange, and like something I had long forgotten, and had now but an imperfect remembrance of. It was occasioned by vapour disorders, melancholy, spiritual desertion, and some other things that particularly pressed upon me, this morning, with an uncommon weight, the principal of which respected my Indians. This distressing gloom never went off the whole day, but was so far removed that I was enabled to speak with some freedom and concern to the Indians, at two of their settlements; and I think there was some appearance of the presence of God with us, some seriousness and seeming concern among the Indians, at least a few of them. In the evening this gloom continued still until family prayer,¹ about nine o'clock, and almost through this

until I came near the close, when I was praying (as I usually do) for the illumination and conversion of my poor people; and then the cloud was scattered, so that I enjoyed sweetness and freedom, and conceived hopes that God designed mercy for some of them. The same I enjoyed afterwards in secret prayer; in which precious duty I had for a considerable time sweetness and freedom, and I hope faith, in praying for myself, my poor Indians, and dear friends and acquaintance in New England and elsewhere, and for the dear interest of Zion in general. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits." Lord's-day, February 17.—Preached to the white people (my interpreter being absent) in the wilderness, upon the sunny side of a hill; had a considerable assembly, consisting of people that lived (at least many of them) not less than thirty miles asunder; some of them came near twenty miles. I discoursed to them all day, from John vii. 37, "Jesus stood and cried, saying, if any man thirst," &c. In the afternoon, it pleased God to grant me great freedom and fervency in my discourse; I think I was scarce ever enabled to offer the free grace of God to perishing sinners with more freedom and plainness in my life. And afterwards I was enabled earnestly to invite the children of God to come renewedly and drink of this fountain of water of life, from whence they have heretofore derived unspeakable satisfaction. It was a very comfortable time to me. There were many tears in the assembly, and I doubt not but the Spirit of God was there, convincing poor sinners of their need of Christ. In the evening I felt composed and comfortable, though much tired; I had some sweet sense of the excellency and glory of God, and my soul rejoiced that he was God over all, blessed for ever, but was too much crowded with company and conversation, and longed to be more alone with God. Oh, that I could for ever bless God for the mercy of this day. Wednesday, March 6th.—Spent most of the day in preparing for a journey to New England.—The next day (says Mr Edwards) he set out on his journey, and it was about five weeks before he returned. The special design of this journey he himself declares afterwards, in his diary for March 21, where, speaking of his conversing with a certain minister in New England, he says thus:—"Contrived with him how to raise some money among Christian friends, in order to support a colleague with me in the wilderness, (I having now spent two years in a very solitary manner,) that we might be together; as Christ sent out his disciples two and two; and as this was the principal concern I had in view in taking this journey, so I took pains in it, and hope God will succeed it, if for his glory. April 14th.—This week he went a journey to Philadelphia, in order to engage the governor there to use his interest with the chief man of the Six Nations, (with whom he maintained a strict friendship,) that he would give him leave to live at Susquehannah, and instruct the Indians that are within their territories." Wednesday, May 8th.—He set out on his journey to Susquehannah, with his interpreter. He endured great

had lived before, and with whom he still attended family prayer.

¹ Though Mr Brainerd now dwelt by himself in the forementioned little cottage, which he had built for his own use, yet that was near to a family of white people with whom he

¹ The Indians at Susquehannah are a mixed company of many nations, speaking various languages, and few of them properly of the Six Nations. But yet the country having formerly been conquered by the Six Nations, they claim the land, and the Susquehannah Indians are a kind of vassals to them.

hardships and fatigues in his way thither, through a hideous wilderness, where, after having lodged one night in the open woods, he was overtaken by a north-easterly storm, in which he was almost ready to perish. Having no manner of shelter, and not being able to make a fire in so great a rain, he could have no comfort if he stopt; therefore, determined to go forward, in hopes of meeting with some shelter, without which he thought it impossible he should live the night through; but their horses happening to have eat poison (for want of other food) at a place where they lodged the night before, were so sick that they could neither ride nor lead them, but were obliged to drive them before them, and travel on foot, until, through the mercy of God, (just at dusk) they came to a bark hut, where they lodged that night. After he came to Susquehannah, he travelled about the length of an hundred miles on the river, and visited many towns and settlements of the Indians, saw some seven or eight distinct tribes, and preached to different nations by different interpreters. He was sometimes much discouraged and sunk in his spirits, through the opposition that appeared in the Indians to Christianity. At other times, he was encouraged by the disposition that some of these people manifested to hear, and willingness to be instructed. He here met with some that had formerly been his hearers at Kaunaumuck, and had removed thither, who saw and heard him again with great joy. He spent a fortnight among the Indians on this river, and passed through considerable labours and hardships, frequently lodging on the ground, and sometimes in the open air; and at length he fell extremely ill, as he was riding in the wilderness, being seized with an ague, followed by a burning fever and extreme pains in his head and bowels, attended with a great evacuation of blood, so that he thought he must have perished in the wilderness. But at last coming to an Indian trader's hut, he got leave to stay there; and, though without physic or food proper for him, it pleased God, after about a week's distress, to relieve him so far that he was able to ride. He returned homewards from Juncauta, an island far down the river, where was a considerable number of Indians, who appeared more free from prejudices against Christianity than most of the other Indians. He arrived at the Forks of Delaware on Thursday, May 30th, after having rode in this journey about three hundred and forty miles. Lord's-day, June 9th, [at Neshaming, whither he had gone near fifty miles to assist at a sacrament,] felt some longing desires of the presence of God to be with his people on the solemn occasion of the day. In the forenoon, Mr Beatty preached, and there appeared some warmth in the assembly. Afterwards, I assisted in the administration of the Lord's Supper; and, towards the close of it, I discoursed to the multitude with some reference to that sacred passage, Isa. liii. 10, "Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise Him." Here God gave me great assistance in addressing sinners, and the Word was attended with amazing power. Many scores, if not hundreds, in that great assembly, consisting of three or four thousand, were much affected; so that there was a very great mourning. Tuesday, June 18th.—Set out from New Brunswick with a design to visit some Indians at a place called Crossweeksung, in New Jersey, towards the sea.

1 Mr Brainerd having, when at Boston, (says Mr Edwards) wrote and left with a friend a brief relation of facts touching his labours with the Indians, and reception among them, during the space of time between Nov. 6th, 1744, and

We are now come to that part of Mr Brainerd's life (says Mr Edwards) wherein he had his greatest success in his labours for the good of souls, and in his particular business as a missionary to the Indians. We may see from the preceding parts of this account of his life, how great and long-continued his desires for the spiritual good of this sort of people were; how he prayed, laboured, and wrestled, and how much he denied himself and suffered, to this end. After all his agonizing in prayer, and travelling in birth for their conversion, and all the interchanges of his raised hopes and expectations, and then disappointments and discouragements, and after waiting in a way of persevering prayer, labour, and suffering, as it were, through a long night, at length the day dawns. "He went forth weeping, bearing precious seed," and now he "comes with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him;" but it is at a time, in a place, and upon subjects, that scarce ever entered into his heart. [Thus far the extract from his life. We now proceed to give some hints of the success here referred to from his public Journal.]

SECTION V.

AT LENGTH THE LORD REMARKABLY COUNTERMANCES HIS LABOURS AMONGST THE INDIANS AT CROSSWEEKSUNG IN NEW JERSEY.—SOME HINTS OF HIS SUCCESS THERE FROM JUNE 1745 TO JUNE 1746.—AND OF HIS VISITS TO THE FORKS OF DELAWARE AND SUSQUEHANNAH.

PART I.

The Conversion of his Interpreter.—Mr William Tennant's Councils blest to the Indians during Mr Brainerd's Absence.—The wonderful Power of God when Mr Brainerd spoke particularly to those under Concern, August 8th.—An old Conjuror awakened.—Others fall to the Ground, and cry for Mercy in their own Language.—Some of the White People also awakened, August 11th.—August 16th, a Day of Great Power; God seemed to Work independently of the Means.—The Number of Indians, August 26th, was ninety-five: almost all of them affected either with Joy in Christ, or with Deep Concern to obtain an Interest in Him.—Their Prayers for Mr Brainerd when going to Preach to the Indians at Susquehannah.—Some of those at the Forks of Delaware Mockers of those who heard Mr Brainerd.—The Idolatrous Sacrifice at Juncauta.—The Pawaws or Conjurors.—Mr Brainerd's Remarks upon this Work of Grace amongst the Indians till November 4th, 1745.

From the Abridgement of BRAINERD'S JOURNAL, printed 1748, with a Dedication to the Society in Scotland by Dr Doddridge.

Crossweeksung, in New Jersey, June 19th, 1745.—Having spent most of my time for more than a year past in the Forks of Delaware, in Pennsylvania,

June 19th, 1745, (with a view to connect his Narrative, at the end of Mr Pemberton's Ordination Sermon, and his Journal, in case they should never be reprinted,) concludes the same with this passage:—"As my body was very feeble, so my mind was scarce ever so much damped and discouraged about the conversion of the Indians as at this time. And in this state of body and mind I made my first visit to the Indians in New Jersey, where God was pleased to display his power and grace in the remarkable manner that I have represented in my printed Journal."

and not having had any considerable appearance of success among the Indians there, upon hearing that there was a number of Indians at Crossweeksung, in New Jersey, near fourscore miles south-eastward from the Forks of Delaware, I came hither this day. I found very few persons at the place I visited, and perceived the Indians in these parts were very much scattered. However, I preached to those few, and upon my telling them that I would willingly visit them again the next day, they readily set out, and travelled ten or fifteen miles, in order to give notice to some of their friends; so that on the 22d, their number, which at first consisted of about seven or eight persons, was increased to near thirty; and there was not only a solemn attention among them, but it was apparent that some considerable impressions were made upon their minds by Divine truths. Lord's-day, June 23d.—Their number still increased, and all with one consent seemed to rejoice in my coming among them. To see poor Pagans desirous of hearing the Gospel of Christ animated me exceedingly, though I was now very weakly.

July 2d.—Was obliged to leave them, thinking it my duty, as soon as health would admit, to visit those at the Forks of Delaware. At parting, they all earnestly enquired when I would come again, and of their own accord agreed to meet and live together, when I came again, during my continuance with them; and that they would do their utmost to gather all the other Indians in those parts. One in particular told me, with tears, "she wished God would change her heart." Another, "that she wanted to find Christ." And an old man, who had been one of their chiefs, wept bitterly with concern for his soul. The encouraging disposition and readiness to receive instruction now apparent among them, seems to have been the blessed effect of the conviction, that one or two of them met with, some time since, at the Forks of Delaware, who have since endeavoured to show their friends the evil of idolatry, &c.

Forks of Delaware, in Pennsylvania, 1745. Lord's-day, July 21st. Preached to my people; then to a number of white people present; and in the afternoon to the Indians again. Many wept. Afterwards I baptized my interpreter and his wife, who are both persons of some experimental knowledge in religion; and were the first I baptized among the Indians. When I first employed him, he had little or no impression of religion upon his mind, and, thereby, I laboured under great disadvantages in addressing the Indians. But last July, while I preached to an assemblage of white people, with more freedom and fervency than usual, he was somewhat awakened, so that he talked with me freely about his spiritual concerns. But these impressions seemed quickly to wear off, and he grew secure again till late in the fall of the year; at which time he declined much in his health, and then divine truth took hold of him. His mind was burdened from day to day, and it was now his great inquiry, "what he should do to be saved." His spiritual trouble prevailed, and he had little rest day or night; and when he was striving for mercy, he saw, he says, an impassable mountain before him; his way was bedged up with thorns, that he could not stir an inch further. He saw the life he had lived was the way to eternal death, and that he was now on the brink of endless misery. After he had been some time in this condition, and had given up all for lost as to

his own attempts, then, he says, it was borne in upon his mind, as with an audible voice—"There is hope—There is hope." He cannot remember any distinct views he then had of Christ; but these exercises of soul produced a very great change in the man, so that it might justly be said, he was become another man, if not a new man. Hereupon there was a great change in his temper, discourse, and behaviour; and especially, there was a surprising alteration in his public performances. He now addressed the Indians with admired fervency, and when I had concluded my discourse, and was gone, he would tarry behind to repeat and inculcate what had been spoken. The change is abiding, and his life unblemished to this day. He seems to have a very considerable experience of spiritual exercise, and discourses freely of the conflicts and consolations of a real Christian. His pleased heart echoes to the soul-humbling doctrines of grace, and he never appears better pleased than when he hears of the absolute sovereignty of God, and the salvation of sinners in the way of free grace. And, upon the whole, I have reason to hope that he is created anew in Christ Jesus to good works.

July 26th. Baptized my interpreter's children. There was a considerable appearance of divine power among the Indians at the time the ordinance was administered. On the 30th, gave them particular advice and direction, being now about to leave them for a time, in order to renew my visit to the Indians in New Jersey.

Crossweeksung, in New Jersey, August 2d, 1745. I found a number here under a deep concern for an interest in Christ; their convictions having been much promoted by the labours of the Rev. Mr William Tennant, to whom I had advised them to apply in my absence. This day I preached to them with some view to Rev. xxii. 19. The Lord, I am persuaded, enabled me to set before them the Lord Jesus Christ, in a manner somewhat uncommon, as a kind and compassionate Saviour, inviting perishing sinners to accept everlasting mercy. A surprising concern appeared among them. There were not above two among twenty adult persons that I could see with dry eyes. Lord's-day, the 4th, Being invited by a neighbouring minister to assist in the administration of the Lord's Supper, I took the Indians along with me, near fifty in all, who attended the several discourses of the day; and all seemed to have their concern in some measure raised. Now, a change in their manners became visible. In the evening, when they came to sup together, they would not taste a morsel, till they had sent for me, to come and ask a blessing on their food, at which time some of them wept, especially when I minded them how they had in times past eat their feasts in honour to devils, and neglected to give God thanks. On the 6th, in the morning, I discoursed to the Indians at the house where we lodged; and in the afternoon, at a place where I have usually preached to them. There appeared nothing very remarkable, until near the close of my discourse, and then divine truths were attended with a surprising influence. There were scarce three out of forty, that could refrain from tears and bitter cries. They all, as one, seemed in an agony of soul to obtain an interest in Christ; and the more I discoursed of the love of God, in sending his Son to suffer for the sins of men, and invited them to come and partake of his love, the more their distress was aggravated, because they

felt themselves unable to come. It was surprising to see how their hearts seemed to be pierced with the tender and melting invitations of the gospel. Two persons, this day, obtained relief and comfort, who, when I came to discourse with them particularly, appeared solid, rational, and scriptural. Being asked what they wanted God to do further for them, they replied, in their vulgar way, "They wanted Christ should wipe their eyes quite clean." &c. August 7th. Preached from Isa. iii. 3, 10. Most were much affected, and many in great distress for their souls, and some few could neither go nor stand, but lay flat on the ground, crying incessantly for mercy. August 8th. Preached to them again from Luke xiv. 16, 23. Their number was now about sixty-five. There was much visible concern among them while I was preaching; but afterwards, when I spoke more particularly to one and another, whom I perceived to be under much concern, the power of God seemed to descend upon the assembly like a rushing mighty wind, and with an astonishing energy, bore down all before it. I stood amazed at the influence which seized the audience, almost universally, and could compare it to nothing more aptly, than the irresistible force of a rushing mighty torrent, or swelling deluge, which, with insupportable weight and pressure, sweeps before it whatever is in its way. Almost all persons, of whatever age, were bowed down with concern together, and scarce one was able to withstand the shock of this surprising operation. Old men and women, who had been drunken wretches for many years, and some little children, not more than six or seven years of age, appeared in distress for their souls as well as persons of middle age. The most stubborn hearts were now obliged to bow. A principal man among them, who before was secure and self-righteous, because he knew more than the generality of the Indians, was now brought under solemn concern for his soul, and wept bitterly. Another man in years, who had been a murderer, a powow, or conjuror, and a notorious drunkard, was brought now to cry for mercy, with many tears, and to complain, he could be no more concerned, though in so great danger. They were almost universally praying and crying in every part of the house, and many out of doors, and some could neither go nor stand. None seemed to take notice of those about them, but each prayed for themselves, as if they had been every one by themselves, in the closest retirement; Zech. xiii. 10, 11, 12. This concern, in general, seemed most rational. Those who had been awakened long before complained chiefly, of the badness of their hearts, and those newly awakened, of the badness of their lives and actions. Those who had lately obtained relief, were filled with comfort, and seemed to rejoice in Christ Jesus: and some of them took their distressed friends by the hand, telling them of the goodness of Christ, and the comfort that is to be enjoyed in him, and invited them to come and give up their hearts to him. Others, in the most honest and unaffected manner, were lifting up their eyes to heaven, as if crying for mercy, for the distressed ones around them. One remarkable instance I cannot let pass; a young Indian woman, who, I believe, never so much as knew she had a soul, called at my lodging, and when I told her I intended presently to preach, laughed, and seemed to mock; but, before I concluded, she was so convinced of her sin and misery, that she seemed like one pierced through

with a dart, and cried out incessantly. She could neither go, nor stand, nor sit, without being held. After public service, she lay along, praying earnestly; and the burden of her prayer was, *Giitumáokaliiméa wéchaiiméh kmeleh Ndah, i. e.* "Have mercy on me, and help me to give you my heart." And thus she continued incessantly praying for many hours. It was indeed a surprising day of God's power, and seemed enough to convince an atheist of the truth, importance, and power of God's word.

August 9th. Spent most of the day in discoursing with them privately.

Lord's-day, August 11th. In the afternoon, discoursed on part of St Peter's sermon, Acts ii. And at the close of my discourse to the Indians, made an address to the white people, and divine truths seemed to be attended with power both to the Indians and English, as one or two were newly awakened this day, who never appeared to be moved with concern for their souls before; and those who had obtained comfort appeared humble and devout.

August 16th. Found one who had got relief and comfort after pressing concern, and could not but hope her comfort was of the right kind. John vi. 26, 34. There were two persons newly awakened; and sundry old men were in distress for their souls; so that they could not refrain from weeping and crying out. God is powerfully at work among them; and yet some few, who felt a commotion in their passions in days past, seem now to discover that their hearts were never duly affected. I never saw the work of God appear so independent of means as at this time. God's manner of working upon them appeared so entirely supernatural and above means, that I could scarce believe he used me as an instrument, or what I spake, as means of carrying on his work. I seemed to do nothing, and indeed had nothing to do, but stand still and see the salvation of God, and found myself obliged and delighted to say, "Not unto us," not unto instruments and means, "but unto thy name be the glory."

August 24th. There were several Indians newly come, who thought their state good, because they had learned to read, and been civilized, with living with the white people. With these, I discoursed particularly after public worship, and was surprised to see their self-righteous disposition, though they appeared utterly strangers to their own hearts, and altogether unacquainted with the power of religion. After much discourse one of them seemed to be convinced, that, "by the deeds of the law no flesh living could be justified," and wept bitterly, inquiring, "what he should do to be saved?" This was comfortable to others, who had gained some experimental knowledge of themselves, and had been grieved with the conduct and conversation of the other.

Lord's-day, August 25th. Baptized twenty-five Indians, fifteen adults, and ten children. Most of the adults, I have comfortable reasons to hope, are renewed persons, and not one of them but what entertained some hopes of. When the crowd was gone I discoursed to the baptized persons in particular; minded them of the solemn obligations they were now under; warned them of the dreadful consequences of careless living; and encouraged them to watchfulness and devotion. This was a sweet season. They took each other by the hand with tenderness and affection, and sundry of the other Indians were much affected, and wept bitterly, longing to be partakers of the same joy.

• August 26th. Preached from John vi. 51, 55. A blessed influence seemed to spread through the whole assembly, and many who had not yet found Christ as their Saviour, were engaged in seeking after him. Their number was now about ninety-five persons; and it was a lovely sight to see almost all affected, either with joy in Christ Jesus, or with deep concern to obtain an interest in him. Having made two journeys, before I came first to Crossweeksung, far back to the Indians in Susquahannah river; and it being now a proper season to find them generally at home, I thought it my duty to make them another visit: therefore I told my people, that I must now leave them for the present, and go to their brethren far remote; that I was desirous the Spirit of God should go with me, without whom nothing could be done to good purpose; and asked them if they could not be willing to spend the remainder of the day in prayer for me? They cheerfully complied; and soon after I left them began, the sun being then about an hour and an half high, and continued praying all night till break of day. Two distressed souls were, I trust, this day brought to the enjoyment of solid comfort. And an old Indian, who had till now been an obstinate idolater, gave up his rattles, which they use for music in their idolatrous feasts, to the Christian Indians, who quickly destroyed them.

Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania, September 1, 1745. Preached to the Indians, afterwards to the white people. Many were in tears in both assemblies.

September 3. Preached to the Indians from Isa. liii. 3, 6. Sundry persons seemed to be awakened, among whom were two stupid creatures, that I could scarce ever before keep awake.

On the 5th discoursed to them of the parable of the sower, and afterwards conversed with sundry of them. Many wept, and cried out in an affecting manner; others were seized with surprise and concern. I asked one who had obtained comfort, why he now cried? He replied, when he thought how Christ was slain like a lamb, and spilt his blood for sinners, he could not help crying even when he was alone." I then asked his wife, who had likewise been abundantly comforted, wherefore she cried? She answered, "Because the Indians here would not come to Christ as well as those at Crossweeksung." I asked her if she found a heart to pray for them, and whether Christ had seemed to be near to her of late in prayer, as in time past? She replied, "Yes, he had been near to her; and that, at some times, when she had been praying alone, her heart loved to pray; so that she could not bear to leave the place, but wanted to stay and pray longer."

Lord's-day, September 8th. Some of the careless white people were awakened, or at least startled, seeing the power of God so prevalent among the Indians. Some of the Indians in these parts have always refused to hear me preach, and are enraged against those that attend; and, of late, they are more bitter than ever, scoffing at Christianity, and sometimes asking my hearers, "How often they have cried; and whether they have not now cried enough to do the turn." So that already they have trials of cruel mockings.

September 9th. Set out for Susquahannah river, directing my course towards an Indian town called Shaumaking, containing, they say, near 300 inhabitants.

Lord's-day, September 15. Met with one who understood the languages of the Six Nations (as they are called) who discovered an inclination to hearken to Christianity: but many of them were so drunk, from day to day, that I could get no opportunity to speak to them. The next day I endeavoured to instruct them from house to house. Towards night I went to a part of the town, where they were sober, and got together near fifty persons, and discoursed to them, having first obtained the king's cheerful consent. There was one or two that seemed to be touched, and appeared well pleased with some conversation afterward, in private.

September 17th. Left Shaumaking, and on the 19th, visited an Indian town called Juncata. Was much discouraged with their temper and behaviour. They seem resolved to persist in their idolatrous practices. The next day visited them again, and found them very busy in making preparations for a great sacrifice. My spirits were much sunk, having no interpreter but a Pagan, (my own interpreter being obliged to leave me the day before, and indeed he could neither speak nor understand the language of these Indians) so that I was under great disadvantages. In the evening they met together, near an hundred of them, and danced round a large fire, having prepared ten fat deer for the sacrifice. The fat of the inward parts burnt in the fire, while they were dancing, and sometimes raised the flame to a prodigious height, yelling and shouting so loud, that they might be heard two miles or more. They continued their dance almost all night, after which they ate the flesh of the sacrifice, and then retired to their lodgings. I enjoyed little satisfaction this night, in the midst of this idolatrous revel; and having walked to and fro till both body and mind were pained, and much oppressed, I at length got into a little crib made for corn, and there slept on the poles.

Lord's-day, September 22. Spent the day with the Indians on the Island. As soon as they were well up, I laboured to get them together to instruct them, but soon found they had something else to do; for, near noon, they gathered together all their powows, (or conjurors) and set about six of them to playing their juggling tricks, in order to find out why they were then so sickly upon the Island, numbers of them being at this time disordered with a fever, and bloody flux. In this exercise they were engaged several hours, sometimes singing, sometimes howling, sometimes extending their hands to the utmost stretch, spreading all their fingers, and seeming to push with them; sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then spitting water as fine as mist, sitting, lying, bowing, wringing their sides, twisting their faces, turning up their eyes, grunting, puffing, &c. Some of them were much more fervent and devout, and seemed to chant, peep, and mutter, with a degree of warmth, as if determined to awaken and engage the powers below. I sat about thirty feet from them, though undiscovered, with my Bible in my hand. When they had continued their hideous charms and incantations more than three hours, having in that space of time, taken sundry intervals of rest, they broke up.

After they had done powowing, I attempted to discourse with them about Christianity, but they soon scattered, and gave me no opportunity. A view of these things, being entirely alone, destitute of the society of any one that so much as named the name

of Christ, almost stripped me of all hope of propagating the gospel here, and rendered this the most burdensome Sabbath I ever saw. The next day I made some further attempts, but to no purpose. They live so near the white people, that they are always in the way of strong liquors, and of the ill examples of nominal Christians, which renders it unspeakably difficult to treat with them about Christianity.

Crowweeksung, Oct 5th, 1745.—Preached to my people from John xiv. 1-6. The divine presence seemed to be in the assembly. O what a difference is there between these and the Indians on Susquehannah! and how astonishing is that grace which has made this change.

Lord's-day, Oct. 6.—After public service I withdrew, and the Indians continued praying together near two hours. It was very refreshing to see those who lately were Pagans and idolaters, having no hope, and without God in the world, now filled with a sense of divine love and grace, and worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth, as numbers here appeared to do.

Lord's-day, Oct. 27.—While I was preaching to a vast assembly, who generally appeared secure enough, there was one Indian woman, a stranger, who had never heard me before, seized with such a pressing concern for her soul, that she expressed a great desire to go home and call her husband (more than forty miles distant) that he also might be awakened to a concern for his soul. The pious people of the English seemed refreshed with seeing the Indians worship God in so devout and solemn a manner.

Lord's-day, Nov. 3d.—Preached to my people from Luke xvi. 17. Afterwards baptised fourteen Indians, eight children and six grown persons. One of these was near fourscore years of age, and I have reason to hope God has brought her savingly home to himself. Two others were men of about fifty, who had been singular, even among the Indians, for wickedness; one had been a murderer, and both notorious drunkards, as well as excessively quarrelsome; yet now I cannot but hope both are become subjects of God's special grace. And there was not one of the adults I baptised, who had not given me some comfortable grounds to hope God had wrought a work of special grace in their hearts.

Nov. 4.—I have now baptised in all forty-seven Indians, twenty-three adults, and twenty-four children. Thirty-five of them belong to these parts, the rest to the Forks of Delaware. And through rich grace, they have none of them as yet been suffered to disgrace their profession of Christianity by any scandalous or unbelieving behaviour.

I might now make many remarks on so remarkable a work of grace as this has been, but shall confine myself to a few hints only. 1st, It is remarkable that God began this work among the Indians, at a time when I had the least hope, or rational prospect of seeing such a work propagated among them: my bodily strength being then much wasted, and my mind exceedingly depressed. This was the very season in which God saw fit to begin this glorious work. 2d, It is remarkable how God providentially and in a manner unaccountable, called these Indians together to be instructed. When I first came I found not one man in the place; only four women, and a few children; but before I had been here many days they gathered from all quarters, some from more than twenty miles distant; and at my

second visit some from more than forty miles. And many came without any intelligence of what was going on here, so that it seemed as if God had summoned them together from all quarters to hear his gospel. Nor is it less surprising that they were, one after another, affected with a solemn concern for their souls almost as soon as they came upon the spot where divine truths were taught. After this work of grace begun with power, it was common for strangers of the Indians, before they had been with us one day, to be deeply convinced of their sin and misery, and solicitously enquire "What they must do to be saved." 3d, It is likewise remarkable how God preserved those poor Indians from being prejudiced against me by means used for that purpose by ungodly people. Abundance of delusive artful suggestions were employed to prejudice them against, or afflict them from Christianity; but they all constantly turned against the authors of them, and (through the divine goodness) only served to engage the affections of the Indians more firmly to me. And it seems the more wonderful in that I was an utter stranger, and the others their old acquaintances. But if God will work, who can hinder or resist? 4th, Nor is it less wonderful how God was pleased to provide a remedy for my want of skill in the Indian language, by remarkably fitting my interpreter for the performance of his work. It might be supposed that divine truths would unavoidably lose much of the energy with which they might at first be delivered, by coming from a second hand. But although this has often (to my sorrow and discouragement) been the case while my interpreter had little or no sense of divine things, yet afterwards it was quite otherwise. He had likewise, to appearance, an experimental acquaintance with divine things, and longing desires for the conversion of the Indians, and admirable zeal and fervour in addressing them. And it is remarkable, when I was favoured with any special assistance in my work, he was usually affected in the same manner almost instantly, and seemed at once quickened, and enabled to speak in the same pathetic strain. And a surprising energy often accompanied the word at such seasons, so that the whole face of the assembly would be apparently changed almost in an instant, and tears and sobs become common among them. 5th, It is further remarkable, that God carried on his work here by such means, and in such a manner, as tended to obviate those prejudices and objections which have often been raised against such a work. None could say they were often frightened with a fearful noise of hell and damnation, this work having been begun and carried on by almost one continued strain of gospel invitation to perishing sinners, as may be guessed from the scriptures I chiefly insisted on: nor have I ever seen so general an awakening in my life, as while I was opening and insisting on the parable of the great Supper, Luke xiv.; in which discourse I was enabled to set before them the unsearchable riches of gospel-grace. Not that I never instructed them respecting their fallen state, and the sinfulness and misery of it. This was what I at first chiefly insisted on, and endeavoured to repeat and inculcate in almost every discourse, knowing that without this foundation, I should but build upon the sand, and that it would be in vain to invite them to Christ till they were convinced of their need of him. Nor has there been any plausible objection to be made against this work in regard to the manner in which it has been carried

on. The convictions of their sin and misery have indeed produced many tears, cries and groans; but there has been no appearance of those convulsions, bodily agonies, frightful screamings, swoonings, and the like, which have been so much complained of in other places. Some, indeed, have been for a time, in a great measure, deprived of their bodily strength yet without any convulsive appearances. 6thly, and lastly, The effects of this work have likewise been very remarkable. Many of these people have gained more doctrinal knowledge of divine truths in less than five months than could have been instilled into them by the most diligent use of the most proper and instructive means for years together, without such a divine influence. Their Pagan notions, and idolatrous practices, seem to be wholly abandoned. They are regulated, and appear regularly disposed in the affairs of marriage. They seem generally divorced from drunkenness, their darling vice. A principle of honesty and justice appears in many of them, and they seem concerned to discharge old debts which they had neglected, and perhaps never thought of for years past. Love seems to reign among them, especially those who have given evidences of a saving change; and I have seen no appearance of bitterness or censoriousness in these, or any disposition to esteem themselves better than others. As their sorrows under convictions have been great, so have the joys of many of them since been: but their consolations have not appeared extatic or sighty, nor inclined them to lightness or airiness, but have been attended with solemnity, and often with tears, and an apparent brokenness of heart. And now, upon the whole, I think I may justly say, here are all the signs and evidences of a remarkable work of grace among these Indians. May the great Author of it maintain and promote it here, and propagate it every where, till the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen.

I have now rode more than three thousand miles in the last eight months, and almost the whole of it has been about my proper business as a missionary for propagating Christian knowledge among the Indians. Several hundred miles I have travelled, in order to find out a fit colleague in this work, but have not yet found one qualified and disposed thereto. I apprehend a necessity of having an English school speedily set up among these Indians, who are now willing to gather together in a body for this purpose. The several societies I have preached to last summer, live at so great distances, and so much of my time is necessarily consumed in journeying, that I can employ but little in any of my necessary studies. The Indian languages are so very numerous, my other labours and fatigues are so great, and bear so hard on my constitution, that I am at times almost discouraged from attempting to learn them. However, I have taken considerable pains to learn the Delaware language, and as far as health and business will admit, propose still to do so. As these ignorant Pagans stood in need of having line upon line, so I preached publicly, and taught them from house to house for whole weeks together: and my public discourses did not then make up one half of my work, whilst there were so many constantly coming to me with that important enquiry, "What must I do to be saved?" And yet I can say, to the praise of rich grace, the apparent success of my labours abundantly compensated all my pains, and was a great means of supporting and carrying me through it. But still

I see great need of assistance in my work, and have been much oppressed for want of one to bear a part of my labours and hardships. May the Lord of the harvest send forth more labourers into his harvest, that they who sit in darkness may see great light, and the whole earth may be filled with the knowledge of God.

PART II.

An uncommon Season of Grace, Lord's-day, Dec. 15th.—A Catechetical Lecture begun December 21st.—Several remarkable Particulars.—Another extraordinary Time of Divine Power, Lord's-day Dec. 29th.—An Affecting Instance of spiritual Joy, March 9th.—The Number advanced to an Hundred and Thirty, old and young, March 24th.—They begin their little Town.—Twenty-three Communicants. April 27th, besides five or six absent at the Forks of Delaware.—A brief Account of the Conversion of the Powows, mentioned August 8th, and February 1st.—He dares another Conjuror to do his worst.—Mr Brainerd's Remarks upon the whole.—Some Passages relating to his lamented Death at Northampton in New-England, October 9th, 1747, in the 30th Year of his Age.

FROM the Abridgment of BRAINERD'S JOURNAL, page 43, &c.

Crosweek'sung, November 26th. After some time spent in private conferences, I preached from John v. 1-9. I was favoured with some special freedom and fervency, and a powerful energy accompanied divine truths. Many wept, and scarce any appeared unconcerned. There was no boisterous commotion, but a sweet and humble melting. The persons lately awakened were some of them deeply distressed, and said, "They knew not what to do, nor how to get their wicked hearts changed."

Nov. 28th, Discoursed upon our Lord's transfiguration, Luke ix. 28-36. Had therein a principal view to the edification and consolation of God's people, and observed some exceedingly affected, and filled with longing desires of being with him. I asked one who wept most affectionately, "What she now wanted?" She replied, "O to be with Christ; she did not know how to stay."

Lord's-day, Dec. 8th, Discoursed upon the blind man, John ix. There appeared no remarkable effect of the word upon the assembly at this time. Such have been the doings of the Lord here, in awakening sinners, and comforting saints, that it is now strange to see the assembly sit with dry eyes, and without sobs and groans.

Lord's-day, Dec. 15th, Preached from Luke xiii. 24-28. Divine truth fell with weight and power upon the audience. Near night, discoursed to them again from Matt. xxvi. 31-46. It was an amazing season of grace. The word of the Lord pierced into the hearts of many. The impressions made upon them appeared solid, rational, and deep, worthy of the solemn truths by means of which they were produced. How did their hearts seem to bow under the weight of divine truths! And how evident did it now appear that they received and felt them, "not as the word of man, but as the word of God! None can

frame a just idea of the appearance of our assembly at this time, but those who have seen a congregation solemnly awed, and deeply impressed by Divine truths delivered to them in the name of God.

December 16th,—Discoursed to my people in the evening from Luke xi. 1—13. There was much concern in the assembly; particularly one woman was in such an agony in seeking after Christ, that the sweat ran off her face for a good while, though it was a very cold evening, and her bitter cries were a most affecting indication of the inward anguish of her heart.

December 21st,—My people having attained to a considerable degree of knowledge in the principles of Christianity, I thought proper to set up a catechetical lecture; and this evening attempted something in that form, proposing questions to them agreeable to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. They were able readily and rationally to answer many important questions proposed to them. In the improvement of the whole, when I came to infer, and open the blessedness of those who have God for their everlasting friend and portion, they appeared to be much affected and engaged.

Lord's-day, December 22d, Discoursed upon the story of the young rich man in the gospel, Matth. ix. 16—22. God made it a seasonable word, I am persuaded, to many souls. Some Indians were newly come here, who had lived among Quakers, and had imbibed some of the Quakers' errors, particularly this fundamental one, viz., "That if men live soberly and honestly, according to the dictates of their own consciences (or the light within) there is no danger or doubt of their salvation." These persons I found worse to deal with than the mere Pagans, who have no self-righteous foundation to build upon. However, they all but one, appeared now convinced that this sober honest life of itself was not sufficient to salvation, since Christ himself had declared it so in the case of the young man. This was likewise a season of comfort to some souls, and in particular to her mentioned the 16th instant, who had never before obtained any settled comfort; she now appeared in a heavenly frame of mind, composed and delighted with the will of God. When I came to discourse with her particularly, and to enquire how she got relief from her spiritual distress, she replied in broken English, "Me try, me try save myself; last my strength be all gone: couldn't me stir bit furdur. Den last me let Jesus Christ alone, send me hell if he please." I said, but you was not willing to go to hell, was you? She replied, "Could not me help it. My heart he would be wicked for all. Could not me make him good. By, by, my heart be grad desperately." I asked her why her heart was glad? She replied, "Grad my heart, Jesus Christ do what he please with me. Den me tink, grad my heart Jesus Christ send me hell. Didn't me care, me love him for all." And she could not readily be convinced, but that she was willing to go to hell, if Christ was pleased to send her there. Though the truth evidently was, her will was so swallowed up in the will of God, that she could not frame any hell in her imagination that would be dreadful or undesirable, provided it was but the will of God to send her to it.

December 26th,—This evening I was visited by a very old woman, who appeared to be much broken and childish through age, but under great spiritual exercise. She was led by the hand to my house, and

appeared in extreme anguish. When I asked what ailed her? She replied, "Her heart was distressed, and she feared she should never find Christ." She told me she had heard me preach often, but never knew any thing about it till the last Sabbath, and then it came, she said, "All one as if a needle had been thrust into her heart," since which time she had no rest day nor night. That on the evening before Christmas, a number of Indians discourring together about Christ at a house where she was, their talk pricked her heart, so that she could not sit up, but fell down on the bed, at which time she went away, (as she expressed it) and felt as if she dreamed, and yet is confident she did not dream. When she was thus gone, she saw two paths; one appeared very broad and crooked, and that, she says, turned to the left hand; the other appeared straight and very narrow, and that went up the hill to the right hand. She travelled, she said, for some time up the narrow right-hand path, till at length something seemed to obstruct her journey. She sometimes called it darkness, sometimes compared it to a block or bar. She then remembered, she says, what she had heard me say about striving to enter in at the strait gate, and thought she would climb over this bar: but just as she was thinking of this, she came back again, as she termed it, meaning, that she came to herself; whereupon she was extremely distressed, apprehending she had now turned back and forsaken Christ: and that there was therefore no hope of any mercy for her.—As I was sensible that trances and imaginary views of things are of dangerous tendency in religion, when sought after and depended upon; so I could not but be much concerned about this exercise, especially at first, fearing this might be a design of Satan to bring a blemish upon the work of God here, by introducing visionary scenes, imaginary terrors, and all manner of mental disorders and delusions, in the room of genuine convictions of sin, and the enlightening influences of the blessed Spirit, and was almost resolved to declare, that I looked upon this as one of Satan's devices, and to caution my people against it as such. However, I determined first to enquire into her knowledge, to see whether she had any just views of things, which might occasion her present distressing concern, or whether it was a mere fright arising only from imaginary terrors. I asked her divers questions respecting man's primitive, and more especially his present state, and respecting her own heart, which she answered rationally, and to my surprise. And I thought it was next to impossible, that a Pagan, who was become a child through age, should in that state gain so much knowledge by any mere human instruction, without being remarkably enlightened from above. I then proposed to her the provision made in the gospel for the salvation of sinners, and the ability and willingness of Christ to save to the uttermost all that came to him. To which she assented, but instantly replied, "Ay, but I can't come, my wicked heart won't come to Christ. I don't know how to come," &c. And this she spake in anguish of spirit, striking on her breast, with tears in her eyes, and with such earnestness in her looks, as was indeed piteous and affecting. She seems to be really convinced of her sin and misery, and her need of a change of heart; and her concern is abiding and constant, and I hope will have a saving issue. How far God may make use of the imagination in awakening some persons, I cannot pretend to determine: or whether this exercise be from a divine influence,

I shall leave others to judge. This I must say, that its effects hitherto bespeak it to be such.

Lord's-day, December 29th, — Preached from John iii. 1—6. A number of white people were present, as usual on the Sabbath. The discourse was accompanied with power, and there were some tears among the white people, as well as the Indians. But the impressions made on their hearts appeared chiefly by the extraordinary earnestness of their attention, and their heavy sighs. After public worship was over, I went to my house, intending to preach again after a short intermission; but they soon came in, one after another, with tears in their eyes, enquiring, what they should do to be saved? What I spoke was set home in such a manner, that the house was soon filled with cries and groans. Upon this they all flocked together, and the most careless were almost universally seized with concern for their souls. It was an amazing season of power, as if God had bowed the heavens and come down. So astonishingly prevalent was the operation upon old as well as young, that it seemed as if none would be left in a secure and natural state, but that God was now about to convert all the world. It is impossible to give a just description of the appearance of things, such as to convey an adequate idea of the effect of this influence. Some were rejoicing to see so many striving to enter in at the strait gate, and wanted to push them forward as some expressed it. Others, both old and young, of both sexes, were in tears, and in anguish of spirit, with downcast looks like condemned malefactors. So that there seemed to be a lively emblem of the solemn day of accounts, or a mixture of heaven and hell. Their concern and religious affection was such, that I could only discourse to one and another, and sometimes address them all together, and at last concluded with prayer. Such were their circumstances, that I could scarce get half an hour's intermission from speaking from half an hour before twelve till past seven at night.

December 30th, — Was visited by four or five young persons under concern for their souls, most of whom were lately awakened. The next day visited my people from house to house, and scarce left a house without some of its inhabitants in tears. They are now gathered together from all quarters, and have built them little cottages, so that more than twenty families live within a quarter of a mile of me.

Lord's-Day Jan. 5th, — Discoursed from Matth. xii. 10—13. The same truths which have often produced tears and sobs in the assembly seemed now to have no special influence upon any. Afterwards baptized the woman mentioned Dec. 23, and one child. This woman has discovered a sweet and heavenly frame of mind since her first reception of comfort. One morning she came to me with unusual joy, and told me, God had made her feel it was right for him to do what he pleased with all things. And understanding that I was sent to preach to the Indians by some good people in Scotland, she said, her heart loved those good people so, the evening before, that she could scarce help praying for them all night; her heart would go to God for them, &c. Prosecuted my catechetical method. When I first entered upon this method of instructing, I was jealous, lest my discourses would unavoidably be so doctrinal that they would tend only to enlighten the head, and not affect the heart. But the event proves quite otherwise; for these exercises have been re-

markably blessed, and to-day, in particular, in the latter as well as former respects.

Lord's-day Jan. 19th, — One weary heavy-laden soul was brought, I believe, to true rest and solid comfort in Christ. He told me he had often heard me say that persons must see and feel themselves utterly helpless and undone, and must be emptied of all dependance on themselves; and this he had long been striving after, imagining God would have respect to this frame. But when he came to feel himself in this helpless condition, he found it quite contrary to what he expected, and that instead of its being a good frame of mind, he saw nothing but badness in himself, and that he could do nothing to make himself better. Instead of imagining now that God would be pleased with him for the sake of seeing his undone state, he saw clearly it would be just with God to send him to eternal misery; that there was no goodness in what he then felt, but that he was naked, sinful, and miserable. In this frame of mind he came to-day to public worship; and while I was inviting sinners to come to Christ naked and empty, he tried, but found he could not come, and it seemed utterly vain for him ever to try any more. But, he said, while he was musing upon it, he saw with his heart (which is a common phrase among them) something that was unspeakably good and lovely, which he had never seen before, and this stole away his heart whether he would or no. He did not know what it was he saw; he did not say, this is Jesus Christ, but it was such glory and beauty as he never saw before. He did not now give away his heart so as he formerly intended and attempted to do, but it went away of itself, after that glory he then discovered. After some time he was wonderfully pleased with the way of salvation by Christ; so that it seemed unspeakably better to be saved altogether by the mere free grace of God in Christ, than to have any hand in saving himself. The consequence of this is, he seems to maintain a sense and relish of divine things, and to maintain a life of religion.

Jan. 30, — Preached from John iii. 16, 17. There was some affection visible in the audience, and one with much concern afterwards told me, his heart was so pricked with my preaching he knew not where to turn, or what to do.

February 1st, — In the evening catechised, my usual method. Towards the close of my discourse a surprising power seemed to attend the words. One man far in years, who had been a remarkable drunkard, a conjurer, and a murderer, who was awakened some months before, was now brought to great extremity under spiritual distress, so that he trembled for hours together, and apprehended himself just dropping into hell. Many others appeared under great concern, and solicitous to obtain a saving change.

Lord's-day February 6th, — Baptised three grown persons, and one child. The adults I have reason to hope are truly pious. God hath been pleased to own and bless the administration of this as well as his other ordinances among the Indians. Some have been powerfully awakened by seeing others baptised; others have obtained relief and comfort. — Towards night catechised. God made this a profitable season to some. One who had been a vile drunkard was remarkably awakened. He was in great anguish of soul, wept and trembled, and continued to do so till near midnight. Another, a poor heavy laden soul, was now brought to a comfortable calm, and bowed

and reconciled to the divine sovereignty. She told me the heavy burden she had lain under was now removed; that she felt she never could do any thing to save herself, but must perish for ever if Christ did not do all for her; that she did not deserve he should help her, but Christ could save her, though she could do nothing to save herself, &c. And here she seemed to rest.

Forks of Delaware, in Pennsylvania, Lord's-day, February 16, 1746. Knowing that many of the Indians here were obstinately set against Christianity, I took six of the most serious and knowing of my people, and brought them with me from Crosweeksung, hoping it might be a means to convince them of the truth and importance of Christianity, to see and hear some of their own nation discoursing of divine things; and many met with us to-day, who probably could not have been prevailed on to attend the meeting, had it not been for these religious Indians. Some behaved soberly, and others laughed; however, the word of God fell with such weight, that sundry of them seemed to be stunned, and expressed a willingness to hear me again of these matters. After public worship, took some pains to convince those who laughed and mocked, of the importance of what I had been insisting on, which seemed to take considerable effect upon one of the worst of them. The next day, having spent much time in discoursing to the Indians in their respective houses, I got them together, and repeated and inculcated what I had before taught them. Afterwards discoursed from Acts viii. 5-8. A divine influence seemed to attend the Word. Sundry of the Indians seemed somewhat awakened, and manifested a concern by their earnest attention, tears, and sobs. My people from Crosweeksung continued with them day and night, repeating and inculcating the truths I taught; and sometimes prayed, and sung psalms among them; and discoursed with each other in their hearing, of what great things God had done for them, and for the Indians at Crosweeksung, which seemed to have more effect on them, than all they could say to them.

Lord's-day, February 23.—Preached to the Indians from John vi. 35-37. After public service discoursed privately with some of them, who seemed considerably enlightened, and invited them to go down to Crosweeksung, where they would be free from the scoffs and temptations of the opposing Pagans, and got a promise of some of them.

Crosweeksung in New Jersey, March 2, 1746.—Two of the Indians belonging to the Forks are come. May the Lord meet with them here. They can scarce go into a house now, but they will meet with Christian conversation. I know of no assembly of Christians where there seems to be so much of the presence of God, where brotherly love so much prevails, although nine months ago they were worshipping devils and dumb idols. Amazing change this! "It is the Lord's doing."

Lord's-day, March 9.—Preached from Luke x. 38-42. Many were affected. After public worship, numbers came to my house, where we sung; and while we were singing, the woman mentioned February 9, was filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory, and could not but burst forth in prayer and praise to God, crying, sometimes in English and sometimes in Indian,—"O blessed Lord, do come, do come! O do take me away! do let me die and go to Jesus Christ. O dear

Jesus do come! I cannot stay, I cannot stay! O how can I live in this world? Do take my soul away from this sinful place!" with much more to the same purpose. In this extacy she continued some time, and when she had a little recovered herself, I asked her, if Christ was not now sweet to her soul? whereupon, turning to me with tears in her eyes, and with all the tokens of deep humility, she said, "I have many times heard you speak of the goodness and sweetness of Christ, but I knew nothing what you meant; I never believed you; but now I know he is better than all the world." I asked, and do you see enough in Christ for the greatest of sinners? She replied, "O enough, enough for all the sinners in the world if they would but come." And turning, at my desire, to some poor christless souls who stood by much affected, she said, "O there is enough in Christ for you all, if you would but come. O strive, strive to give up your hearts to him." Then hearing somewhat of the glory of heaven mentioned, she again fell into an extacy of joy, and cried out as before, "O dear Lord, do let me go! O what shall I do? I want to go to Christ," &c. In this sweet frame she continued more than two hours. Of all the persons I ever saw under spiritual exercise, I scarce ever saw one so bowed and broken under convictions as this woman. None seemed to have greater acquaintance with their own hearts. She would frequently complain of the hardness and rebellion of her heart, and appeared to be no less remarkably bowed to divine sovereignty before she obtained any relief, as I noticed February 9, since which she hath seemed constantly to breathe the spirit and temper of the new creature. When I have sometimes asked her why she appeared so sorrowful? was she afraid of hell? she would answer, "No, I bent so much distressed about that, but my heart is so wicked, I can't love Christ," and thereupon burst out into tears. This sweet and surprising extacy seemed to spring from a true spiritual discovery of the glory, ravishing beauty, and excellency of Christ, not from any gross imaginary ideas of his human nature; nor [merely from an] apprehension of benefits conferred on her; but from a view of his personal excellency, and transcendent loveliness. She seemed to view divine truths as living realities, and could say, "I know these things are so: I feel them to be true." Now her soul was resigned to the Divine will. Being asked, what if God should take your husband from you (who was then very sick), how could you bear that? she replied, "He belongs to God, and not me, he may do with him just what he pleases." Now she could freely trust her all with God for time and eternity. Being asked, how she could be willing to die, and leave her little infant; what did she think would become of it? she answered, "God will take care of it; it belongs to him; he will take care of it." Now she appeared to have the most humbling sense of her own meanness, unworthiness, and weakness, crying, "If I live I shall sin." And she since appears to be a most tender, broken-hearted, affectionate, devout, and humble Christian, as exemplary in life and conversation as any person in my congregation.

Lord's-day, March 23.—There being fifteen strangers come among us last week, I attempted to discourse from Hosea xiii. 9, in a manner suited to their circumstances and capacities. There was a desirable attention, but not that affection and concern which has been common among us. Near

sunset, I felt an uncommon concern, for the poor strangers especially, that God had withheld his presence, and the powerful influence of his Spirit that day, and in this frame visited sundry houses, but without much appearance of success, till I came to a house where divers of the strangers were, and there the solemn truths seemed to take effect first upon some children, then upon some grown persons, and then upon several of the Pagan strangers. I continued my discourse till almost every one in the house was melted into tears, and divers wept aloud. Upon this, numbers soon gathered from all the houses round about, and so thronged the place, that we were obliged to go to the house where we usually meet; and the congregation gathering immediately, and many appearing remarkably affected, I discoursed some time from Luke xix. 10. There was much visible concern and affection. Five or six of the strangers appeared considerably awakened, particularly one very rugged young man, who had seemed as if nothing would move him, was now brought to tremble like the jailor, and wept much. These Pagans who were awakened, seemed at once to put off their savage roughness, and became sociable, orderly, and humane in their carriage: when they first came, I exhorted my religious people to be at pains with them to instruct them in Christianity, but they would not bear to hear them. Yet now they were so touched with a sense of their perishing state, as made them tamely yield to the closest addresses that were made them.

March 24,—Found my people were increased to about an hundred and thirty, old and young; besides that about fifteen or twenty of my stated hearers were now absent. As many of them were this day going out on the design of clearing some of their lands, above fifteen miles from hence, in order to their settling there in a compact form, that they might more advantageously attend public worship, have their children schooled, and, at the same time, have a convenience for planting, &c. (Their land here being of little or no value for that purpose) I thought proper to call them together, and show them the duty of labouring with faithfulness and industry. And, having sung Psalm cxxvii., and recommended them and their design to God by prayer, I dismissed them to their business.

April 25,—Having for some time apprehended that a number of my people were proper subjects of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, with good advice, I proposed to administer it next Lord's-day; and this day, as preparatory thereto, was set apart for fasting and prayer, as also to implore that the Divine Presence may be with us in our intended approach to his table, &c. After prayer and preaching, I proposed briefly and plainly the substance of the doctrine of the Christian faith, and had their renewed cheerful assent to it. I then led them to a solemn renewal of their baptismal covenant in its several branches, and the solemn transaction was attended with much gravity and seriousness, freedom, and cheerfulness, and a religious union and harmony of souls seemed to crown the whole.

April 26,—Towards noon, prayed with a dying child, and gave a word of exhortation to bystanders. In the afternoon, discoursed to my people from Matth. xxvi. 26-30, of the Author, the nature and design of the Lord's Supper. In the evening, catechised those who were designed to partake of the Lord's Supper next day, and had abundant satisfac-

tion as to their doctrinal knowledge and fitness in that respect. They likewise appeared, in general, to have a deep sense of the solemnity of this sacred ordinance, and to be humbled under a sense of their own unworthiness, and to be earnestly concerned that they might be duly prepared for it. Their hearts were full of love to each other; and that was the temper of mind they seemed much concerned to bring with them to the Lord's-table. In singing and prayer, after catechising, there appeared an agreeable tenderness, and such tokens of brotherly love, that would even constrain one to say, "Lord, it is good to be here."

Lord's-day, April 27,—Preached from Titus ii. 14.—"Who gave himself for us," &c. Then administered the Lord's Supper to twenty-three persons, about five or six being now absent at the Forks of Delaware, who would otherwise have communicated with us. It was remarkable, that in the season of the performance of the sacramental actions, especially in the distribution of the bread, they seemed to be affected in a most lively manner, as if Christ had been really crucified before them. But their affections, though considerably raised, were agreeably regulated. When I had rested some time after the administration, I walked from house to house, and conversed particularly with most of the communicants, and found they had been generally refreshed at the Lord's-table, as with new wine. And never did I see such an appearance of Christian love among people in all my life. It was so remarkable, that one might well have cried, with an agreeable surprise—"Behold how they love one another!" Towards night, discoursed again on Titus ii. 14. The religious people were much refreshed, so that some of them told me they never felt the like before. Convictions were revived in others, and some were awakened; and the congregation, when dismissed, although it was almost dark, seemed loath to leave the place. Upon the whole, I must say, I had great satisfaction with regard to the administration of this ordinance. God himself, I am persuaded, was in the midst of his people; and, I doubt not, many could say in the conclusion, with their whole hearts—Verily, "a day thus spent in God's house is better than a thousand." It was the liveliest emblem of heaven I had ever seen.

April 28,—Concluded the sacramental solemnity with a discourse from John xiv. 15, "If ye love me, keep my commandments." There appeared a very agreeable tenderness, especially among the communicants. They seemed willing to have their ears bored to the door-posts of God's house, and to be his servants for ever. Observing numbers in this excellent frame, I thought proper to improve this advantageous season, to engage those that appeared serious and religious to persevere therein; and accordingly proposed that they should further covenant to watch over themselves, and one another, lest they should dishonour the name of Christ by unbecoming practices, and particularly by drunkenness, their darling sin. They cheerfully complied, and explicitly joined in that covenant. I then proceeded in the most solemn manner, to call God to witness to their sacred engagement, and minded them that God would be a terrible witness against the violaters thereof in the great and notable day of the Lord. It was a season of amazing solemnity. Baptized six children this day.

Lord's-day, May 4,—My people being now re

moved to their lands, where they are making provision for a compact settlement, I this day visited them (being now obliged to board with an English family at some distance from them) and preached from Mark iv. 5, and in the afternoon from Rom. viii. 9.

May 5,—I visited them again, and gave them directions relating to their business. I see more and more of what importance it is like to be to their religious interest, that they become laborious and industrious, acquainted with the affairs of husbandry, and able to raise the necessaries and comforts of life within themselves.

May 9,—Preached to my people from John v. 40, in the open wilderness, they having as yet no house for public worship in this place, nor, indeed, sufficient for themselves. Divine truths made considerable impressions on many.

This day I baptized one man (the conjurer and murderer mentioned August 8th, and February 1st,) who appears such a remarkable instance of divine grace, I cannot omit some brief account of him. He lived near the Forks of Delaware, and attended the meeting there more than a year; but was extremely addicted to drinking, and seemed no way reformed. In this time he murdered a likely young Indian, which threw him into horror and a degree of desperation, so that he kept at a distance from me some months, till I had an opportunity of conversing with him, and encouraged him to hope his sin might be forgiven for Christ's sake. After which he again attended my meeting. But what discouraged me most was his conjuration. He was one of those called powows among the Indians; and notwithstanding his attendance on my preaching, still followed his old charms and juggling tricks. And the high opinion they had of him, his magio charms, and superstitious notions, seemed to be a fatal obstruction to their receiving the gospel. And I have often thought it would be favourable to the design of gospelizing the Indians, if God would take that wretch out of the world. But God, whose thoughts are above ours, took a more desirable method with him. His first genuine concern for his soul was excited, by seeing my interpreter and his wife baptised, and, with the invitation of an Indian, he followed me down to Crossweeksung in August, and continued there several weeks in the season of the most remarkable and powerful awakening; at which time he was more effectually awakened, and brought under concern for his soul: and then, upon his feeling the word of God in his heart (as he expresses it) his spirit of conjuration left him entirely, that he has had no more power of that nature since, than any other man living, and declares he does not now so much as know how he used to charm and conjure. He continued under convictions of his sinful and perishing state all the fall, and part of the winter, but was not so deeply exercised till January, and then the word of God took such hold of him, that he was brought into great distress, and knew not what to do. He continued under the heavy pressure of a wounded spirit; and, February 1st, was brought into the utmost agony of soul, which continued that night, and part of next day. After this, observing him to appear remarkably calm and composed, I asked him how he did? He replied, "It is done, it is done, it is all done now." I asked him what he meant. He answered, "I can never do any more to save myself, it is all done for ever, I can do no more." I asked him whether he could not do a little

more, rather than go to hell? He replied, "My heart is dead, I can never help myself." I asked him what he thought would become of him? He replied, "I must go to hell." I asked him, if he thought it was right God should send him to hell? He answered, "O it is right! the devil has been in me ever since I was born." I asked him, if he felt this the evening before, when he was in such great distress? He replied, "No, I did not then think it was right. I thought God would then send me to hell, and that I was then dropping into it; but my heart quarrelled with God, and would not say it was right he should send me there. But I know it is right; for I have always served the devil, and my heart has no goodness in it now; but it is as bad as it was," &c. In this frame of mind he continued several days, passing sentence upon himself, and constantly owning it would be right, if he should be damned, and that he expected this to be his portion. And yet it was plain he had some secret hope of mercy, though imperceptible to himself. He asked me often when I would preach again? I asked him why he desired to hear me preach, seeing his heart was dead, and all was done, and he expected to go to hell? He replied, "I love to hear you speak about Christ for all." I asked him, what good will that do you, if you must go to hell at last? He answered, "I would have others come to Christ, if I must go to hell myself." He seemed to have a great love to the people of God, and nothing affected him so much as the thoughts of being separated from them. It was likewise remarkable, that in this season he was most diligent in the use of all means for his soul's salvation, although he had the clearest view of the insufficiency of means to help him. When he had continued in this frame of mind more than a week, while I was preaching, he seemed to have a lively soul-refreshing view of the excellency of Christ, and the way of salvation by him, which melted him into tears, and filled him with admiration, comfort, and praise to God; since which, he has appeared to be a humble, devout, and affectionate Christian, serious and exemplary in his conversation and behaviour, frequently complaining of his want of spiritual warmth, and in all respects bearing the marks of one created anew in Christ Jesus. His zeal for the cause of God was remarkable, when he was with me at the Forks of Delaware last February. There being an old powow at the place, who threatened to bewitch me; this man presently challenged him to do his worst, telling him, that himself had been as great a conjurer as he, but that as soon as he felt the word in his heart, which this people loved, his power of conjuring immediately left him; and so it would you, said he, if you did but once feel it in your heart. So that, as Paul, he now zealously defends, and practically preaches the faith which he at once destroyed. May God have the glory of the amazing change he has wrought in him!

Lord's-day, May 18. Discoursed both parts of the day from Rev. iii. 20. In the interval I took occasion to discourse to numbers, in a more private way, of the kindness and patience of the blessed Redeemer, in standing and knocking, &c., which seemed to take some effect. In the afternoon, divine truths were attended with solemnity and with tears, though there was not that powerful awakening as in times past.

May 19th. Visited, and preached to my people from Acts xx. 18, 19., and aimed to rectify their

notions about religious affections, shewing how desirable they are when they flow from a true spiritual discovery of the transcendent perfections of the blessed God, a view of the glory and loveliness of the great Redeemer; that such views will naturally excite us to serve the Lord with much affection, and with all humility of mind. And, on the other hand, observing the sinfulness of seeking high affections immediately and for their own sake. Shewed them, that if the heart be directly fixed on God, some degree of affection will be the effect of it: but to seek after affection directly and chiefly, is to place it in the room of God and his glory. If sought that others may admire us, it is abominable pride; if, for the pleasure of being affected, it is idolatry and self-gratification. Laboured also to expose the disagreeableness of affections wrought up by the power of fancy, while I still recommended that religious affection, fervency, and devotion, without which religion will be but an empty name, and lifeless carcass. This appeared a seasonable discourse.

June 1st. I have reason to hope that God has lately brought home to himself sundry who had long been under spiritual concern, though there have been few instances of persons lately awakened.

June 7th. Being invited by Mr William Tennent to be his assistant in the administration of the Lord's Supper, my people attended.

And, Lord's-day, June 8th,—most of them who had been communicants before, communicated with others who had longed to see this day. Some of the bye-standers were affected with seeing those who had been aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, &c. now brought near to God. Others, I am told, were awakened thereby, apprehending the danger of being eternally cast out while they saw others from the east and west preparing to sit down in the kingdom of God. Others of my people who were not communicants, were much affected. Convictions in divers instances were revived; and one obtained comfort.

June 9th. A considerable number of my people met early in the day, in a retired place in the woods, and prayed, sung, and conversed of divine things. Afterwards they attended the concluding exercises of the sacramental solemnity, and then returned home, divers of them rejoicing for all the goodness of God they had seen and felt.

June 13th. Baptised two children, and three grown persons. One of these was the very aged woman, mentioned December 26th. She gave me now a very punctual, rational, and satisfactory account of the remarkable change she experienced some months after the beginning of her concern, which, I must say, appeared to be the genuine operation of the Divine Spirit. And I have great reason to hope she is born anew in her old age, she being, I presume, upwards of fourscore.

June 19th. This day makes up a complete year since my first preaching to these Indians in New-Jersey. What amazing things has God wrought! What a surprising change appears in their temper and behaviour! How are morose and savage Pagans transformed into agreeable, affectionate, humble Christians! And their drunken and Pagan bowlings turned into devout and fervent prayers and praises to God! To God only wise be glory through Christ Jesus for ever and ever. Amen.

Before I conclude, I would make a few general remarks. 1. I cannot but take notice, that ever since my first coming among these Indians in New

Jersey, I have, in general, been favoured with that assistance which (to me) is uncommon in preaching Christ crucified, and in making him the centre and the mark, to which all my discourses among them were directed. To shew them their absolute need of Christ to redeem and save them from the misery of their fallen state; to open his all-sufficiency and willingness to save the chief of sinners; the freeness and riches of his Divine grace, proposed without money and without price, to all that will accept the offer; and thereupon to press them without delay to betake themselves to him, under a sense of their misery and undone state, and to shew them the abundant encouragement. And I have oft remarked with admiration, that whatever subject I have been upon, after explaining and illustrating the truths contained therein, I have been naturally led to Christ as the substance of every subject. If I treated on the being and glorious perfection of God, I was thence naturally led to discourse of Christ, as the only way to the Father. If I attempted to open the deplorable misery of our fallen state, it was natural from thence to show the necessity of Christ to undertake for us, to atone for our sins, and to redeem us from the power of them. If I taught the commands of God, and showed our violation of them, this brought me, in the most easy way, to speak of and recommend the Lord Jesus Christ, as one who had magnified the law we had broken, and who was become "the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." And never did I find so much freedom and assistance in making the various lines of my discourses meet and centre in Christ, as among these Indians. Sometimes when I have intended to offer but a few words on some particular subject, and saw no occasion or room for any particular enlargement, there has appeared, on a sudden, such a fountain of gospel grace shining forth in, or naturally resulting from, a just explication of it, and Christ has seemed to be in such a lively manner pointed out, as the substance of what I was considering and explaining, that I have been drawn in a way, not only easy and natural, proper and pertinent, but almost unavoidable, to discourse of him, either in regard of his incarnation, undertaking, satisfaction, admirable fitness for the work of man's redemption, or the infinite need that sinners stand in of an interest in him, which has opened the way for a continued strain of gospel invitation to perishing souls to come empty and naked, weary and heavy laden, and cast themselves upon him. And as I have been at times surprisingly furnished with matter relating to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the way of salvation by him, so also as to an advantageous manner. I have frequently been enabled to represent his personal glories, loveliness, and suitableness; to open the infinite riches of his grace; and to call, invite, and beseech sinners to come and give up themselves to him; to expostulate with them why they would neglect one so infinitely lovely, and so freely offered; and this in such a manner, with such freedom, pertinency, pathos, and application to the conscience, as I never could have made myself master of by the most diligent application of mind. I do not mention these things to recommend my own performances; for, I own, I found from time to time, I had no skill or wisdom for my great work, and knew not how to choose out acceptable words, proper to address poor benighted Pagans with. But thus God was pleased to help me, "not to know anything among them, save

Jesus Christ, and him crucified." And this was the preaching God made use of for the awakening of sinners, and the propagation of this work among the Indians. And it was remarkable, when I was favoured with any special freedom in discoursing of the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners, and the need they stood in of such a Saviour, there was then the greatest appearance of divine power in awakening secure souls, promoting convictions begun, and comforting the distressed.

2. I think it worthy of remark, that numbers of these people are brought to a strict compliance with the rules of morality and sobriety, and to a conscientious performance of the external duties of Christianity, by the internal power and influence of the peculiar doctrines of grace. God was pleased to give those truths such a powerful influence upon the minds of these people, that their lives were quickly reformed, without my insisting on the precepts of morality, and spending time in repeated harangues upon external duties. There was indeed no room for any kind of discourses, but those which respected the essentials of religion, and the experimental knowledge of divine things, while so many were enquiring daily, not how they should regulate their outward conduct, but, "What they should do to be saved?" So that my great work still was to lead them into a farther view of their ungodliness in themselves, the total depravity and corruption of their hearts, and, at the same time, to open to them the glorious and complete remedy provided in Christ for helpless perishing sinners, and offered freely to those who have no goodness of their own to recommend them to the divine acceptance. When these truths were felt at heart, there was no vice unreformed, no external duty neglected; drunkenness, the darling vice, was discarded, and scarce an instance of it known among them for months together. The abusive practice of husbands and wives putting away each other, and taking others, was quickly reformed; so that three or four couples have voluntarily dismissed those they had wrongfully taken, and now live together in unity and peace. The same might be said of all other vicious practices. The reformation was general, and all springing from the internal influence of divine truths upon their hearts, and not from any external restraints. Some of these vices I never had so much as mentioned, particularly parting of men and their wives; still some, having their consciences awakened by God's word, came, and of their own accord, confessed themselves guilty in that respect. And when I did at any time mention their wicked practices, and the sins they were guilty of, contrary to the light of nature, it was not with design or expectation of working an effectual reformation in their manners by this means, for I know while the tree remained corrupt, the fruit would naturally be so too; but with design to lead them, by taking a view of the wickedness of their lives, to be sensible of the corruption of their hearts, and to convince them of the necessity of the renovation of their nature, and excite them with utmost diligence to seek after that great change, which, if once obtained, I was sensible, would of course produce a reformation of external manners in every respect. And as all vice was reformed upon their feeling the power of these truths upon their hearts, so the external duties of Christianity were complied with, and conscientiously performed, from the same internal principle; family prayer set up, and constantly maintained, unless a few more

lately come, who had felt little of this divine influence. This duty is constantly performed even in some families where there are none but females, and scarce a prayerless family is to be found among near an hundred of them. The Lord's-day is seriously and religiously observed, and care taken by parents to keep their children orderly on that sacred day. And this, not because I had driven them to the performance of these duties by a frequent inculcating of them, but because they had felt the power of God's word upon their hearts, were made sensible of their sin and misery, and therefore could not but pray, and comply with everything they knew to be duty, from what they felt within themselves. When their hearts were touched with a sense of their eternal concerns, they could pray with great freedom as well as fervency, without being at the trouble to learn set forms for that purpose. And some of them who were suddenly awakened at their first coming among us, were brought to pray and cry for mercy with the utmost importunity, without ever being instructed in the duty of prayer, or so much as once directed to the performance of it. Now, although I cannot pretend that the reformation among my people does, in every instance, flow from a saving change of heart, yet I may truly say, it flows from some heart-affecting view and sense of divine truths, which all have had in a greater or lesser degree. I do not intend hereby to represent the preaching of morality, and pressing persons to the external performance of duty, to be altogether unnecessary and useless, at any time, and especially at times when there is less of divine power attending the means of grace; when, for want of internal influences, there is need of external restraints. It is, doubtless, among the things which ought to be done, while others are not to be left undone. But, what I chiefly designed by this remark, was to represent plain matter of fact, viz., that the reformation, the sobriety, and external compliance with the rules and duties of Christianity, appearing among my people, are not the effect of any mere doctrinal instruction, or merely rational view of the beauties of morality, but from the internal power and influence that divine truths, (the soul-humbling doctrines of grace) have had upon their hearts.

3. It is remarkable that God has so continued and renewed the showers of his grace here, so quickly set up his visible kingdom among these people, and so smiled upon them in relation to their acquirement of knowledge, both divine and human. It is now near a twelvemonth since the beginning of this gracious out-pouring of the divine Spirit among them, and though it has often seemed to decline and abate in some instances, yet the shower has seemed to be renewed, and the work of grace revived again. And, as God has favoured us with showers of grace, so he hath set up his kingdom among us with uncommon quickness. I have now baptized twenty-seven persons, of whom thirty-eight are adults, and thirty-nine children, and all within the space of eleven months. And I have baptized no adults, but such as appeared, in a judgment of charity, to have a work of special grace wrought in their hearts. I likewise administered the Lord's-supper to a number of persons, who, I have abundant reason to think, were proper subjects of that ordinance, within the space of ten months and ten days after my preaching to them. And within the space of a twelvemonth after, some of them were attending an idolatrous feast and sacrifice in honour of devils. Surely Christ's little flock here, so sud-

denly gathered from among Pagans, may justly say, in the language of the church of old, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." Much of the power and goodness of God has appeared also in their acquirement of knowledge, both in religion and the affairs of common life. There has been a wonderful thirst for Christian knowledge prevailing among them, and an eager desire of being instructed in Christian doctrines and manners. They were instructed twice a week in the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism*; and some of them have learned to say it pretty distinctly more than half through. They are likewise instructed in the duty of secret prayer, and prompt each other to it.

2. I think it worthy to be noted, to the praise of sovereign grace, that amidst so great a work of conviction, and religious affection, there has been no prevalence of false religion, if I may so term it, or heats of imagination, intemperate zeal, and spiritual pride; corrupt mixtures, which too commonly attend the revival and powerful propagation of religion. This work of grace has, in the main, been carried on with a surprising degree of purity and freedom from corrupt mixtures. Yet it must be owned, when this word became so universal and prevalent, Satan seemed to transform himself into an angel of light, and made some vigorous attempts to introduce turbulent commotions of the passions, instead of genuine convictions of sin, and imaginary and fanciful notions of Christ, as appearing to the mental eye in human form, and particular postures, in the room of spiritual discoveries of his divine glory and excellency, as well as divers delusions. And I have reason to think, had these things met with encouragement, there would have been a considerable harvest of this kind of converts here. Spiritual pride also discovered itself in various instances; and in one or two, an unbecoming ambition of being teachers of others. But, blessed be God, though something of this nature has appeared, nothing has prevailed, nor made any great progress. And there have been very few instances of scandalous or irregular behaviour among those who have made a profession, or even an appearance of religion. Not above three or four that I know of, have been guilty of any open misconduct, and not one that persists in anything of that nature. And, perhaps the remarkable purity of this work in the latter respect, is very much owing to its purity in the former; as spiritual pride and delusions naturally lay a foundation for scandalous practices.¹

From Mr EDWARDS'S SERMON at Mr Drainer's Funeral.

He told me one night as he went to bed,* that he expected to die that night; and added, "I am not at all afraid; I am willing to go this night, if it be the will of God. Death is what I long for." He several times spoke of the different kinds of willingness to die: and spoke of it as an ignoble mean kind of willingness to die, to be willing only to get rid of pain, or to go to heaven only to get honour and advancement there. His own longings for death

¹ For a great many other valuable and curious particulars, and amongst the rest, an account of the difficulties he met with in christianizing the Indians, and the methods he used to surmount these difficulties, see the large Journal, printed at Philadelphia, 1746.

² He died at Northampton, in Mr Edwards's house, of a consumption, October 9, 1747.

seemed to be quite of a different kind, and for nobler ends. "My heaven," said he, "is to please God, and glorify him, and give all to him, and to be wholly devoted to his glory: that is the heaven I long for: this is my religion; and that is my happiness, and always was, ever since I supposed I had any true religion: and all those that are of that religion, shall meet me in heaven. I do not go to heaven to be advanced, but to give honour to God. It is no matter where I shall be stationed in heaven, whether I have a high or low seat there, but to love and please and glorify God. If I had a thousand souls, if they were worth anything, I would give them all to God; but I have nothing to give, when all is done. It is impossible for any rational creature to be happy without acting all for God. I long to be in heaven, praising and glorifying God with the holy angels; all my desire is to glorify God. My heart goes out to the burying-place, it seems to me a desirable place: but O to glorify God! that is above all. It is a great comfort to me to think that I have done a little for God in the world: It is but a very small matter; yet I have done a little; and I lament it that I have not done more for him. There is nothing in the world worth living for, but doing good, and finishing God's work, doing the work that Christ did. I see nothing else in the world that can yield any satisfaction, besides living to God, pleasing him, and doing his whole will." In his diary he writes thus:—"September 19, Near night, while I attempted to walk a little, my thoughts turned thus: how infinitely sweet it is to love God, and be all for him. Upon which it was suggested to me, you are not an angel, not lively and active. To which my whole soul immediately replied, I as sincerely desire to love and glorify God, as any angel in heaven. Upon which it was suggested again, but you are filthy, not fit for heaven. Hereupon instantly appeared the blessed robes of Christ's righteousness, which I could not but exult and triumph in. I viewed the infinite excellency of God; and my soul even broke with longings, that God should be glorified. O how I longed that God should be glorified on earth. O! I was made for eternity if God might be glorified." After he came to be in so low a state that he ceased to have the least expectation of recovery, his mind was peculiarly carried forth with earnest concern for the prosperity of the church of God on earth. He told me when near his end, that "he never, in all his life, had his mind so led forth in desires and earnest prayers for the flourishing of Christ's kingdom on earth, as since he was brought so exceeding low at Boston. He seemed much to wonder, that there appeared no more of a disposition in ministers and people, to pray for the flourishing of religion throughout the world. And particularly, he several times expressed his wonder, that there appeared no more forwardness to comply with the proposal lately made from Scotland, for united extraordinary prayer among God's people, for the coming of Christ's kingdom, and sent it as his dying advice to his own congregation, that they should practice agreeable to that proposal. A little before his death, he said to me, as I came into the room: "my thoughts have been employed on the old dear theme, the prosperity of God's church on earth. As I waked out of sleep," said he, "I was led to cry for the pouring out of God's Spirit, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom, which the dear Redeemer did and suffered so much for: it is that especially

makes me long for it." A few days before his death, he desired us to sing a psalm that was concerning the prosperity of Zion; which he signified that his mind was engaged in the thoughts of, and desires after, above all things; and at his desire we sang a part of the 102d psalm. And when we had done, though he was so low that he could scarcely speak, he so exerted himself, that he made a prayer, very audibly, wherein, besides praying for those present, and for his own congregation, he earnestly prayed for the reviving and flourishing of religion in the world. His own congregation especially lay much on his heart. He often spake of them: and commonly when he did so, it was with extraordinary tenderness; so that his speech was interrupted and drowned with weeping.

[I conclude this chapter with the following extracts from the latest letters I have seen concerning this mission.

From a Letter from Mr AZARIAH HORTON to the Preses of the Society in Scotland, dated Southampton, September 14, 1751.

[After complaining of hindrances on the one hand from those he calls the separate people; and on the other from the opportunities that some give the Indians of gratifying their insatiable desires for strong drink; he adds] I have used endeavours to convince these different sorts of people of the evil and pernicious consequences of their conduct; and also to shew my own the danger of running into either of these extremes. But the obstructions, as yet, are unsurmountable; and I believe nothing but the interposure of an almighty and gracious God will effectually remove them. [But he adds afterwards] It will doubtless be observed in the perusal of my journal, that we have enjoyed some tokens of the divine presence, and that some of my charge breathe the temper and speak the language of those that fear the Lord. Heretofore God has been pleased evidently and remarkably to bless my poor labours. And if my heart do not greatly deceive me, I should rejoice to have it as in times past, &c.

AZARIAH HORTON.

From a Letter from Mr JOHN BRAINERD to his Friend in England, dated Bethel, October 4, 1752.

I have been employed as a missionary among these Indians for above four years and a half, besides officiating for my brother several months during his last sickness. In this space of time the number has considerably increased, though for more than two years after I came, we were visited with much sickness and mortality. We have now near forty families belonging to our society; and our church consists of thirty-seven communicants, besides two or three more that stand as candidates for admission. Our school has sometimes consisted of above fifty children, but the number at present is not altogether so great. I have spent the most of my time since I have been employed as a missionary among these people, but have not wholly confined myself to them. I have taken several journeys out among the more remote Indians, and some to those at a great distance. — this means, with the blessing of God on my labours, I have persuaded sundry to come from distant

parts and settle here, where they and their children, have the advantages of instruction, which I trust have been blest to the saving conversion of some: may the Lord daily increase the number. We have a very considerable number of serious regular Christians, who are an ornament to religion; although some that make a profession have grievously backslidden. The Lord has preserved and continued a Christian congregation together, though many attempts have been made by Satan and his instruments to disperse and destroy it. Then, after mentioning the obstacles to the Indians being brought to Christianity, such as,—their love to strong drink—their indolent, wandering, unsteady disposition, the wickedness of some white people who prejudice them against the missionaries; and some of them it is said will buy drink and give them to see if they cannot make Christian Indians drink as well as others;—also the want of a more liberal support to the missionaries for carrying them through difficult journeys, and taking Christian Indians along with them; he adds, I hope and trust that as this work of grace among the Indians comes to be more generally known and spread abroad, there will be a greater plenty of provision for the promotion of the same; and may the Lord hasten the blissful time. Upon the whole, though I am feelingly sensible of many difficulties and discouragements in christianizing the Indians, yet I cannot but think there has been, and still is, as much encouragement as could rationally be expected, before any attempts of this kind were made, and that which is sufficient for us still to act upon, and to make farther attempts of this nature. There is ground to hope that within these seven years last past, there have been at least forty persons savingly converted to God, even in this small place, which at most does not contain above two hundred souls old and young of all sorts; and were there any spirited to go unto the more remote parts where there are greater numbers of these miserable savages, who can tell what the Lord will do? What a glorious prospect will soon open? The quarterly days of prayer for the prosperity of Zion are observed by some in these parts, and have been very constantly attended in my congregation; and some of my people have appeared very affectionate and warmly engaged at such times. May the Lord hear and answer the supplications of his people, and cause his church to arise and flourish, and even become a praise in the whole earth. I would desire a remembrance in your addresses to the throne of grace for me, my people, and the cause of God among the Indians. And if you should have leisure, and think it worth while to write, please to direct for me at Bethel, in New Jersey, to the care of Mr William Grant, merchant, in Second Street, Philadelphia; or to the care of Mr Dennys de Berdt, merchant, in Artillery Court, Chiswel Street, London.—I am, &c.

JOHN BRAINERD.

From a Letter from Mr JOHN BRAINERD, who succeeded his brother in his charge, to the Preses of the Society in Scotland, dated Bethel, October 22, 1753.

Since my last to your lordship, which bears date March 2, 1753, I have steadily attended to the business of the mission, and have not been absent from my charge, but upon some necessary occasions,

and then only for a short space. I have endeavoured strictly to attend to my commission and instructions; preaching the gospel; administering the sacraments; catechising both the grown people and the children; visiting my people; praying and conversing with the sick; attending funerals; and watching all opportunities to do them good. I have constantly attended public worship three times on the Lord's-day; steadily once, and sometimes more, in the rest of the week. Besides, I have advised my people, especially of late, to meet, at least, one evening in a week, at a private house, which they do in the several parts of their town; sometimes at one house, and sometimes at another: This meeting I have generally attended; and carry it on by prayer, singing of psalms and hymns, and religious conversation. At these meetings I address myself to particular persons; inquire into the state of their souls; warn, exhort, encourage, &c., as I see occasion. And when I am absent, the meeting is carried on by religious conversation, together with prayer and singing of psalms, as above. My endeavours, may it please your lordship, through the blessing of heaven, have been, I hope, attended with some degree of success. I have had the satisfaction of admitting one adult person to baptism, who, I trust, is a true convert to God, and savingly acquainted with Jesus Christ; and sundry children have been the subjects of that divine ordinance. I can also, with pleasure, inform your lordship and the society, that many of our former converts adorn their profession by a sober virtuous life. But some, I must needs say, have grievously backslidden, which has been matter of unspeakable grief to me, and done more to exhaust my spirits, and wear me out, than all the bodily fatigues I have ever undergone in the prosecution of this mission.

[Afterwards he writes of great difficulties the Indians have laboured under of late, with regard to their lands. And of the lamented death of a promising young Indian, the society were educating for the gospel-ministry; of whom he says,] He had been a member of New Jersey college near two years; was much beloved by his class-mates and other scholars, and made a decent handsome appearance among them. He died of a quick consumption. I had opportunity of conversing with him in the latter part of his sickness; and though he was under some darkness, yet his discourse was good, and discovered much of the Christian, &c.

JOHN BRAINERD.

CHAPTER VIII. IN IRELAND, 1747, &c.

From MR WESLEY'S Seventh Journal.

Dublin, August 20th, 1747, I met the society at five; and at six preached on "Repent and believe the gospel." The room, large as it was, would not contain the people, who all seemed to taste the good word. In the afternoon a gentleman desired to speak with me. He was troubled that it was not with him as in times past; when at the age of fourteen, the power of God came mightily upon him, constraining him to rise out of bed, to pour out his prayers and tears, from a heart overflowed with love and joy in

the Holy Ghost. For some months he scarce knew whether he was in the body, continually walking with God. He has now an abiding peace; but cannot rest, till the love of God again fill his heart.

Thursday 13th, I continued preaching morning and evening, and had more and more reason to hope they would not all be unfruitful hearers.

Monday 17th, I began examining the society, which I finished the next day. It contained about two hundred and four-score members, many of whom appeared to be strong in faith.

Tuesday 18th, I was informed, that Mr Latrobe, the Moravian preacher, had read in his pulpit, part of the *short view of the difference between the Moravians and us*, with the addition of many bitter words. Herein he did us unawares a signal favour, giving an authentic proof, that we have nothing to do with them.

Sunday, March 13, 1748,—My brother preached.

Monday 14th,—I began preaching at five in the morning, a new thing here.

Friday 25th,—I preached in Marlborough-street at five, to the largest congregation I have yet seen in the morning. At two I began in Ship-street, where were many of the rich and genteel. I was exceeding weak in body, having been examining classes all the day. But I felt it not after I had spoke two sentences. I was strengthened both in body and soul.

Wednesday 30th,—I rode to Philipstown, the shire town of the King's-County. I was obliged to go into the street, which was soon filled with those who flocked from every side; to whom I declared "Jesus Christ, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption."

Thursday 31st,—One would have dissuaded me from preaching at five, being sure none would rise so soon. But I kept my hour, and had a large and serious congregation. After preaching I spoke severally to those of the society, of whom forty were troopers.

Saturday, April 2d,—At Moat I preached to an handful of serious people.

Sunday 3d,—I preached at Athlone; many coming from all the country round, and (for the present) receiving the word with joy. I preached again at six in the same place, and to nearly the same (only a little larger) congregation: the greater part whereof (notwithstanding the prohibition of their priests) I afterwards found were Papists.

Monday 4th,—I preached at five; great part of the congregation was in tears. Indeed almost all the town appeared to be moved, full of good-will and desires of salvation. But the waters spread too wide to be deep. I found not one under any strong conviction, much less had any one attained the knowledge of salvation. In the evening I preached at Tyrrel's-pass, and found great enlargement of heart.

Tuesday 5th,—Our room was filled at five. After preaching, I examined the classes. When I asked one in particular, "How he had lived in time past?" he spread abroad his hands, and said with many tears, "Here I stand, a grey-headed monster of all manner of wickedness." Much in the same manner spoke one who came from Connaught, but with great affliction. We determined to wrestle with God in her behalf, which we did for above an hour; and He heard our prayer; so that her soul was filled with joy unspeakable. Mr Jonathan Hardy, greatly sorrowing before, was also now enabled to rejoice in

God : and four other persons were cut to the heart, and cried aloud to him that is mighty to save.

Wednesday 6th,—I baptised seven persons educated among the Quakers. At Tullamore in the evening, well nigh all the town, rich and poor, were gathered together. I used great plainness of speech in applying those words, "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." The next day I preached at five to a large and serious congregation. Between one and two, I preached at Clare, and then rode to Athlone, where I preached at six, on "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and after that to enter into his glory?" As yet none of this people even seems to oppose the truth.

Monday 11th,—At Athlone, in the evening, there appeared more emotion in the congregation than ever I had seen before. But it was in a manner I never saw ; not in one here and there, but in all.

Wednesday 13th,—I preached in the evening at Tyrrel's-pass. The congregation here also was larger than ever ; and the word of God seemed to take deeper root here than in any other part of the country.

Saturday 16th,—At Dublin I found great reason to praise God for the work wrought amongst the people in my absence. But still there is no such work as I look for. I see nothing yet but drops before a shower.

Wednesday 20th,—I spent an agreeable hour with Mr Miller, the Lutheran minister. From him I learned, that the earnest religion which I found in so many parts of Germany, is but of late date, having taken its rise from one man,—Augustus Herman Franck !¹ So can God, if it pleaseth him, enable one man to revive his work throughout a whole nation.

Sunday 24th,—I preached at Skinner's-alley at five, and on Oxmantown-green at eight. I was weak in body, but was greatly revived by the seriousness and earnestness of the congregation.

Saturday 30th,—At Athlone, some Papists, and two or three Protestant families, were cordially joined together, to oppose the work of God ; but they durst not yet do it openly, the stream running so strong against them.

Sunday, May 1st,—Great part of the town was present at five, and, I found, began to feel what was spoken. Yet still the impression is not made as in other places, on one here and there only ; but the main body of the hearers seem to go on together. About two I preached on the Connaught side of the bridge to an attentive multitude both of Protestants and Papists ; whose priest perceiving he profited nothing, at five came himself. I preached on "Is there no balm in Gilead?" and could not help applying to the Papists in particular. I am satisfied many of them were almost persuaded to give themselves up to the great Physician of souls.

Tuesday 3d,—In the evening we rode to Balliboy. There being no house that could contain the congregation, I preached here also in the street. I was afraid, in a new place, there would be but few in the morning ; but there was a considerable number ; and such a blessing as I had scarce found since I landed in Ireland.

Thursday 5th,—At Mountmelik. I had not seen

such a congregation before, since I set out from Dublin. And the greater part did not stand like stocks and stones, but seemed to understand what I spake of worshipping God in spirit and in truth.

Friday 6th,—More people came at five than I had seen at that hour in any part of Ireland. And I found my heart so moved towards them, that in spite of weakness and pain, I enforced, for more than an hour, those solemn words, "The kingdom of God is at hand ; repent ye and believe the gospel."

Wednesday 11th,—The congregation, both in the evening and the next morning was larger than before. After preaching, a grey-headed man came to me, bitterly lamenting that he had lived many years without knowing that he had need of a Physician. Immediately came another, who had been a harmless man as any in the town ; he would have spoken, but could not. I then spoke to him ; but not two minutes after, he sunk to the ground. So I perceived I had not spent my little strength here as one that beatech the air.

Dublin, May 20th and 21st, 1749,—I examined the classes, and was much comforted among them. I left about four hundred in the society : and after all the stumbling-blocks laid in the way, I found four hundred and forty-nine.

Wednesday, May 3d,—I preached at Tullamore.

Thursday 4th,—At Clara about noon, and in the evening at Athlone. I never saw so large a congregation here on a week-day before ; among whom were many of the soldiers (the remains of the regiment wherein John Nelson was) and seven or eight of the officers. They all behaved well, and listened with deep attention.

Sunday 7th,—At five I had great numbers of the poor Papists (as well as Protestants) mangle all the labour of the priests. I called loud, "Ho ! every one that thirsteth come ye to the waters ; and he that hath no money !" strange news to them ! one of whom had declared frankly, but a few days before, "I would fain be with you, but I dare not ; for now I have all my sins forgiven for four shillings a year ; and this could not be in your church." We had a triumphant hour when the society met. Several captives were set at liberty : one of these was Mr Joseph Ch——. He had been an eminent man many years for cursing, swearing, drinking, and all kinds of fashionable wickedness. On Monday last he had rode fifteen miles to Tyrrel's-pass, and came thither before five in the morning. He was immediately convinced and followed me in from the preaching. I was then examining a class. Their words cut him to the heart. He came after me to Athlone (when he had settled some temporal business) having his eyes continually filled with tears, and being scarce able to eat, drink, or sleep. But God now wiped away the tears from his eyes ; and he returned to his house, to declare what things God had wrought.

Monday 8th,—I rode to Aghrim, where the face of things was quite changed since the time I was there before. Here was now a serious congregation from all the country round. I preached about seven, and afterwards explained the nature and use of a society. The first who was desired to join therein, was Mr S, his wife and daughter.

Tuesday 9th,—I rode to Ahaskra, six miles south, at the desire of Mr G. the rector. As the Papists durst not come into the church, I preached before Mr G's door. I should not have imagined this was the

¹ [After Dr Spener, &c. Several other instruments of this work are mentioned. But it seems Providence has countenanced Mr Franck's labours remarkably above all the rest.]

first time of their hearing this preaching, so fixed and earnest was their attention.

In the morning, Wednesday 10th,—I think the congregation was larger than in the evening; among whom was the rector of a neighbouring parish, who seemed then to be much athirst after righteousness.

Limerick, May 14th,—In the evening I preached to a numerous congregation on "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." We afterwards met the society. Six or seven prisoners of hope were set at liberty this day.

Tuesday 16, I went to dine on the Island (so they call a peninsula without the walls.) We had hardly dined, when one and another of the neighbours came in, till we had a company of sixteen or eighteen. We joined together in prayer and praising God, and many, I believe, went home rejoicing. How does the frequency and greatness of the works of God make us less (instead of more) sensible of them? A few years ago, if we heard of one notorious sinner truly converted to God, it was matter of solemn joy to all that loved or feared him. And now that multitudes, of every kind and degree, are daily turned from the power of darkness to God, we pass it over as a common thing! O God, give us thankful hearts!

Wednesday 17th, I met the class of soldiers, eight of whom were Scots Highlanders. Most of these were brought up well; but evil communications had corrupted good manners. They all said, from the time they entered into the army, they had grown worse and worse. But God had now given them another call, and they knew the day of their visitation.

Sunday 28th, I preached at Mardyke in the evening, on "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." I never saw, even at Bristol, a congregation which was at once so numerous and so serious.

Monday 29th, I set out for Cork; we stopped a while at Kildorrery in the afternoon, and took the opportunity of speaking closely to every one that understood English, and of giving them a few books. What a nation is this! every man, woman, and child (except a few of the great vulgar) not only patiently, but gladly suffer the word of exhortation. Between six and seven we reached Rathcormack.

Tuesday 30th. I preached at eleven, and the hearts of the people seemed to be as melting wax. But will not many of them harden their hearts again? In the afternoon I waited on Col. B. and found him a serious and understanding man, and his long and painful illness seems to have been attended with good and happy fruit. Our congregation in the evening was larger than ever. And never since I came into this kingdom, was my soul so refreshed, as it was both in praying for them, and in calling them to accept the redemption that is in Jesus.

Friday June 2d,—At Bandon I was sent for by a clergyman who had come twelve miles on purpose to talk with me. We had no dispute, but simply endeavoured to strengthen each other's hands in God.

Saturday 3d.—At the request of many in the town, in the close of my evening-sermon, I answered for myself. And have reason to believe, it was much blest to many of the congregation.

Sunday 4th,—Being extremely hoarse, I could not speak without difficulty. However I made shift to preach at nine, at two, and at five, the congregation continually increasing.

Wednesday 7th,—I set out early with Mr Lloyd, and breakfasted at Mr T's at Castle-hyde. They both rode with me to Kildorrery; about one I preached to a very unconcerned congregation, at Borough: in the evening to another sort of a congregation at Limerick, on "Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous." Four comfortable days I spent with this lively people, the like to whom I had not found in all the kingdom.

Saturday 17th,—At Athlone in the evening, I preached in our new-built house. Towards the close of the sermon, I asked, which of you will give yourself, soul and body, to God! One cried with a cry that almost shook the house, "I will, I will." And as soon as able to stand, came forth in the midst, to witness it before all the congregation. These words pierced like lightning. Presently another witnessed the same resolution. And not long after, one who had been sorrowing as without hope, received comfort and continued praising God. Perceiving this was an acceptable time, I laid aside my design of meeting the society, and continued in prayer with the whole congregation, all our hearts being as the heart of one man.

Monday 19th,—I preached at Abaskra at six, both in the evening and in the morning. On Tuesday evening at Athlone, I then met the society, where one and another and another cried aloud for mercy. We called upon God till several of them found mercy, and praised him with a good courage. I think more found peace with God in these four days, than in sixteen months before.

Thursday 22d,—I preached at noon at a village, three miles from Tyrrel's-pass; in the evening at Tullamore, and on Friday morning and evening.

Saturday 24th, I rode to Mountmelick and dined with Joseph Fry, late a Quaker. Abundance of people were at the preaching in the evening, and all seemed to give earnest attention.

Sunday 25th,—I preached at eight to a still increasing congregation, and God's word was as a two-edged sword. I rode thence to Portarlinton; a town inhabited chiefly by French. A clergyman there received me gladly. Some time before a gentleman of Mountmelick had desired him to preach against the Methodists. He said, he could not, till he knew what they were; in order to which, he came soon after and heard Mr Larwood. And from that time, instead of preaching against them, he spoke for them, wherever he came.

Monday 26th,—We had a blessed opportunity in the evening, while I was explaining the covenant God hath made with us; [and again] at the meeting of the society. So that my voice could not be heard for the voice of those who cried for mercy, or praised the God of their salvation.

Thursday 29th,—I rode to Portarlinton again, and preached to a larger congregation than before. They all seemed to hear, not only with strong desire, but with understanding also. I afterwards explained to them the nature of a society, and desired any who were willing so to unite together, to speak to me severally. Above threescore did so, the same day.

Saturday July 1st,—I preached at Mountmelick.

Sunday 2d,—I preached at eight in Portarlinton, and again at two. I scarce knew how to leave off; all the people seemed to be so deeply affected. The society now contained above one hundred members full of zeal and good desires. And in one week, the

whole is changed. Open wickedness is not seen. The fear of God is on every side; and rich and poor ask, "What must I do to be saved?" And how long (I thought with myself) will this continue? In most, only till the fowls of the air come, and devour the seed. Many of the rest, when persecution or reproach begins, will immediately be offended. And in the small remainder, some will fall off, either through other desires, or the cares of the world, or the deceitfulness of riches.

Monday 3d, I preached at Edinderry; and on Tuesday, morning and evening. Almost every person who was present at the meeting of the society, appeared to be broken in pieces. A cry went up on every side; till Joseph Fry, once as eminent a sinner as even Joseph Fry of Mountmelick, and since as eminent an instance of the grace of God, broke out into prayer. It was not long before praise and prayer were mixed together. And shortly after, prayer was swallowed in the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

Wednesday 5th.—I returned to Dublin.

Sunday 9th.—I preached on the green both morning and afternoon; and the congregation was considerably larger than any I had seen in Dublin before.

CHAPTER IX. IN HOLLAND, 1749, 1750.

From a Letter from a Minister in Holland to a Minister in Scotland, dated October 2d, 1750.

R. D. B. I bless the Lord, I can give you the certain account of the plentiful out-pouring of the Holy Spirit in several congregations in the Velurve, one of the quarters of the dutchy of Guelderland, by whose blessed powerful influences that amiable kingdom, which consists in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, is notably advanced. Of this great event, I had some confused notice before I went to—, but thought it my duty to be silent about a matter of such vast importance, till I obtained full and certain information, knowing well of what pernicious consequence groundless precipitant reports are, in most cases, and especially of that nature. This information I have got since my return; and now desire to acknowledge and rejoice in this great work of God. This blessed work began in a town called Nieuwkerk, about ten English miles above Amersfoort, and about as many from Harderwick, near the head of the Ziuderzee; and from that town the blessed wind is blown over to five different congregations in the villages of Putten, Barneveldt, Lunteren, Nunspeet, and Zoest; in all of which, but especially in Putten, the awakening has been very great, and multitudes, according to the best judgment, brought under the blessed bond of the everlasting covenant. There are two reformed ministers in the church of Nieuwkerk; the oldest is J. J. Roldanus; the other, who was called there 1748, is called Gerardus Kuypers; the Lord has honoured them both to be instrumental in carrying on that blessed work. Mr Kuypers gives this account of the work:—It had been in this place a dead barren backsliding time for many years past; conviction and conversion work very rare; the place was full of infidelity, carnality, profanity, and fearlessness of God, to that degree, that it was by other

places reproached, as being an habitation of people, who, by long prosperity, were waxed fat, and kicked against the Lord. The small remnant of the godly who were in the place were daily persecuted with bitter scoffings and mockings. In this awful situation of the place, one thing is very remarkable, the generality of that dead, graceless, fearless people were much set upon fervent earnest preaching, and liked to have their ministers speak to them like men who were seriously and in good earnest concerned about their eternal welfare. This temper the Lord seems to have made use of as an handle to bring Mr Kuypers there, who seems to have a good deal of that kind of talent. The first means which the Lord was pleased to bless, for awakening that dead secure people to something of seriousness and concern about eternal things, was a public weekly catechising, set up with this good design, that by this plain simple familiar way of instruction, ignorant people might be brought to some distinct knowledge of the Lord. This exercise was attended with notable success; many were stirred up to search the scriptures. Another thing which the Lord remarkably countenanced, was the setting apart of some time for a kind of fellowship-meetings or Christian conferences, alternately in the houses of the few among them who seemed to have any fear of God, and particularly on the evenings of the Lord's-day. After public worship was over, then Mr Kuypers himself was present, and enquired particularly at those who were present, what they remembered of the truths delivered in public, whether they felt any, and what impressions were made upon their hearts by the Lord's word. These meetings were immediately much talked of; hundreds frequented them after their daily labour was over (for that was the time pitched upon as most convenient) several were brought under some concern about their souls, and began to see their miserable lost state, and were made to continue earnest in prayer. All this was carried on with little noise, silently, as usually in the ordinary work of the conversion of particular persons. The number of those who were in soul-trouble increased, and the Lord made the arrows of conviction sharp in the hearts of many. Some were brought under convictions that silently issued in their conversion to God. In this way was ushered in that uncommon dispensation of the Spirit, which they looked not for; for, at last, the preaching of the gospel began to be attended with such awful power, that severals were made to cry out aloud with many tears, and a bitter, painful sense of their fearful distress and misery. The first instance of this kind was under a sermon of Mr Roldanus; an aged woman, in the most lamentable manner, and with all the signs of terror and compunction, cried aloud for pity and mercy from the Lord. The novelty of this event occasioned a great commotion in the congregation; and many were much affected with distress and trouble, but a little calmed by the minister's telling the woman, gravely and very solemnly, that the word of salvation was yet proclaimed to her, that now, even now was the accepted time, the day of salvation; it was not past; and very earnestly called upon all to seek the Lord while he was to be found. After this, all continued quiet for some days, till the 19th of November, 1749, while Mr Kuypers preached upon Psalm lxxii. 16. The Spirit of the Lord began to work in an astonishing manner; all that had passed before seemed

to have been a preparation for greater and more glorious things; for, as plainly appeared afterwards, very many were under that word awakened, convinced, and engaged, with the poor prodigal, to give up the husks and dross of this world for the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ. Especially, upon Monday the 17th, while Mr Kuypers catechised in the church, upon the subject of the former day's sermon, the shaking of that Lebanon, as he expresses it, by the blowings of the Holy Spirit, became astonishing. The trouble of conscience and emotion of affection was general. There was a great lamentation; rivers of tears gushed out, and several fell trembling and astonished to the earth, unable to stand, by reason of the agony and agitation of their spirits, arising from the sudden, strong impression made upon them of the dreadful state and crying necessity of their souls; and of these, several cried out to those about them, "View in me, as in a fearful glass, and see how bitter a thing sin will be at last, and how fearful the wrath of the great Holy God!" The troubled and broken in heart were brought to Mr Kuypers's house, who, upon conversing with them, soon discovered that the Holy Spirit, by the word, had begun a work of conviction in them. Mr Kuypers finding things thus with them, began to conceive some hope; yet he stood astonished conflicting with doubts and fears to see so many persons so strangely affected. His doubts and fears had this good effect; they made him very careful and circumspect in examining all these appearances and comparing them with the Lord's word. The next day there was an almost universal astonishment and dejection among the inhabitants of the town: Mr Kuypers went early in the morning to the houses of such of the awakened and distressed as were best known to him; and the work being great, he got some private Christians to go to others; they were busy the whole day, going to innumerable houses. The following Thursday he preached upon Acts xvi. 16, 30, 31; where many were brought to a more distinct view of their true state and condition. From that day the work increased beyond description; there is no painting of it to the life; it was a perfect commentary on the 2d of the Acts. Mockers ridiculed, but multitudes were pricked at heart, and cried, What shall we do?

Next Lord's-day the Lord graciously accompanied the sermon of both ministers with such demonstration of the Spirit and power, that many were awakened. The exercises of the most were carried on with a considerable measure of quietness and sedateness, who, as far as we were allowed to judge, are savingly converted. But a greater number were exercised with great bodily distress. Upon the closest examination, it was found uniformly true, that this soul distress and trouble did not flow merely from the fear of wrath and punishment, which alone can produce no better than Esau's tears; but it flowed chiefly and principally from a sense of dishonour and provocation given to an infinitely good, gracious God. Many in their distress cried out vehemently thus:—Woe is me, what a monster am I, to win against so gracious and merciful a God, to have injured and provoked so holy, so good a God. In this way there would have been more than fifty persons in a day, at the houses of the ministers, struck with a deep sense of the exceeding sinfulness of their sins, and dreadfulness of God's wrath, that they fell upon their knees, and after,

flat upon the earth, groaning and sighing out their bitter lamentations. As the awakened and distressed were many in number, several hundreds, so they are of all characters and ages; some boys and girls from seven to twelve years old; young men and women in the flower of their youth; and old persons of seventy and eighty years, who had spent all their days in ignorance of God, deep forgetfulness of him, and rebellion against him, have been, at the eleventh hour, snatched as brands out of the burning, and are melted into tears at the thoughts of the admirable patience of a Redeemer, to bear so many horrid provocations from them, and wait so long knocking at their hearts for entrance. Many of the more knowing and learned in the speculative knowledge of scripture truths, have been deeply and thoroughly convinced of their great blindness and ignorance. The awakening went on so powerfully all the months of June and July, that several hundred strangers, who came from other places, were made to feel its influence, and pricked to the heart. I can assure you that this blessed work still goes forward in that, and has spread through several other congregations, and eminently in the village of Putten, and that all the subjects of this blessed work continue stedfast in the faith and ways of the Lord. By the account I have given, and the farther account I have to give, if the state of my health permit, you will clearly perceive, that this work of grace, wrought on the hearts of so many hundreds, by the word and Spirit of the Lord, is, in substance, the very same work, which was some years ago, carried on so remarkably in your happy corner of the Lord's vineyard, and agrees exactly in all the great leading strokes and lineaments of it, with the work of grace, which has more or less been carried on in all ages of the church of Christ, from the beginning, though, perhaps, with some variety of circumstances, which must reasonably be expected whenever the Lord builds up Zion in a more observable and glorious manner, which he would have to be taken notice of by the world. May he, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, grant us fresh, more plentiful effusions, till our wilderness, in all the parts of it, become a fruitful field.

From a Letter from the same, to the same, dated January 15, 1751.

R. D. B. The great work of grace, of which I gave you some general account, not only goes forward at Nieuwkerk, and the villages mentioned in my last, but, blessed be the God of all grace, it spreads itself through many other places, unworthy that the God of glory should cast a look of mercy upon them, much more pour out his spirit upon them, and make them savingly to know his words. The word of the Lord has free course, and is glorified, in the conviction and conversion of great numbers, at a village called Aalten, in Guelderland; at a village called Rheid, in the dutchy of Juliers, and several other places through the country; and in the city of Groeningen, (one of the seats of learning and philosophy) there has been a considerable awakening several months past, hundreds under sharp convictions, which, it is hoped, will have a gracious saving issue. The Lord's hand is very visible, and his work glorious, in the great number of persons of all ages and conditions that have been awakened and savingly wrought upon, and particularly little children,

whom he has sweetly allured to come to his Christ, and out of whose mouth he is perfecting praise. One instance of this nature I must mention, so remarkable, that formerly it would have been looked upon as worthy to be recorded and published through the whole land. It is of a child eleven years of age, who came to Mr Kuypers, and said, "I have now, likewise, glad tidings to tell God's people, that I am also born in Zion, and that the Lord Jesus has drawn me into the city of refuge. The Lord has brought me into distress under your sermon upon Ps. ii. 12. "Whose fan is in his hand:" he clearly showed me that I was chaff, good for nothing, but to be burnt. Since which, I could do nothing but seek Jesus in hearing, reading, and praying. Many have mocked and reviled me, calling me a hypocrite, and saying I had a devil: but oh, I thought I could gladly bear this, and much more, if I might but get an interest in Christ, and hold on in his ways; and oh, blessed be his name, last Lord's-day, under your sermon from 1 Thess. v. 19, "Quench not the Spirit;" he discovered to me my great danger, and absolute need of Jesus Christ, and yesterday he set home that discovery so clearly, that my heart was constrained to cry out, oh, I can no longer live without sweet Jesus, and precious fellowship with him. I could neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till I had got that pearl of great price; I had been much afraid that I was not sorrowful enough for sin, nor so broken-hearted as others, and that the Lord Jesus would never receive and save such a wretch as I am. But oh, the Lord has given me to believe that Jesus Christ is willing to receive me, just as I am, and save me to the uttermost; but, alas! I have been hitherto unwilling, though now my whole heart's desire is to come willingly to him. The Lord was discovered to me, not to the eyes of my body, but of my mind, and yet, as clearly as if I had seen him with those eyes. I saw him as crucified in his sufferings, extinguishing the fire of God's wrath, and now exalted in his kingdom, surrounded with ten millions of his saints and angels, and crowned with all glory and majesty. Oh, this made Jesus unspeakably dear and lovely to me, and he said to my soul, I am thy salvation; sin and Satan have no more power over thee! Hereupon I gave all my sins over to him, and saw him bearing them away, as my blessed Surety. I renounced the covenant with sin and Satan; I gave the Lord Jesus my heart, and trusted in him without doubting; I received him as my Prophet, Priest, and King, and he is become my everlasting bridegroom! Then these scriptures came powerfully upon my heart, "I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith, and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, &c. And it shall be said of Zion, that this man and that man was born there, and the Highest himself shall establish her. And they shall go from strength to strength, until they shall appear before God in Zion:" upon which my heart was so filled with love and joy, that I could do nothing but praise and give thanks. Now God is my Father; he drew me, else I never could have come to his dear Son! Now is Jesus my elder brother, my lovely husband, my king of glory; he will guide me, and save me. Now God is my portion. I have an interest in the glorious persons: I have no parents, and am poor on earth, but oh, I have a wonderfully rich and gracious Father in heaven. I was then so taken up in rejoicing that I seemed to be in

heaven, and wished for ever to be in the same frame. Oh, how am I dignified; I am now in the city of refuge; I have nothing to fear; I will now willingly bear all scorn and reproach with God's people, and despise the vanity and wickedness of the world. I was forced to cry out; Oh, I would not change now, though a man should give me all the riches of his house for a moment of this love, I would altogether disdain it! Oh I am glad in the Lord; my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour! What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits to me? Oh, I can render nothing, but only live to him. Now, the devil has no interest in me, the Lord Jesus has overcome him. The Lord may let me fall, but oh, he will not let me fall away. Oh, I hope he will keep me from burying the talent of grace, which he has given me, and enable me to improve it for edification. I have yet relations, who must be converted, or perish; they have shown me much kindness; oh I will pray for them. Oh what a choice privilege is it, that Christ has so early drawn me to himself; I am not eleven years old; oh, I have now continual need of strengthening and reviving grace; oh, I will seek it from Christ's fulness, under the means; I often thought, who knows whether I may not be converted under this sermon: I will hold on till the Lord Jesus take me, and lead me, a poor blind creature, in the ways which I know not. Oh, I must, I will now tell all God's people, what the Lord has done for my soul."

This is an account of that child.—[And as to the work in general,] the number of witnesses is so great, their character for understanding, probity, and serious godliness so unexceptionable, and the facts they attest, such in their nature, that they could not mistake through ignorance, being what God's word plainly requires to pass upon every soul that would be saved, what they have experienced and been comforted with themselves, and what the awakened or comforted declare uniformly they have experienced; that no man can reasonably refuse his assent.

CHAPTER X.

OF ENDEAVOURS TO CONVERT JEWS AND MAHOMMEDANS.

From CALLEMBERG'S SHORT ACCOUNT.

[The last sentence of this short account informs us, that it reaches no farther than to the end of the year 1730. In page 5th, the author tells the occasion of the good attempts which he narrates. One whom he calls an ancient pious Protestant divine, who died in the 80th year of his age, did, a few years before his death, give Mr Callenberg a little manuscript which he had composed, being a solid and affectionate treatise, adapted to the genius and written in the usual language of the German Jews. Mr Callenberg in 1728, not only published this tract itself, but a short account of it in the German tongue. This, he says, gave occasion to some of his correspondents to encourage him by their advice and assistance to print more such useful pieces. And that those encouragements given by so many persons of good extraction, and learned pious ministers, made deep impression on his mind. He divides the undertaking in favour of the Jews into different branches relating to these three things. 1. The

printing press. 2. The provision for proselytes and catechumens. 3. The travels of two students for the benefit of that nation.

1. As to the first, viz. The printing press, he shews the design of it is that the Jews not only in Europe, but in other parts of the world, may be furnished with proper books, and for the most part gratis, in languages they understand. Among the books fit to be printed and disposed of, he mentions such as shew the divinity of the New Testament as being founded on the Old, with proper confutations of Jewish prejudices.

2. As to the second branch of the plan, viz. provision for proselytes, he tells that he heard professor Franck say, that the greatest obstruction to the conversion of the Jews was the destitute condition of the proselytes; that several of the travelling proselytes have come to him (Mr Callenberg) with great complaints of the straits to which they were reduced by turning Christians; that the conduct of too many of them hardened the Jews against the Christian religion and Christians against the Jewish nation: that care was taken to inquire into the motives of their turning Christians, and the occupation they would chuse for their livelihood; also that they get present supply and are helped to a way of maintaining themselves in time coming. He tells of some number residing at Halle who met every Lord's-day evening at his house, with some other Christians, to hear from God's word exhortations suitable to their condition. Travelling proselytes are entertained there some days, as circumstances may permit. It adds to this benefit that while thus entertained, they are instructed for an hour every day by an able student, and heartily admonished to a sincere conversion and an orderly way of living. If I receive any information of their ill behaviour from other places, (says Mr Callenberg) I tell him of it in love, &c. And then he adds,

Our correspondence as well as the travels of the two students, of whom more below, has given occasion to extend this care for the proselytes to other places. Whenever we hear of any new instances of sincere and pious proselytes, we mention them to others in order to raise an emulation in them to follow their example. But when some of them are detected and troubled in mind about their being cut off from their nation, which brands them with the name of meschummedim or meschomodim, i. e. corrupted and destroyed, we endeavour to settle a nearer acquaintance and stricter union between them and other true proselytes. Should this union amongst themselves be more and more cultivated and exerted in a pious and a strict practice of the love of God and their neighbour, it would be no small means to bring many of their yet unbelieving brethren to Christ.

From Chap. 4th.—Of the Journeys and Travels two Students have undertaken for the Benefit of the Jewish Nation.

The occasion of these journeys and travels was this. A certain student in divinity, having finished his studies in two different universities, and being reduced to very strait circumstances, which proved the means of his real conversion, he began his travels in the month of July 1728, which was soon after the project for the conversion of the Jews was set on foot here. In these travels he had frequent

opportunities to enter into a familiar conference with several Jews, in which he exhorted them to acknowledge our Saviour as the true Messiah. But when he happened to meet with my account of the Jews in a certain place, and with several other little tracts, and found the Jews to relish them, he resolved immediately to lend me his helping hand in this undertaking. Thus he arrived here in the month of Oct. 1730, after he had travelled on foot seventy German leagues. And here he became acquainted with one well grounded in his studies, a student in divinity, who offered himself to accompany him in his travels for a certain time. These their endeavours being found very useful to forward this undertaking, made me resolve as long as the circumstances would permit, to keep constantly two such travelling students, and in case one should go off, to supply his place with another.

These travellers oblige themselves but for a time to serve this undertaking. Their chief care in their travels is to acquaint themselves with the Jews in a decent manner; to discourse with them about divine truths; to disperse the little treatises, printed here, amongst them; to forward the above mentioned care of the proselytes; and to keep a constant journal of all that is worthy of any notice.

They have an opportunity to converse with the Jews in their walks, in the public houses, where they lodge, or of visiting the Jews in their own houses. They frequent their synagogues, where they always have their bibles before them. What necessities they want in their travels, they buy of the Jews; and go to them, when they have any occasion to change their money. They speak with them in their own Jewish-German dialect. They acquaint them with what Jewish-German books they carry about them. This soon paves the way without any great preamble to a familiar and edifying conference with them. And though they always account them in a civil, modest and humble manner, yet they never flatter them, but exert their zeal, when they find it necessary.

The method of conferring with the Jews is not always the same, but it generally tends to this, that they hear their objections against Christianity, which they answer. Then they ask them, by what means they hope to be saved: and when they hear their insufficient answers, they endeavour to convince them of their gross mistakes. Then they lay before them a short abstract of the Christian order and method, by which all must be saved; and make use of St Paul's doctrine by comparing Adam and Christ, and explaining to them the design of the sacrifices in the Old Testament. They discover to them the reason of their exile, which has lasted these seventeen hundred years. They shew them the passages of scripture, by which they may learn, what God requires of them in their still subsisting dispersion, viz. that they ought to seek after God and their King David; and by true repentance and faith acknowledge him whom their fathers have pierced and lament their long obstinacy of having despised and rejected him for so many ages. They make them sensible of the sincere and hearty love of all true Christians, who not only in their private devotions, but also in their public congregations, constantly and earnestly pray to God for their conversion and deliverance from their woful condition. They assure them of a considerable number of such Christians, whose charitable contributions furnish

them with books in their own Jewish-German language and dialect, which explain to them the way to everlasting peace and salvation, and are distributed gratis to all who desire to read them. Nay, some poor people spare some few pence out of their bare necessity, and little children out of their Christmas boxes contribute something. This great love they ought not to despise, nor neglect such a gracious visitation.

From Chap. 5th.—Of the Assistants in this Undertaking.

By what has been said before, one may easily judge, that many hands are required to carry on this work. I reckon those amongst the number of assistants, who freely promised to assist us with their prayers, and I am in hopes they will be as good as their word.

Some lend their assistance by communicating their useful observations and advices how matters may be the better carried on; all which I minute down, in order to make use of them in their proper time and place. Others instruct me with their writings relating to the subject; and these are likewise carefully laid up in the Jewish library set up for that purpose.

Some endeavour to distribute divers of the printed tracts among the Jews where they live: others upon their travels. Nay, some persons of quality send for a number of those little tracts, and distribute them, either themselves, or by their servants. What particular assistance the two travelling students give, has been mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

Some students have been found of late years, who were and are still desirous to be instructed in the Jewish modern tongue, in order to qualify themselves to lend their assistance upon occasion. This preparation lecture I continue still every Wednesday from six till seven at night.

All the benefactors, that have hitherto contributed any thing to the furtherance of this undertaking, have done it out of their free choice and liberality, without any seeking of mine. Such good and pious benefactors hath the Lord God raised up not only in Germany, but also in Russia, Denmark, England, and Italy. Among this number are even some persons of quality, several divines, and other Christian people, who for the most part have no great affluence nor superfluity themselves.

Among the assistants I cannot but particularly mention those who have wholly dedicated themselves to promote this undertaking. There is first an able person, who constantly writes something or other that is to be published, and who attends the correction of the press. Secondly, A compositor and a printer, &c. Thirdly, The two travelling students. And Lastly, The amanuensis, who is a student and instructs the compositor in the Hebrew an hour every day.

From Chap. 6th.—The Books printed hitherto upon this Occasion.

[The books he mentions are such as these: 1. One entitled, *The Light in the Evening*, shewing men's need of such a Saviour as Christ is. 2. *A Letter to the whole Jewish Nation in Europe*, which removes insensibly (the author seems to mean, in the manner least irritating) their false notions of

the way of escaping the guilt of sin. 3. *A friendly Exhortation to the Jews to read the New Testament*, which contains so gracious promises to them. This piece contains an earnest dissuasive from all evil treatment of the Jews. 4. Several pieces of the New Testament. 5. *Calver's Catechism for the Benefit of the Jews*. 6. *The due Preparation for the Administration of Baptism*, conferred upon a Jew; together with a confutation of the Jewish prejudice of being God's darlings because they are Abraham's children. 7. *The Augsburg Confession*; to (the dispersing of) which, among other things, the great stir amongst the Jews caused by the emigration of so many thousands of Saltzburghers, has given occasion. 8. *The Confutation of the Jewish Objections against the Christian Religion*, which Hugo Grotius has added to his work *de Veritate Religionis Christianae*. Concerning the tracts published for the benefit of the Jews, he says, in general, that the number of copies amounts to 21,500.]

From Chap. 7th.—Of the good effects of this Undertaking particularly in regard to the press.

Concerning the printing press, I observed in general, that the treatises published have, for the most part, been so well received, that of 21,000 copies but very few are left. Neither can I omit mentioning, that of all the Jews but a small number has been found, who were exasperated by, and set against the reading of them.

The particular success these little tracts have met with, consists in this, that the Jews are not only willing but greedy to receive them, nay, in great crowds they have struggled to get at them; they not only desired to have them for themselves, but for their relations too. Grown people and children have sought for them, and parents have begged them for their children.

Some Jews buy them, and allow their children to do the same. They have sent for them, to see whether they were worth reading; and paid for them afterwards. Some Jews have purchased a number of those little tracts, and sold them among their own brethren.

They read those books, or promise to read them on their Sabbath; and give them to their wives and children to read. A servant was forbid by his master to read the *Light in the Evening*, yet he hid himself, and read it privately. Another zealous Jew, who showed a great dislike against the aforesaid treatise at first, was four weeks after found reading the same on the Sabbath; and had nothing to say for himself, when he was reproved for his bitter invectives he had made against it. Some are excited to read the Old Testament with more care than they did before. They do not throw them away when they have read them, but take great care in keeping of them.

Many are surprised, when they read these tracts, and do not know what to make of them; others, when they are asked, what they think of them, say nothing, but express themselves in a sigh. They acknowledge the author of them to be a learned and wise man. A Jewish woman, who was much dissuaded from reading the first Epistle of St John, as containing several things represented to her as wicked and wrong, was very much astonished, when she found the contrary by reading the same. There are not a few who commend these little books as useful and instructive. A certain Jew, to whom a

minister had given *The Letter of obtaining the Remission of Sins*, said, that he valued that present more than gold and silver. Another, who had bought *The Light in the Evening* very cheap, would not repent of his bargain, though he had given ten times the money for it. And another, who had bought the same at a higher price, said, he should not have scrupled it, if they had asked never so much for it. Another valued his copy worth a Louis-d'or. Some, who had read the above-said treatise, declared their opinion about it to be this, that it contained nothing but what was proved from holy writ; acknowledging, at the same time, the 53d chapter of Isaiah, and other passages of Scripture, to treat of the Messiah.

Such as had got some of these little pieces, have recommended them to others, and brought customers to such as sold them; nay, they have given money to poor Jews to purchase them. They have even offered their service for the distribution of them.

They have lamented, that the Christians had not translated the New Testament into the Jewish dialect long ago; and expressed a great desire to see more of the like books printed. Their request is, to have the books of the New Testament as exactly and plainly translated for their use as is possible. Some have solicited very much to have all the books sent them that should be printed for the future, which they promised to pay for.

The distribution of these little tracts has given the Christians an opportunity of a familiar and edifying converse with the Jews; by which many doubts and scruples of theirs have been discovered and answered.

From Chap. 8th.—Of some good effects of this undertaking, in relation to the Catechumens and Proselytes, and to the two travelling Students.

Concerning the care taken about the proselytes and catechumens; the number of the first, who enjoy the benefit thereof, is about one hundred, that are come to my knowledge; but it extends more and more according to the accounts I receive from the two travelling students, and other correspondents. By this we got a further insight into the state and condition of these people, which may be communicated another time. And although I have heard of such accounts of some of them, as have troubled me very much; yet I have had accounts of others, which have given me an occasion of joy and comfort. Some good motions and dispositions have been found amongst those that are instructed here. Several, especially those that have turned Papists, have privately discovered their remaining doubts and scruples, and gratefully acknowledged the resolution of the same. Some vagabond proselytes have readily accepted the offered method of leading a regular life. Many Christians have been excited to take a greater care to provide for those miserable people than they ever did before. Such as were cast down by seeing themselves abandoned, have had their spirits very much raised, when they perceived a more than ordinary care was taken of them.

As to the progress of the two travelling students among the Jews; the Jews not only admit them into their houses, but visit the students in the inns,

where they lodge, to discourse with them about spiritual subjects. The Jews generally pay a great attention to what the students say; look out the passages quoted in the Old Testament, and set them down; desire them to repeat and explain that over again which they cannot comprehend; and are not at all discouraged though their Rabbi rejects the doctrine. They ask abundance of questions; and are desirous to have their doubts and prejudices resolved and answered.

One happened to have so great a desire to hear more, that he staid with them all night, and went to prayers with them. The Jews charge them to visit them again in their return.

A certain Jew, who heard a prophetic passage applied to our Redeemer, would not believe for a while, that the same was to be found in the Old Testament, but only supposed the students to have read it in the New Testament. Sometimes they have been brought to that conviction, that at last they were forced to break out into these expressions, saying, "What then is to be done now, if we would escape the Lord's judgment?"

After their discourse with them, they eagerly accept their little books; nay, they ask for them, and pay for them. Those who have got any, invite the students to come and explain what they do not understand.

From Chap. 9th.—Of the Obstructions and Difficulties this Undertaking meets with.

And here I will mention but in few words the first great hindrance, viz., that one seldom meets with a Jew, who is but tolerably acquainted with the letter of the Old Testament, a few passages excepted, which seem [as they misinterpret them] to run counter to Christianity, and have been inculcated into them by their teachers. The most learned of them are often the least experienced in holy writ: the generality of them study nothing but the Talmud. And those who read the Scripture now and then, do it without any hearty prayer to God to enlighten and purify their hearts, and make them understand what they read.

The hindrances given among Christians to this good work are these; 1st, Their dissension; 2d, The forcing of conscience among the Papists, together with their idolatrous ceremonies; 3d, The wicked lives of Papists and Protestants; which they, though falsely, impute to the doctrine of the Gospel; 4th, The destitute condition of the proselytes, and their scandalous behaviour; 5th, The small hope Christians have of their real conversion.

From Chap. 10th.—Some means by which this undertaking may be more and more promoted.

No labour should be spared, to remove the overgrown ignorance of the Jews in regard of the Old Testament, which ignorance is the great bulwark of the blind zealot Rabbies, and obstructs exceedingly the knowledge of the gospel. We shall make it our chief business to rescue them by verbal and printed, charitable and serious demonstrations, from the prejudices of their human traditions, and lead them to a sound knowledge of the word of God, contained in Moses and the prophets, as their and our fundamental rule.

From Chap. 11th.—Of endeavours to promote the Salvation of Mahomedans.

Whereas in the late Persian war the Russians had brought many Mahomedan prisoners into a certain place, where a Protestant clergyman had an opportunity to speak with them, he sent me a letter, wherein he desired me, to publish some instructions, for the benefit of those Mahomedans, that either were in Russia, or did live still in the conquered places of Persia, in the Arabic language they understood; for there was now a fair opportunity of making a good use of the Arabic I had learned, to the glory of God. When I published the first account relating to the Jews, I subjoined the request of this pious clergyman, intimating withal, that, if there were any pious souls, who had the propagation of the knowledge of Christ at heart, who would supply the necessary expences, I should gladly undertake the work required of me. Within a few months after, so many liberal contributions were sent in, that I was enabled to procure a good stock of Arabic types, which afterwards proved of great use for promoting at the same time the conversion of the Jews.

Neither has the Lord been wanting to raise several favourers in many places, to lend a helping hand for the transportation of these pieces. In the provinces belonging to Russia, I have found some in Revel, Riga, Narva, Petersburg, and Moscow. Several eminent officers of the army have taken the pains of dispersing the good seed, wherever they

command. A like assistant hath been found at Ratisbon; also in Transylvania. A certain bishop in Sweden has condescended to take the same care. In Rotterdam and the Hague two persons have lent a helping hand in the distribution of these little books. This affair has likewise been recommended to the Dutch governors in Asia and Africa. A Protestant minister in London has shown the like willingness; and in Italy is one who lends his assistance. The Danish missionaries have taken the pains to send these writings into the great Mogul's country. And upon the intercession of the said missionaries, one of the chief members of the Dutch senate in Batavia has in a like Christian manner undertaken the trouble of dispersing the same over the adjacent Indian islands.

And I am lately informed, that the foresaid treaties are arrived in New-Maltha or Roderwick not far from Reval, and in other parts of Russia; also in Lithuania, Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, Georgia in Persia, amongst the Tartars and Calmucks; in the East Indies; in Africa, at Algiers, Tripoli, Grand Cairo, Alexandria. And though we have no account yet of their reception in those distant countries, except that, among the Tartars upon the borders of Persia, the people have willingly accepted of them; yet these far extended distributions of them give us reason to hope, that the seed which God has already begun thus to sow in so many distant lands, will, in due time, through his blessing, yield increase.

HERE end Dr GILLIES' two volumes of HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, which were printed in 1754. In the year 1761, he published a volume, of about 250 pages, called "An Appendix to the Historical Collections;" and, in 1796, Dr Erskine published some MSS. of Dr Gillies, called "A Supplement," &c. Both of these are exceedingly confused and ill-digested, containing many things which can hardly be said to belong to a history of *Revivals*,—such as extracts from letters and sermons, &c., in which there is nothing about revivals at all. To have printed all these in the order in which they appear in the original volumes would neither have done justice to the subject nor to the author. Something like a better arrangement and condensation has been attempted, though the miscellaneous nature of the work made this rather difficult. We give first the Appendix, and then the Supplement.

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

FARTHER ACCOUNTS OF THE WORK IN HOLLAND, from 1750 to 1744.

From a Letter to a Deacon of the Scots Church at Rotterdam, dated at Pernis, May, 1754.

SOMETIME before the awakening came to this place, I think three or four weeks, there appeared (after a long neglect and carelessness in the congregation in coming to the ordinances and means of grace), all on a sudden, a great and uncommon desire after the ordinances, both public in the house of God, and private in particular meetings; there appeared, likewise, amongst serious persons, after that they had for sometime lived very barren and lifeless, a strange and marvellous zeal, both in public and private. The meetings in public, and the duties in secret were doubled; among the Lord's people every one was affected and filled with longing desires after a spirit of conversion. All their prayers, in public and in private, were that the Lord might come and visit his vineyard, and savingly strive with it by his Spirit. They gave the Lord no rest, but assaulted heaven continually. And it pleased the Lord not to stop his ear, while he very often discovered himself in a marvellous manner both in public and private. I once was in a company where the Lord discovered himself so remarkably under the prayers of a pious elder, that I was forced to say, "What meaneth this?" Several of the Lord's people when, in their retirements, got some special promises powerfully pressed upon their minds; sometimes these words, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold," &c. Sometimes, "It is time for thee, Lord, to work;" and sometimes, "Behold I will proceed to a marvellous work." And they were so much strengthened in the faith of this, that they told me more than once that the Lord would surely come, and do wonders of grace. The Sabbath-day on which the awakening work began, there was more than one who testified that they believed that God would work; and what happened? Just on that very same Lord's day there was not only a more than ordinary concourse of people to the house of God, so that I stood amazed in beholding the multitude; but there was likewise a marvellous sedateness and attention; and in the afternoon there was a great melting, and many tears. At that time I believed

surely that the Lord would work; but how or in what manner I knew not; and it was all alike to me, provided there might be souls gained to Christ. The evening of the same Sabbath (which was the 30th of April, 1752), when one of the speakers of the exercise or meeting treated upon Prov. x. 29. "The way of the Lord is strength to the upright." The commotion began for the first time in the school, where the exercise was held for more than twenty-five persons, old and young. Their bodily distress was very great, yet they all had presence of mind, and did nothing but weep, and cry, and pray, because of their lost state, their sin, and want of Christ: This lasted from eight to twelve o'clock at night in the minister's house, and in the school; and thus it continued to work with them the whole week, enquiring in great distress, What to do to be saved? The next Sabbath-day the work began among several in the church, and it seized on some in a terrible manner who a little before had ridiculed and mocked it, so that they cried aloud with strong cries for their sin and approaching destruction, which they greatly feared.

On the Lord's day, the 4th of June, 1752, when Mr B. van Velsen, minister at Ooetzaandam, preached, the commotion came among the men in the church, and the number greatly increased among them from time to time, generally younger persons. There were among these, some who, in a wonderful manner, regretted and lamented their former life. I once at that time heard a young man speak with wonderful power and energy, how wickedly and atheistically he had lived, and that against all the earnest and faithful warnings of the minister, and what a fearful thing it would be to die in that condition; exciting, therefore every one to turn to the Lord in such a manner, that all around him melted into tears, and confessed their folly.

Not long after this the commotion came among the children from eight to eleven years old, who were strongly troubled, and their distress continued for some time. These lamented their unconverted state in such a manner as was amazing to be heard. They could not comprehend how they had continued so long in the devil's service, continually crying, Have we thus been serving the devil these eight, nine, ten, or eleven years? This they could not forget; it was as if they had sinned more than fifty

years. There were some of these children who prayed so fervently, and so knew how to plead with God upon his own word and promise, that Christians of a long standing professed they had never heard the like. It was as if they were skilful of lamentation, and knew how to take the Lord upon his word.

Before these persons were seized with these bodily distresses, there had been with some of them some days, and with others two or three weeks, and longer, a previous and gradual discovery and conviction of sin and guilt, in so far that, when they, besides this, got a view of a holy and just God, and of approaching death and eternity, they immediately fell into a fearful distress of mind, and thus into these bodily distresses and disorders; so that the bodily troubles were caused by the discovery and conviction of their sin and unconverted state.

These discoveries were various.

Some were in general arrested by their sinful life and conversation, and were made to believe, that, if they died in this state, they had nothing to expect but hell and everlasting damnation; others again were arrested by some particular sins of their life; some by their cursing, drinking, gaming, &c.; some by their irreligiosity both in public and private; some by their enmity against God, his ways and people; some by their disobedience and unbelief of the word and admonition; some by their dissimulation and hypocritical dealings; some by their opposing, sinning away, and losing their former checks and convictions of conscience, and the work they formerly had on their spirits; some by their self-righteousness, and seeking to be justified by their doings and duties; and some by their deceitful grounds of a false peace, and a false Christ, upon which they had settled themselves.

And those who came to a real rest and ease of mind, were not only arrested by their actual and daily sins, but especially by their original sin, and were convinced that for that alone they were worthy of death and damnation. They were strongly and amazingly convinced of God's severe justice and holiness, that he could not leave one sin unpunished; and had a lively sight and sense of the insufficiency of the best of their own doings and duties. They had a clear discovery of their want and absolute necessity of Christ; and likewise of their own deep blindness, enmity, unwillingness, and impotency; of their ignorance of Christ and the way of free grace, wherein they were to be saved; which made them many times very anxious and afraid, and deeply convinced of their helpless and hopeless condition in themselves. Yet they could not leave off to cry and pray for a more clear discovery of Christ's suitableness, fulness, and willingness; and when this was granted, then again they cried for the heart-subduing and heart-renewing power of the Spirit, and grace to make them willing, and actually to appropriate Christ to themselves by faith. They had no rest night nor day, till they, on Scripture grounds and experience, were enabled, with enlargement of heart, to believe that they were freemen to God through Christ, and that they were made one spirit with Christ.

In short, this work was astonishing in the following things: The wonderful discovery of the greatness and depth of their misery and sin, both original and actual—their sensible insight in God's righteousness and holiness—their amazement at God's long-suffering and patience—their self-condemning

and justifying of God, even though he should cast them off—their being wholly destitute in themselves, and forced to acknowledge their best works and duties to be worthy of death—their sense of their desperate and helpless condition made them cry out, I'll never get to heaven; ah! that I had never been born!—their crying for a discovery of a Christ—their being ashamed of and astonished at their unwillingness and inability to come to Christ, when he was discovered to them—their crying for subduing and heart-engaging grace to be enabled and made willing to come to Christ, just as they were—their cordial, sincere, personal, and unreserved presenting, resigning, and giving up themselves wholly to God—their continual and incessant crying and desire to know whether God in Christ had taken away their guilt, and if they were the Lord's freemen.

Their swooning away with wonder (when it pleased the Lord to discover himself unto them, as a reconciled God in Christ in his promise) at their own unworthiness, and God's sovereignty; saying, hath the Lord been pleased to look upon me, such a miserable, blind, and sinful creature!—their engaging themselves to God in Christ, and giving up themselves to his service for time and eternity, totally renouncing the service of sin—their wonderful beholding with adoration the everlasting love of God; that blessed device of saving sinners through Christ out of mere grace; that well-ordered covenant; and the suitableness, glory, and desirableness of the Mediator of that covenant—their sensible experiencing of God's love, grace, and favour, and tender mercy; from which proceeded love to God, joy and gladness in their own minds; and that oftentimes in such a high degree, that they for a time swooned away; and when they came to themselves again, they quite sunk away in the sense of their nothingness, sinfulness, and unworthiness, that the Lord had been pleased to look down upon such as they were—their panting, desiring, and longing to depart and to be with Christ; frequently saying, "When shall I come and appear before God?" But yet, with submission, being contented, if God had any work for them to do, to continue here. I say all this was so astonishing and wonderful, that no tongue or pen is able fully to describe it. In this enlargement, with peace and gladness, they continued; some for some days, others for some weeks; but this frame in process of time changed. There came darkness, deadness, strength of corruption, temptation, and unbelief, which brought them into great anguish, fear, and doubting, whether the work had been real; this put them on self-examination and enquiry before the Lord, and at serious Christians. They were afraid of self-deceit, continually crying, Search me, try me; and would rather have the discovery of their state if it were false, than deceive themselves.

Yea, it sometimes went so high, through their conflicts with the enemy, and the workings of unbelief, that they wished to be taken out of the world; that God's name and cause might not be reviled nor dishonoured for their sake. But the Lord was so good and merciful, that he in his own time delivered them, and made the light to come forth out of darkness; at which time they stood ashamed at their unbelief and distrust of God's promises. At present they are in a way in which their remaining blindness, sinfulness, enmity, aversion, and inability, are more and more discovered to them; and they have daily more employment for Christ.

From another Letter, dated Pernis, March 22d, 1754.

I have received your letter. As far as I can recollect the matter, I shall endeavour to communicate it, though I shall not be able to perform this task as it deserves. Alletta Machielse Ketting died on the 24th of December, 1753, being 29 years of age. She was one of those who had these bodily disorders in the year 1752, and who at the beginning of the commotion was effectually convinced and awakened, and after long and earnest and continual seeking of the Lord, was with much clearness and enlargement brought to Christ through faith, which she evidenced afterwards in an exemplary and edifying life and conversation. She was in secret a wonderful wrestler with the Lord, and faithful in appearing for the name and cause of Jesus in public. She could not bear that her fellow-creatures, either within her own house or without it, should live in an unconcerned and unconverted state; and, therefore, it was impossible for her, when she met with the one or the other, to refrain from speaking faithfully to them about their eternal condition: she was really and in truth one of the upright and faithful in the land. I oftentimes, with admiration, have heard her relate how the Lord discovered himself to her in several promises, what she had experienced, and how she believingly expected that her latter end would be peace and salvation. Particularly I once heard her say, about a fortnight before her death, on the 9th of December, 1753, being Sabbath evening, when she came out of the fellowship meeting, that the Lord had been wonderfully good to her in the meeting, and that she at that moment believingly and sensibly found that she had a covenant-relation to all the three glorious persons in the Godhead, and especially to Christ as her soul's bridegroom, yea, husband and head, and what a grief it was to her (which she told me with tears in her eyes) that she carried such a sinful heart about with her; yea, how she longed to serve God perfectly, and testified that she at that time found herself so loose from all sub-lunary things, and panting after the immediate communion and fellowship with God, that she said, I cannot continue any longer here upon earth. "And when shall I come and appear before God?" On that evening she felt herself not to be well as to bodily health, and the day after, being Monday, she went sick to bed, which proved to be her death-bed. She was seized with a violent pain through all the joints of her body, and could not, for the first three days of her sickness, because of her pain, be much in exercise on spiritual things; she came then to be somewhat in the dark, but continued to cry for the discovery of a Christ. Once, when I came to see her in sickness, she told me that she was going to die; I answered, What's the hazard? since thus she would be delivered from all sin, and serve God perfectly; and asked, Whether that were not her desire? She said, yes; but, O! she could not now have such near views; Christ seemed to be so far off. I asked her upon what grounds she would venture her soul, and if she knew any other way? She said no, none but Christ, upon no other foundation than the Lord Jesus Christ; though it had never been right with her, she desired to be yet discovered to herself, and to be saved in a way of free grace; for she saw that she could not but subscribe death to her best works and duties. She cried, Ah! I wait and long for the coming of Jesus Christ. Thus it

continued with her three days, under heavy pain, but yet with much submission and self-denial; and on the fourth day of her sickness she received light and enlargement; she testified that Jesus had again anew discovered himself to her, and that she saw and believed that she had an interest in Christ; she cried out, I have found him whom my soul loveth. She saw and enjoyed at that time so much of Christ, that she swooned away, and when she recovered and came to herself, she repeated with a loud voice, "Mount up, mount up, my soul, on high." O! come, lovely and desirable Lord Jesus! O! when shall I come and appear before God? &c. Come quickly, Lord Jesus, yea, come quickly!" When any unconverted person came to see her, her first inquiry was, Have ye got Christ? You must have Christ for your portion, and no less. She spared nobody, and spoke with wonderful boldness; having renounced the friendship of the world for Christ. A little before her death she called a pious person of her acquaintance to come to her; and endeavoured with great earnestness to speak something to that person, but could not be understood. However, it was concluded from her cheerful and heavenly countenance, that inwardly she had much enlargement and refreshment. Afterwards, having continued in a posture of prayer for near half an hour, she died.

From a Letter to the Publisher, from Mr KUTPER, minister at Nieuwerk, dated July 10th, 1754.

After I had for sometime been acquainted that the accounts of the plentiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit, with which the day-spring from on high had visited my congregation, and other places in this my native country, had been published in Great Britain, I received your acceptable and brotherly letter, which informed me that you, from time to time had communicated these joyful tidings to the stirring up and consolation of those of your country in these dark and spiritless days. I perceive likewise, by your letter, that you design to publish an historical account of the success of the Gospel in several parts of the world, which you would close with a relation of what has happened in these days amongst us here, in order to which you desire me to send you a brief account of it. My brother, I have too much esteem for the workings of God's spirit, to be backward in this matter; my obligations to remember the great works of God, constrain me to begin the task without delay.

This place, Nieuwerk, on the Veluwe, was formerly known as an habitation of the people, who, through long prosperity, having waxed fat, kicked against the Lord, and, as unbridled horses, ran forward in their course. Former mercies had made them grow wanton. The chastening rod of contagion and mortality among the cattle, and other judgments, had not brought them to any amendment of life. Satan had, in a more than ordinary sense, established his throne here. The godly who were yet found in this place vexed their souls with the filthy abominations of the wicked, while they were the hidden support of and intercessors for this decayed Zion, having their eyes towards the Lord for help, and accounting it their great privilege to walk after him in a land that was not sown. Thus, there was amongst this evil, something that was good. The natural temper of

† The beginning of one of Mr Lodenstein's Spiritual Songs. He died minister at Utrecht, in 1677.

the greatest part of the inhabitants was honest, frank, and free, which seems to be a property of those of Guelderland; yea, the generality of this people, how wicked soever they otherwise were, were yet fond of earnest preaching. They wanted to have their sins reprov'd, and were convinc'd in their judgments that, in order to their everlasting welfare, they must live another life. This conviction had for some time taken deep root; which I observe by the way was a preparation whereby the hearts of this people, which were as barren as the Velurvan hills they inhabit, were made to thirst after the dew of the Gospel.

In this situation of things I was unexpectedly called to this congregation, where I had no acquaintance, and was in the year 1749 received with all that love which a people can show to a minister, whom they believe to be sent them from God in a lawful way. Thus I found no difficulty to insinuate myself into their good opinion. This set an open door before me, through which my words got an entrance into their hearts.

The desires of the people, after the public administrations of God's word, both in preaching and catechising, soon increased; and I endeavoured, on scriptural grounds, to make them apprehend the whole chain of saving truths. Besides this, I made it my business to be more intimately acquainted with my flock, though this, because of their populousness, was not easy to be done. To this purpose, I went on the Lord's-days, after public worship was over, to the houses of those who sought to fear God, where many met together. My inward desires were, that it might please the Lord there to command the blessing, even life for evermore. At these meetings I enquired at them particularly what they remembered of the truths delivered that day in public, and what progress each of them was making in the way of life.

These meetings were immediately much talked of, and were one of the means which God was pleased remarkably to bless. Numbers desired to have access to them, which was readily granted. Most of them who were brought under concern about the salvation of their souls, came to these meetings; and in a few weeks there was no house found large enough to contain the vast concourse of people. And it pleased the Lord not to leave himself without witness, giving a tongue to speak, and ears to hear. The same zeal appeared also in the meetings which were held by private Christians, for mutual admonition and edification.

While thus the exercises of public and private worship were going on in an amicable manner, the Lord showed that he loved to dwell amongst a people that were of one accord, and in unity; for very many were brought to a deep concern and distress for their sin and lost condition, which not only drove them to secret prayer and supplication to the all-sufficient God, but excited them also to ask counsel and direction from those who were acquainted with the way of life. This took such deep rooting in their hearts, that, receiving light in the absolutely necessary points of salvation, and believing the Lord upon his own word, as a God of truth, they went with their burden of sin, weary and heavy laden, to the Lord Jesus Christ, to find rest to their souls, not being contented until that they, in a dependence on his mediatorial oblation, and the influences of the Holy Spirit, had closed covenant with God, to be for

ever faithful to him, without any condition or reservation.

Thus far the work was carried on with considerable quietness and sedateness, without any remarkable circumstances; but, by degrees, it went further: the number of concerned souls grew daily greater; their zeal was doubled, till at length some, through exquisite distress and agonies of soul, were brought to such a degree of trouble, that they openly sought ease for their anxious and oppressed minds. The first instance of this kind was under a sermon of my reverend colleague, F. F. Roldanus, when an aged woman cried aloud, and prayed to the Lord. This occasioned a great commotion in the congregation; but the audience was a little calmed by my colleague's pertinent speech to the woman, exhorting her to be quiet, and proposing to her the offers of grace.

After this, all continued quiet for some days, till the 16th of November, 1749, when the Lord began to work in a powerful manner; it was when I preached upon Psal. lxxii. 16. "There shall be an handful of corn in the earth, upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon," &c. At that time, as it plainly appeared afterwards, very many were awakened and made known to themselves, who, in process of time, were, through grace, further brought upon the true way of life, as far as we can judge. Especially the word of God was made powerful, when, upon Monday the 17th, I catechised upon the subject of the former day's sermon. Then it was that the most part of the hearers melted into tears, which as floods gushed out of their eyes; near the close of the exercise there was a general outcry and lamentation heard; and when the blessing was about to be given, several fell a trembling, and were so put to it through astonishment, that they fell down upon the earth, by reason of the agony of their spirits, arising from the strong and lively impressions made upon them of the crying necessities of their souls; and of these, some, at parting, called out to those about them, "View in me, as in a glass, and see how bitter a thing sin at last will be."

I took these troubled souls home to my own house, heard them speak, and by examining of and conversing with them, soon discovered that the Lord had given them a sight of their utterly lost state; they saw themselves to be the greatest and vilest sinners; they justified God, even though he should for ever cast them off; and were full of wonder and astonishment that he had so long and so patiently born with them. Finding things thus with them, I began to conceive some hope that there might be a hand of God in this work; but yet I stood amazed to see so many persons so strangely affected in that high degree and measure, that I sometimes had very exercising doubts and fears about the matter. This made me exceeding careful and circumspect in examining all these appearances, and in comparing them with the Lord's word; and determined me that very same evening to seek the face of the Lord with that people in prayer; and recommending them further to God, I sent them home to their houses.

The next day I was informed that there was an universal astonishment and dejection among the inhabitants of the place, and, indeed, in most of the houses there were some in deep distress. I went to see them, and to such places as I could not go myself, I sent some private Christians, whom I trusted with this

work, to give counsel and direction in those circumstances.

A few days after I preached upon Acts xvi. 30, 31, of the jailor, by which means many, who were already brought under concern, got a more near and distinct view of their true state and condition, and others were brought under convictions. From that day the work increased beyond description; there is no painting of it to the life; I can compare it to nothing but that distressed inquiry of the pricked at the heart upon the day of Pentecost. Acts ii. 37. The multitude was confounded, mockers ridiculed, and others being pricked at their hearts, cried, "What shall we do?" That day, and the next following, the houses were filled with prayers and supplications. I was sent for from all corners, and my own house was continually full of such as came anxiously enquiring for counsel and direction in their miserable state.

When in the evenings, or in the silent night, we were walking amongst the streets, everywhere was heard the voice of prayer of these mourning doves; or of psalms and praise, in the houses where formerly nothing was heard but profaneness, carnal mirth, and wicked noise.

But not to lengthen out this account needlessly, it is enough to tell you that the number of those who were desirous of salvation increased daily; among which were some of all kinds and ages. Some boys and girls; a great many youths; men and women in the flower of their age; and also persons far advanced in years.

And it pleased the Lord to make the ordinances and means of grace so powerful and efficacious, and to pour out so much of his spirit, as to make the work to increase more and more. The concern the people were in set them on to seek the Lord; their seeking of him made them poor in spirit, and their spiritual poverty made them capable of Gospel grace, and thus, for the manifestation of the great Lord Jesus Christ to them, so as he doth not manifest himself to the world: whereby they trusted themselves to him, and found peace in their souls.

Meanwhile this work was attended with a great mixture of moving affections, which, by sedate admonition and direction, were in some kept within proper bounds, but in others they were followed with strong bodily distresses, which I looked on as consequent of their heavy soul distress. Some had fits, faintings, and even strong convulsive motions; but yet the number of those who continued in a composed frame, was by far the greatest; for of ten in whom, to my judgment, the Lord had begun to work, there are nine who never had these moving affections; and these who went too far, I endeavoured gently to restrain, and as soon as the hearts of these people began to work in a more gospel way, they ceased of themselves.

This, however, gave occasion to many to attack this work, and to ridicule it as mere foolishness; but I meanwhile, have always endeavoured to maintain that these moving affections may very well accompany the work of God's spirit; and I leave it to the judgment of others, how far I have, by God's grace, gained my point in the confirmation of this matter.

These strange and extraordinary circumstances made a very great noise through our whole country. A great many strangers, out of mere curiosity, came to enquire about this work; some of whom con-

tented themselves with seeing and hearing, and others were also wrought upon, and brought under convictions. And I have all grounds, that possibly may be had in a thing of this nature, to believe that a great many of these curious strangers were joined to the Lord.

This work of the Lord did not continue only here in this congregation, but much about the same time God began to work, with circumstances of the same kind, in another congregation called Aalton, in the earldom of Zutphen, on the borders of Munsterland; and afterwards here, in the neighbourhood, in several places. Likewise in many places of Holland, and also in and about Groningen, where many awakenings and commotions have been; which, being only in some places merely in the affections, vanished away in smoke; but in other places they have left much good.

In our congregation the work continued prosperous and successful for above a year, but then decreased with respect to the external appearances of bodily disorders, which at length have wholly ceased, a single one now and then excepted. However, the substance of the thing continues, and the number of those, who by their stedfastness, have given proofs of the Lord's working in them, is pretty considerable; so that I have not the least doubt but it shall be to the Lord for a name, and for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

Through the excessive labour which I was obliged to undergo, my bodily strength was entirely weakened, so that, for more than two years, I could not do the half of that work which I formerly had done; but it hath pleased the Lord again so far to recover me, and almost to restore me to my former strength, that I for a year past have been able to do more, and am now in a condition to perform and attend my particular exercises and meetings, which I for some time had been forced to omit.

To this present time a great degree of desire and earnest zeal continues in this congregation in all religious exercises, which gives me hope that the Lord may yet favour us with a second harvest, which is the more necessary, that we now perceive no more powerful workings of God's spirit in awakening and converting new persons (however it pleaseth the Lord to comfort and refresh the souls of his people). And seeing we are not free of hurtful contentions, which hot-headed zealots have too far kindled, about the meetings of private Christians for Christian conference, by occasion of a decree enacted by public authority concerning them, with which some comply, and others do not.¹ O that the Lord may take these and all other hinderances out of the way by a new outpouring of his spirit and grace.

For this we recommend ourselves to the prayers of the Scots brethren, as we desire to remember them in our supplications.

G. KUYPERS.

ATTEMPTS TO EVANGELIZE THE NEGRO-SLAVES IN VIRGINIA AND CAROLINA, FROM 1747 TO 1756.

From the year 1747, when Mr Davies was settled

¹ Rotterdam, September 24, 1754. We hear that the above decree, enacted by the synod, and ratified by the states, contains several articles, upon which every person who desires to set up a fellowship meeting, in which he would discourse on the Scriptures in private, is to be examined by the consistory of the place where he lives, before he be allowed to set up such a meeting.

in Virginia, to 1751, he baptised about forty negroes, of whom he says, he had as satisfying evidences of the sincere piety of several of them, as ever he had from any person in his life. And in May 1754, when he was at Edinburgh about the affairs of New Jersey college, he told that when he left Virginia, in August 1753, there was a hopeful appearance of a greater spread of a religious concern amongst the negroes; and that a few weeks before he left home, he had baptised in one day fifteen negroes, after they had been catechised for some months, and given credible evidences of their sincerely embracing the gospel.

From a Letter from Mr DAVIES, dated March 1755.

DEAR SIR,—Divine Providence has safely conducted me through the numerous dangers of sea and land, and replaced me in my former sphere of usefulness and happiness. The confluence of so many mercies at one time, the tender guardianship of heaven over my dear family and friends, the review of my remarkable success in the important business of my mission, and promising situation of religion amongst my people, threw me into a ferment of grateful passions which are not yet subsided, though I have been at home about six weeks. I doubt not, as a friend, you will congratulate me, and, as a Christian, assist me, in returns of gratitude and praise to my Divine benefactor. As there is a propriety in transmitting to you an account of the distribution and reception of the noble charity of that generous society to which you belong, I must confine myself to that, and refer you to my other correspondents for other articles of intelligence. Though there are very few of the white people in this colony in abject poverty, yet there are many in such low circumstances, that they cannot spare money to purchase good books, and many more so stupidly ignorant and insensible of their want of instruction, as to esteem it an unnecessary charge, and so excuse themselves from it as a needless expense. On one or other of these accounts, there are few houses in Virginia well furnished in this important respect. Multitudes are without any assistance of this kind, and even Bibles are not always to be found among them. To some of these I have distributed *The Compassionate Address*, *Dr Doddridge's Rise and Progress*, *Mr Baxter's Call*, &c., with the best advice I could give them, and hope I shall be able to send you an agreeable account of the happy effects of the distribution. But the poor neglected negroes, who are so far from having money to purchase books, that they themselves are the property of others; who were originally African savages, and never heard of Jesus or his gospel, till they arrived at the land of their slavery in America; whom their masters generally neglect, and whose souls none care for, as though immortality were not a privilege common to them with their masters:—these poor unhappy Africans are objects of my compassion, and I think the most proper objects of the society's charity. The inhabitants of Virginia are computed to be about 300,000 men, the one-half of which number are supposed to be negroes. The number of those who attend my ministry at particular times is uncertain, but generally about 300 who give a stated attendance; and never have I been so struck with the appearance of an assembly, as when I have glanced my eye to that part of the meeting-house where they

usually sit, adorned, for so it has appeared to me, with so many black countenances eagerly attentive to every word they hear, and frequently bathed in tears. A considerable number of them (about one hundred) have been baptised, after a proper time for instruction, and having given credible evidences, not only of their acquaintance with the important doctrines of the Christian religion, but also a deep sense of them upon their minds, attested by a life of strict piety and holiness. As they are not sufficiently polished to dissemble with a good grace, they express the sentiments of their souls so much in the language of simple nature, and with such genuine indications of sincerity, that it is impossible to suspect their professions, especially when attended with a truly Christian life and exemplary conduct. My worthy friend, Mr Tod, minister of the next congregation, has near the same number under his instructions, who, he tells me, discover the same serious turn of mind. In short, Sir, there are multitudes of them in different places, who are willing and eagerly desirous to be instructed, and embrace every opportunity of acquainting themselves with the doctrines of the gospel, and though they have generally very little help to learn to read, yet, to my agreeable surprise, many of them, by the dint of application, in their leisure hours, have made such a progress, that they can intelligibly read a plain author, and especially their Bibles, and pity it is that any of them should be without them. Some of them have the misfortune to have irreligious masters, and hardly any of them so happy as to be furnished with these assistances for their improvement. Before I had the pleasure of being admitted a member of your society, they were wont frequently to come to me, with such moving accounts of their necessities in this respect, that I could not help supplying them with books to the utmost of my small abilities; and when I distributed those amongst them, which my friends, with you, sent over, I had reason to think that I never did an action in all my life which met with so much gratitude from the receivers. I have already distributed all the books that I brought over which were proper for them; yet still, on Saturday evenings, the only time they can spare, my house is crowded with numbers of them, whose very countenances still carry the air of importunate petitioners for the same favours with those who came before them. But, alas, my stock is exhausted, and I must send them away grieved and disappointed. Permit me, Sir, to be an advocate with you, and by your means with your generous friends, in their behalf. The books I principally want for them are, *Watt's Psalms and Hymns*, and *Bibles*. The two first they cannot be supplied with any other way than by a collection, as they are not among the books which your society give away. I am the rather importunate for a good number of these, as I cannot but observe that the negroes, above all the human species that I ever knew, have an ear for music, and a kind of extatic delight in psalmody; and there are no books they learn so soon, or take so much pleasure in, as those used in that heavenly part of Divine worship. Some gentlemen in London were pleased to make me a private present of these books for their use, and from the reception they met with, and their eagerness for more, I can easily foresee how acceptable and useful a larger number would be among them. Indeed, nothing would be a greater inducement to their industry to learn to read, than

the hope of such a present, which they would consider both as a help and a reward for their diligence. I hardly know of any modern institution which bears so favourable an aspect on the declining interests of religion, as your society. They deserve the pleasure of hearing the happy effects of their generosity at the distance of 4000 miles, in these ends of the earth; and it is no small happiness to me, that the strictest veracity allows me to transmit so agreeable an account. Thus may the inhabitants of Great Britain receive blessings in answer to prayers put up for them in America, where I am sure they have many affectionate intercessors—amongst whom be pleased to number your sincere and much obliged friend,

S. DAVIES.

The gentleman to whom Mr Davies wrote the above, sends a copy of it to his friend in the country, and tells him, September 19, 1755.

The letter herewith sent you is the first of this kind I ever received, and, as far as I know, the first attempt of this nature that has ever been made with any considerable success. My soul triumphs in the thought of an African church formed and raised in the deserts of America, nor can I wonder that my worthy friend esteems his congregation, adorned with those outcasts of the earth as they appear to others, now flying as a cloud, and flocking into Christ as doves to their windows. The thought of such an auditory in the attitude he represents them, diligently attentive to every word they hear, and often bathed in tears, gives me a pleasure I cannot easily describe. O how I love their black faces! The members of our society have generously given up the distributions which fell to their share in this important service.

But as Watt's Psalms and Hymns are not among the books we give away, this defect can only be supplied by a voluntary contribution, in which I have the pleasure to find few applications made in vain. Your name, my friend, stands with honour as a benefactor to the College, and I flatter myself it will have a place in the catalogue I shall transmit to him of those who encourage this important service. For my own part, I never envy the larger possessions of my friends about me, nor repine at my own straiter circumstances, but as they often cramp me in the pleasure which such opportunities of serving the interest of my ever adorable master in the propagation of his gospel would afford me. It is then only gold appears valuable in my eyes, when it subserves such purposes as these. If a scheme I have got in my head should succeed, I hope to have frequent opportunities of supplying, not only America, but Africa too with the sacred volumes of our holy religion. I please myself with the prospect of making some of these new converts the instruments of introducing Christianity into their own native country, by redeeming three or four of the best capacity, and warmest hearts, who dare face the dangers of such an attempt, and educating them in the new college at the Jerseys for missionaries. If such can be procured from 18 to 20 years of age, who retain their own native language, the want of which has hitherto prevented all attempts of penetrating into those to us unknown regions; I suppose three years' education would fit them for this purpose. I have sent over a scheme of the design to Mr Davies, and if he thinks it practicable, and approves it, will lay it before the

ministers for their encouragement. I had forgot to mention the admission of many of these negroes into Mr Davies's church, with entire satisfaction to all its members.

From a Letter to the Publisher from a Correspondent in Richmond County, Virginia, 5th Sept. 1755.

DEAR SIR,—You take notice in your letter of my poor and weak endeavours for the instruction of the negroes; I did indeed, as far as I could, lay open their condition to some acquaintances; and from a very good friend in Glasgow, have received books which enable me to do them more service. The condition of this part of the country is very melancholy. There is little inquiry made after good books among our great folks; plays, races, cockfighting, &c. are more acceptable. No wonder that their slaves are neglected. But when I saw them working on Sabbath, or fishing, or heard they were doing so, or that they could not speak a word without swearing, and were ignorant almost as brutes of the evil consequences of such things, these considerations and the advice of a Christian friend, induced me to do something; but they are very thoughtless, and some whom I have earnestly dealt with seem still unconcerned; yet there are two or three or more that seem to break off their wickedness and serve God. In my advices to them, I do not go out of the sphere of a private Christian. I hear them repeat the Mother's Catechism, and read in the New Testament. There are ten who come to me at present on the Sabbath once a fortnight, when we have no sermon. Some persons have objected against their learning, as if it made them worse, but that effect has not followed on any that have been with me, so far as I know; on the contrary, they come to serve from conscience, whereas before it was from dread. I was speaking to them not to learn when they should be working; no, they said, for that would be theft, to steal time from our masters. Some make very good progress. Some can read in the New Testament. Several, before I came, could read, but had no books, which I have helped them to, from those I got from Glasgow. And they read to the rest; but, alas! there is little seriousness amongst us here in this country. When I go amongst Mr Davies's people, religion seems to flourish; it is like the suburbs of heaven. The poor negroes seem very thankful to any that instruct them. Mr Tod informed me he preached a sermon to them, and they thanked him, and seem desirous of farther knowledge. It is very agreeable to see the gentlemen in those parts at their morning and evening prayers with their slaves, devoutly joining with them.

From a Letter to R. C., Esq., in London, from Mr DAVIES, 2d March 1756.

DEAR SIR,—Your last letter, with the large donation of books that attended it, gave me the most agreeable surprise that ever I met with in my whole life. When the books arrived, I gave public notice of it, after sermon, at the next opportunity, and desired such negroes as could read, and also such white people as would make a good use of them, and were so poor that they could not buy such books, to come to me at my house, and I should distribute them among them. On this occasion I also enlarged upon a new topic of conviction, both to the slaves them-

selves and their masters. Since persons at so great a distance, who had no connection with them, were so generously concerned to Christianize the poor negroes, and had been at so much pains and expense for that end, then how much more concerned, how much more zealous and industrious, should their masters be, to whom the care of their souls as well as of their bodies is committed, and who enjoy the advantages of their laborious service! and how much aggravated would be their guilt and ruin, if they persisted in obstinate infidelity and wickedness, after so much pains had been taken with them for their conversion? This I found afterwards proved a very popular topic of conviction, and made some impressions upon the minds of not a few. For some time after this, the poor slaves, whenever they could get an hour's leisure from their masters, would hurry away to my house, and receive the charity with all the genuine indications of passionate gratitude which unpolished nature could give, and which affectation and grimace would mimic in vain. The books were all very acceptable, but none more so than the *Psalms* and *Hymns*, which enable them to gratify their peculiar taste for psalmody. Sundry of them have lodged all night in my kitchen, and sometimes when I have waked about two or three o'clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber, and carried my mind away to heaven. In this seraphic exercise, some of them spend almost the whole night. I wish, sir, you and their other benefactors could hear any of these sacred concerts. I am persuaded it would surprise and please you more than an oratorio or a *St Cecilia's Day*. The good effects of this pious charity are already apparent. It convinces the heathen, that however vicious and careless about the religion they profess the generality of the white people are, yet there are some who really look upon it as a matter of the utmost importance and universal concern, and are actuated with a disinterested zeal to promote it. It has excited some of their masters to emulation, and they are ashamed that strangers on the other side of the Atlantic should be at pains to teach their domestics Christianity, and they should be quite negligent themselves. It furnishes the most proper helps for such of the negroes as can read and are piously disposed, and some of them are evidently improving in knowledge. It has excited others to learn to read; for, as I give books to none but such as can read and are piously disposed, they consider them as a reward for their industry; and I am told that in almost every house in my congregation, and in sundry other places, they spend every leisure hour in trying to learn, since they expect books as soon as they are capable to use them. Some of them, I doubt not, are excited to it by a sincere desire to know the will of God, and what they shall do to be saved; others, I am afraid, are actuated by the meaner principle of curiosity, ambition, and vanity. However, be the principle what it will, I cannot but rejoice in the effect, as it renders them more capable of instruction in the great concerns of religion. This charity may also be of great service in a political view, for now, when the French and Indians are invading our country, perpetrating the most horrid barbarities and depredations upon our frontiers, we have not been without alarming apprehensions of insurrections and massacre from the numerous slaves among ourselves, whom they might seduce to their interest by the delusive promises of liberty; and while they do not

feel the restraints of conscience and Christianity, our apprehensions are but too well grounded. I have done my utmost without hinting my design to them, to prevent so dismal a calamity; and for this purpose I have endeavoured to convince them, that there are many of the English, as well as myself, who are really solicitous for their welfare, which has given me no small popularity among them, and especially to bring them under the restraints of the pacific religion of Jesus, which has so friendly an influence upon society, and teaches a proper conduct for every station in life. Now I can distribute these books among them as tokens of disinterested benevolence, as helps to understand Christianity, and, in the meantime, to detect the impostures, superstitious, and cruelties of popery. For this latter purpose the Protestant's Resolution is extremely well calculated. To all this I may add, as I have the honour of distributing the books, it gives me a very handsome opportunity of speaking seriously and with particular application to many who might not otherwise come in my way. There are thousands of negroes in this colony who still continue in the grossest ignorance, and most stupid carelessness about religion, and as rank pagans as when they left the wilds of Africa. And there are not a few of this unhappy character, even in the bounds of my congregation, which, by the bye, is above sixty miles in circumference. But I think, sir, my ministry of late has been most successful among them. Two Sundays ago I had the pleasure of seeing forty of their black faces around the table of the Lord, who all made a credible profession of Christianity, and sundry of them with unusual evidence of sincerity. Last Sunday I baptized seven or eight adults, who had been catechumens for some time. Indeed, many of them seem determined to press into the kingdom of God, and, I am persuaded, will find an abundant entrance, when many of the children of the kingdom shall be shut out. One of the catechumens, baptized last Sunday, I conversed with the evening before. He addressed me to this purpose, in broken English, "I am a poor slave, brought into a strange country, where I never expect to enjoy my liberty. While I lived in my own country, I knew nothing of that Jesus which I have heard you speak so much about. I lived quite careless of what will become of me when I die. But I now see that such a life will never do, and I come to you, sir, that you may tell me some good things concerning Jesus Christ, and my duty to God; for I am resolved not to live any more as I have done." Such a simple address is very striking oratory to me, and would my time allow, I could give you many such specimens. There is one happy circumstance which I think very remarkable, and that is, that notwithstanding the odium Protestant dissenters lie under in this colony, where they were not known till very lately, and notwithstanding the usual disaffection which those bear to vital religion who have none themselves, yet the negroes in those parts are freely allowed to attend upon my ministry, and sometimes upon my private instructions, even by such masters as have no religion at all, or are bigots. Indeed, it is the object of my zeal, not to make them dissenters, but good Christians and good servants. But when I consider how often the most candid and generous endeavours are misconstrued by bigotry, much more by impiety, I cannot but wonder my attempts meet with so little opposition, and escape suspicion, and I cannot but look upon it as a very

promising presage. I have distributed sundry of the books among the poorer sort of white people, with this charge, that they would not keep them by them as a private property, (except the Bibles, for which they would have constant use in their families,) but circulate them about among such of their neighbours as would seriously peruse them, that they might be as extensively serviceable as possible. Some of them have since discovered to me what solemn impressions they received in reading them. I sent a few of each sort to my friend and brother, Mr Wright, minister in Cumberland, about ninety miles hence, where there is a great number of negroes, and not a few of them thoughtful and inquisitive about Christianity, and sundry of them hopeful converts. He has been faithful in the distributing, and informs me, they meet with a very agreeable and promising reception. He is very laborious in his endeavours to instruct the negroes, and has set up two or three schools among them, where they attend on Sundays, before and after sermon, for they have no other leisure time. It affords me no small pleasure that you have some more books in reserve for me. I know I have had vastly more than my proportion as a member of the Society, and I cannot have the face to solicit farther benefactions. Nay, it pains me to think, that by directing the channel towards this new world, some places nearer home may have been drained, or left unwatered. But, alas, dear sir, when I reflect upon the almost universal neglect of the many thousands of poor slaves in this wide extended country, that they generally continue heathens in a Christian country, that but few of their masters will furnish them with such means of instruction, and that they are absolutely incapable of furnishing themselves; when I reflect upon the burthen of guilt under which my country groans on this account; when the impressions of these things are fresh upon my mind, I am quite insatiable, and can never say it is enough. Alas, what are 400 or 500 books, among so many thousands. Indeed I believe there are more than a thousand negroes that attend upon my ministry, at the sundry places where I alternately officiate; and sundry of them who are well disposed I am obliged to send away without a book, for they were all distributed in a few days after their arrival, and I took care not to give one of each sort to every particular person, but ordered them to borrow and lend among themselves.

From a Letter to Mr FORBITT from Mr HUTTON at Indian Land, South Carolina, 19th April, 1754.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you in January last promising to disperse the books I was favoured with to the best advantage, and to give you an account of the disposal of them. There is a good old gentleman in Charlestown of our denomination, who for many years past has spent the morning and evening of every Lord's day in teaching the poor negroes to read, and instruct them in the principles of religion. A considerable number attend every Lord's day, and there is reason to hope that several have been savingly wrought upon. About eight or nine years ago he was put into prison for this good work, under pretence of being a nuisance to the neighbourhood by assembling the negroes at his house, to sing psalms, &c. But as there was no law by which this mischief could be well framed, much less supported, he was dismissed after a little while, and has

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since met with no disturbance. The second is a minister about fourteen miles distant from any settlement, a gracious, humble man, of a truly catholic spirit. The third is a young man of my own church, of great piety, and well qualified for the instruction of the negroes, having a peculiar talent of expressing himself in such a manner as to be easily understood by them. He was engaged last summer by the executors of two large estates, about thirty miles from my settlement, to instruct the negroes in the plantations under their care. Great numbers attend, and seem exceedingly desirous to know Jesus Christ and him crucified. And as it is in the centre of the province, I am in hopes the work will spread. Each of these three persons assure me in their letters that they have faithfully distributed the books I sent them, which were received by the negroes with great thankfulness, and that the work of the Lord is prospering in their hands.

SOME INSTANCES OF RELIGIOUS CONCERN AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF VIRGINIA, 1755, 1756.

From a Letter to Mr WHITEFIELD from Mr TOD, a minister in Virginia, Hanover, 23th June, 1755.

The impressions of the day you preached last here at my meeting-house, can, I believe, never wear out of my mind. Never did I feel any thing of the kind more distressing than to part with you, and that not merely for my own sake, but that of the multitudes, that stood longing to hear more of the news of salvation from you. I still have the lively image of the people of God drowned in tears, multitudes of hardy gentlemen, that perhaps never wept for their poor souls before, standing aghast, all with signs of eagerness to attend to what they heard, and their significant tears, expressive of the sorrow of their hearts, that they had so long neglected their souls. I returned home like one that had sustained some amazing loss, and that I might contribute more than ever to the salvation of perishing multitudes amongst us, I resolved I would labour to obtain and exert more of that sacred fire which the God of all grace had so abundantly bestowed on you for the good of mankind. To the praise of rich grace he it spoken, I have had the comfort of many solemn Sabbaths since I saw you, when, I am persuaded, the power of God has attended his word for sundry weeks together; and in my auditory, which was perhaps more crowded through your means than it had been before, I could scarce see a countenance often, whose tears did not indicate the concern of their souls about eternal things. And blessed be God, these appearances are not yet wholly fled from our assembly. I was, by order of the presbytery, to attend the installation of Mr Henry, on the 4th of this month, at Lunenburg, about a hundred miles south-west of this place, and we administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper the Sabbath following. We preached Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sabbath, and Monday, when there was comfortable evidence of the power of God with us every day. Believers were more quickened, and sinners were much alarmed. Many of them talked with Mr Henry and me, with great desire to know what they should do to be saved. One, I remember, came to me trembling and astonished, the nearest image I ever saw of the trembling jailor, crying out, "What shall I do to get an interest in

Christ?" In my return home, I made an excursion to preach to a number of people who had never before heard a new light (as they call us). I hope the word of God was attended with Divine power to many of their hearts.

From a Letter to the Publisher, from Mr WRIGHT, a minister in Virginia, 18th August, 1755.

The situation of our colony is most doleful, as the Gazette will inform you. We have not only the sword without, but famine within, and alas our people, till the defeat of our army, quite unalarmed and secure! But now there seems to be a general concern among all ranks. People generally begin to believe the Divine government, and that our judgments are inflicted for our sins; they now hear sermons with solemnity and attention; they acknowledge their wickedness and ignorance, and believe that the new light clergy and adherents are right. Thus you see, dear Sir, that amidst all our troubles, God is gracious, and brings real good out of our real evils: adored be his great name. When the conduct of people lately appeared so differently, it puts me in mind of Zechariah, 8th, ult. I had the sacrament of the Lord's supper administered the last Sunday of July, in my infant congregation, which proved a solemn season. There was a vast concourse of people, about 2000 I daresay. I was installed at the same time by Messrs Davies and Henry of Lunenburg. I have had about 180 communicants, above 80 of them never partook before I came here. There were general awakenings for sundry Sabbaths before the sacrament, and new instances of deep and rational convictions, which I found by examining the communicants. I have had an afflicting winter of it. The rivers were generally so high, that I had but very thin congregations. It was a double winter to your poor countryman. But the Lord heard me out of the deeps, and with the natural spring, made the day spring from on high to visit us. I have seen last Lord's day, above a hundred weeping and trembling under the word. Dear Sir, see how much I need the prayers of the children of God in Glasgow. I now preach any where, being so distant from the metropolis, and the time being so dangerous and shocking; and, I would fain hope, not without success. I again and again beseech you, and the people of God, to join together in prayers for me.

From a Letter to the Publisher from Mr DAVIES, Hanover, 14th July, 1756.

About a month ago, I took a journey to Mr Henry's congregation in Lunenburg, about 130 miles hence, to assist him in administering the sacrament, and in thirteen days I preached eleven or twelve sermons, with encouraging appearances of success. I think Mr Henry's and Mr Wright's labours continue to be blessed in those parts. At the sacrament, in that wilderness, there were about 2000 hearers, and about 200 communicants; and a general seriousness and attention appeared among them. A considerable number of thoughtless creatures are solicitously inquiring after religion. Last Sunday I had a sacrament, assisted by my good brother and next door neighbour, Mr Tod. It was a time of unusual anxiety to me. I hardly ever felt

so much of a pastoral heart, I mean an affectionate concern for my flock; and yet I had not a proportional liberty to vent it: however, I hope it was a refreshing time to some hungry souls. I had the pleasure of seeing the table of the Lord adorned with about forty-four black faces. Indeed, my principal encouragement of late has been among the poor negro slaves. A considerable number of them give good evidences of a sincere conversion to Christianity; and in the land of their slavery, they have been brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. But alas! notwithstanding these promising appearances, an incorrigible stupidity generally prevails through this guilty land; and there is no spot on our globe that more requires the pity and the prayers of God's people.

A DEMAND FOR THE GOSPEL IN SOME PARTS OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1755.

There has been, for some time, a very loud call for the gospel in North Carolina, where, till lately, they had hardly any appearance of public worship: sundry of my brethren of the Synod of New York have been appointed to take a tour in their turns through that province, for three or four months; and they bring agreeable accounts, that congregations are forming fast, and show the most eager zeal to be supplied with ministers. But alas! the labourers are too few with us, for this extensive and growing harvest.

FLOURISHING STATE OF NEW JERSEY COLLEGE, 1755.

I feel the warmest gratitude, dear Sir, to your congregation for exerting themselves so generously to promote the college of New Jersey. By the last accounts I heard of it, it is flourishing under the smiles of God and man.

FARTHER ACCOUNTS OF THE WORK IN ENGLAND FROM 1738 TO 1755, AND OF THE INSTRUMENTS GOD WAS PLEASED TO EMPLOY.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr WILLIAM GRIMSHAW, at Haworth, 19th July, 1754.

In the year 1738, our gracious Redeemer was pleased to revive his work in the West Riding, as we call it, of this county of York. Now were poor souls amongst us brought to know Jesus alone, for their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. The first instrument sent hither by our dear Immanuel, was one Mr Benjamin Ingham, a clergyman, and one of the Oxford Methodists. He was born at Osset, in this Riding. The clergy at first received him into their pulpits, the churches were soon crowded, and a great stirring up of the people to seek salvation by faith alone, in the merits of a crucified Saviour, quickly appeared. But Satan, perceiving his kingdom to be in danger, began to roar, and the clergy (as I have been informed) were forbid to receive Mr Bingham any more. Wakefield, Osset, Leeds, Halifax, and many other churches and chapels he preached in, until he was prohibited. And greatly were the people blessed. He then betook himself (as did Messrs Wesley, Whitefield, and others at the same time,) to our Saviour's manner, field preaching. As eminently

did our Lord soon testify that this was his good pleasure. Multitudes assembled every where, and it soon appeared that conscience rather than curiosity was the main motive thereto. Man's fall and degeneracy, his redemption through Christ Jesus alone, the nature and necessity of the new birth, justification by faith only, sanctification by the indwelling Spirit of our Redeemer, &c., these were (and still are) the main doctrines and subjects of all discourse. Many people not only heard, but were convinced, converted, and brought to a saving, experimental knowledge of these truths. The kingdom of God soon appeared to be a kingdom within by righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

In the year 1740 or 1741, one John Nelson of Bristol, in this Riding, a mason, converted among the Methodists in London, was raised up to preach the gospel, came down to preach it to his countrymen, and joined Mr Ingham in the work. The parson and the mason laboured together with great success for some time, and formed societies, whose exercise consisted in praying, singing, reading, conferring together about the work of God in their souls. These men are still living, and still labouring, I trust with great success; though not together.

In 1742, I am informed that they separated; and shortly after the Lord sent down, first, I think, the Rev. Charles Wesley, and then the Rev. John, his brother, to Bristol. John Nelson joined them. Towns, villages, and country received the word with gladness, and great was the ingathering of souls. Leeds, Bristol, Halifax, Oaset, Gomersell, Horton, and many other places have cause to praise God for those seasons.

In this year our dear Lord was pleased to visit my parish (Haworth). A few souls were affected under the word, brought to see their lost estate by nature, and to experience peace through faith in the blood of Jesus. My church began to be crowded, inasmuch that many were obliged to stand out of doors. Here, as in other places, it was amazing to hear and see what weeping, roaring, and agonies many people were seized with at the apprehension of their sinful state, and the wrath of God. After a season, I joined people (such as were truly seeking, or had found the Lord) in society for the exercises above said. These meetings here, as it is all over the kingdom, it may be your desire to understand, are held once a week, about two hours, and are called classes consisting of about ten or twelve members each. We have much of the Lord's presence among them; and greatly, in consequence must such meetings conduce to Christian edification. Not unto me, not unto me, but to the Lord Jesus's name solely be the praise.

Soon after John Nelson was admitted in connection with the Mr Wesleys, the Lord raised up a very useful labourer, one William Shent, in Leeds, whose labours he hath greatly, and still, I hope, greatly owns and blesses. By this man and other assistants, the work has wonderfully flourished ever since, not only in Leeds, but in various other towns and villages around it, Seacroft, Hunslet, Rodwell, Oulton, Ardsley, Ridsey, Bramley, Coverley, Yeaden, &c.

About the year 1744, God was pleased to visit Kighley (a market town three miles from Haworth,) Siliden, Sutton, Addingham, Meastone, Bingley, Baleden, and many other places. The Lord has done wonderful things in all these places. One

Thomas Colbeck has been one main instrument with some others, Jonathan Markew, Paul Greenwood, &c., in His gracious bands here.

In the year 1745, William Darney, a Scotchman, who had been stirred up to preach the gospel with much blessing, about Bradford, Manningham, and divers other places a few miles east of my parish, came and preached in it. The Lord was with him indeed,—I have cause to bless God for it.

In the year 1746, by this man the Lord pushed the work westward. Great numbers in the next parish (Heptonstall) were awakened and brought to the knowledge of Jesus. Lancashire now received the first revival. Pendle-forest, Colne parish, Todmorden, Rossendale, and soon after Haslingden, Rochdale and its parish, were visited by the Lord, and many brought to acknowledge His free redeeming and saving power.

This year the work began at Manchester. A few for some time met together, being awakened and brought to the faith under the ministry, I think, of one John Bennet: since that time it has flourished prodigiously there, and various parts around it.

In the year 1747, Bolton was visited. Here in the neighbourhood a great work began. It still goes on well. Since, Blackburne, Liverpool, and various other parts of Lancashire have been highly favoured. The gospel has wonderfully prevailed, and a great many hundreds there are, at this hour, of living and lively members of the Lord Jesus.

In 174—, some parts of Derbyshire were enlightened. One David Taylor, and since the said John Bennet, were the first instruments, I think, the Lord made use of in that country. A great stirring up of souls appeared in Glossopdale, Chinley, near Chapel-le-Firth, and in the Peak country.

About the year 1748, I think, the Lord was pleased to visit Cheshire, and there was a great awakening near Macclesfield, and in Stockport, Asthury, Alpraham, Chester, &c. Great things hath the Lord done in these places.

About the year 1753, the work broke out in Nether (or Nidd)dale, and has extended itself thence to various places on all sides. Peatley, Hartwith, Knarborough, Knarborough Forest, Fuiston, &c. The chief instrument here has been, and still is, one Thomas Lee.

For some years past, the Lord, I trust, has been pleased to open the ears of a great many people by the ministry of the Rev. Mr Ingham before-mentioned, Mr William Batt, and some others in Pendle Forest, Pay Thorn, Sladeburne Clapham parish, Dent, Winchley Dale, Russendale, Kerby Steven, Burtree, all of these, I think, except the first in the north-west of Yorkshire from hence. By these men, the Lord hath visited Kendale, Roundthwaite, and other places in Westmorland. There are, I believe, many lively members of the Lord Jesus in these places.

I should have mentioned before the work at Hull, York, Pocklington, Rotheram, Sheffield, and scores of other towns and villages in this Riding, which is very considerable, and has been for some years. The work flourishes greatly in various parts of Lincolnshire, but these parts lie so far from me, that I cannot give a particular account of it.

What you here receive is a brief relation of the work of God in these parts of this kingdom. I suppose our brethren, particularly Mr Wesley and Mr Whitefield, have furnished you with accounts from

every other part where it hath appeared. I have only the following observations to make to you :—

1st. That, soon after the devil observed such crying, and distress of soul, and agitation of body to affect people under the word, he also begun to seize people under the word, with strange unnatural distortions, convulsions, hideous roarings ; to bring, as we plainly saw, contempt and disgrace upon the true work of God ; for it is remarkable that the generality of such persons, whatsoever pretence of repentance they might then make, dwindled away to nothing.

2dly. That, for seven years past, the cryings and agitations in sincere penitents are in a manner ceased and are rarely seen or heard of. The Lord Jesus now carries on his work in the heart in a still serious affecting way, and I trust with as great success as ever since it began.

3dly. That, in most places where the Gospel has been purely preached, it still flourishes, congregations increase, and doors are continually opening. Come and help us is the common cry.

4thly. That out of our Societies the Lord hath raised up many to preach the Gospel. None of them called thereto, but such only as are experimentally born again, and pardoned, and know the Lord Jesus Christ to be in them the hope of glory. Those speak, as our Lord says, that they do know. They speak from the heart to the heart. Their labours are wonderfully blessed. And such are God's chief instruments employed in carrying on the present wonderful work.

5thly. That, whereas this work took place at first, mainly among the illiterate, poor, and vulgar, it, of late, has gained the credit and esteem of the more wealthy, wise, and learned sort of people. Many such, in most places, are come to experience the life, peace, and power of Christ Jesus in their souls. That so it is, is well for them indeed ; but whether it presage well to the future prosperity of this work I will not say.

6thly. That, at the first coming of the Gospel to any place, it generally happens that Satan roars, and mobs and riots are stirred up ; but however violent, the Lord seldom suffers much harm to be done to his people ; quietness is soon procured, and his word takes place.

7th, and lastly. That the most material impediment met with, and detriment received, is, I fear, from the Anabaptists and Antinomians. These have, I am afraid, and still do make great rending and confusion among our Societies. From these evils the Lord deliver us.

Thus you have the substance of what I can inform you of. May our very dear Saviour be with you and yours for ever. Pray for me and I'll pray for you. W. G.

From a Letter to Mr WHITEFIELD, Wednesbury, 22d February, 1755.

There is a lively display of sovereign grace in a town two miles from us ; the name of it is Bilstone, a most uncivilized and abandoned place, through which few could pass without molestation ; where no itinerant preacher was ever suffered once to exhibit the Gospel ; and in this they gloried, though others could not keep the itinerant preachers out of their towns, yet they did. But Zechariah's burdensome stone has been too many for them, and

it is well for them it has been so. Christ has entered their town, and set up his standard, and has taken one of the most notorious and abandoned wretches among them, who was famous for every thing that was bad, but is now becoming a follower of the Lamb. The Lord is doing the work himself immediately without ministers, for as yet no one has dared to preach Christ publicly among them. I have been three or four times at their meetings, and my soul has been charmed with the outgoings of the Lord in his new erected sanctuary. The first beginning of this concern was just upon your leaving us. The last time you were with us, three or four persons of this town came to hear you, and your Lord and master was pleased to engage them to himself. I believe you might now preach in the midst of the town without the least interruption.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the late Mr J. W. of Kidderminster, 29th September, 1755.

The most remarkable event I met with after I left you was my getting acquaintance with the Rev. Mr C——, near Leeds. It rejoices my heart to hear every now and then, of one and another of the Established clergy whom the Lord hath called, and who, at such a time as this, do preach the Gospel clearly and boldly. Such a one is Mr C——. I had an opportunity to inquire into his character of a friend at Leeds, from whom I learned that he had been converted in a remarkable manner many years ago ; that he thereupon began to preach Christ, and salvation by grace through faith in him ; but was immediately beset with an opposition so virulent and so general, that he could not at that time sustain the shock. But having lately fallen into company with worthy Dr B—— of Lincoln, (concerning whom I have had the pleasure to hear, that he hath grace enough to fear nothing). His conversation was so blessed to Mr C——, that ever since, he hath dared to speak out. (Afterwards the writer of the letter gives an account of an agreeable and edifying conference he had with Mr C——, and of two sermons published by him, and adds) :—Now, dear sir, is not this preaching Christ ? I write these things that you may rejoice with me, to hear that such doctrines are zealously and boldly preached in the Church of England. May the Lord of the harvest greatly increase the number of such labourers. I have had the pleasure to hear that there are about ten such in and about London among the Established clergy ; and there have been reckoned up about a hundred and thirty such now in England.

From a Letter to the late Mr J. W. of Kidderminster, from the Rev. Mr C——, just now mentioned, dated 27th Dec. 1755.

DEAR SIR,—Your kind favour I received with the greatest satisfaction, and am sorry I could not sooner comply with your condescending request. Would to God I was worthy your notice, and that my behaviour may be as becometh a gospel preacher. Many of God's people, I believe, love me and pray for me, but, alas ! I cannot love myself. Though, blessed be God for that mercy, I can sometimes water my sermons with floods of tears, and at other times it is given me to pray fervently for a poor unclean heart. I am daily seeing more and more of

myself, and the more I see, the more I dislike myself, and the more I wonder at God's goodness to me. I am amazed at my heart; not an action but it has its dangers; not a duty performed but a temptation follows it. Where then shall I go to be safe? Ah, blessed Jesus! I hear those gracious words of his, *it is finished*. I see the thorns upon his head, the spear in his side, and the nails in his hands and feet, and for his sake, I humbly trust, it is given me of God to lie low at the foot of his cross, there humbly expecting, and to my great comfort sometimes sweetly experiencing, what he by suffering has purchased for me, viz. remission of sins here, and comfortable hope of glory hereafter. I perceive, then, that my safety is under the wings of Christ; there I shall be free from danger, and thither may the Lord of his infinite mercy guide and direct me. Sometimes methinks I am there; then I can view the sneers of an ill-natured world with a composed resignation, joying and rejoicing that Christ counts me worthy to suffer reproach for his sake. But at other times, Oh this proud heart! It bubbles up apace, and was I then left to myself, the deadly scum would soon boil over, to the extinguishing the Holy Spirit, and to the utmost hazard of my poor soul. O Sir! I know not what to wonder at most, whether at God's goodness, or at my backwardness. Sometimes I am all joy and love; then again I cool and grow hard; my prayers are flat, my desires faint, (and O that I had not occasion to lament it!) my dear and once dying Lord is, as it were, forgotten by me. This grieves me, and cuts me to the soul, for by God's grace I would be diligent, that I may be found of my dear Jesus, at his coming, in peace, without spot and blameless. Oh, amazing! God seems to have spoken to me by some of my people. He has inclined my backward heart to set apart every Thursday night to receive the colliers, who are willing to come to my house, at which time I converse with them freely, sing a psalm, and then to prayer. On Friday night I meet a few friends, one night at one neighbour's house, and the other night at another's house, where I observe the same method as with the colliers at my own house. And on Saturday nights I have public worship at my chapel. And is not this amazing, that God should thus honour so worthless a wretch as I am? I want words to express my gratitude. O, I want a heart to receive my Christ more freely and fully! He is a good master; there are none like him, and he pays the best of wages, as I almost every night experience when in his sweet service, whether among my colliers, with a few neighbours, or in my chapel. I love such service, and am glad to see many, heretofore loiterers, entering into it. Colliers, as well as others, are seeking to it, and after a serious manner too, at least I hope so from their behaviour on Thursday nights, which I have sometimes thought had some little resemblance to Mr Davies's black congregation, though not by far so numerous, not having above thirty or forty, one night with another. May the Lord go, and be with that good man, and all others like him, who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and in truth! My heart is open to all such, and so is my house, having (now) no partition-wall between them and me. Christ crucified is my theme, and the strength of his precious blood the stay and comfort of my soul. Pray for me, that my corruptions may be subdued, my lusts all mortified, and

every unclean thought quite banished my heart. My office, you know, is weighty, and great is the charge committed to my trust, nor gold or silver, or any other corruptible thing, but precious souls, which my master purchased with his precious blood, and for which I must be accountable to him at the great day. Pray then for me, that I may be found faithful, and not a betrayer of souls. My heart often aches, for fear I should be an unjust steward, and when I consider the labour of God's servants, how indefatigable they are in the cause and service of Christ, and what little I do, in comparison with them, my spirits sink and fail, to think what a loiterer I am in the vineyard. If you love my soul, deal freely with me, and spur me on by your repeated letters; don't be sparing of your advice, for I think it no way unworthy the character of a clergyman of the Established Church to be taught and admonished by an experienced dissenter.—I am, &c.

From a Letter to the Rev. Mr D—T of W—n, Somersetshire, from the Rev. Mr J—n of C—r, Gloucestershire, Dec. 1755.

R. D. S.,—Monday se'night we had a meeting of seven clergymen at Bath, and agreed upon our future meetings there, which are to be monthly. I trust in God it will be blessed to us and our people. I am thirty-three miles wide of the place, but that I submit. I believe our number will increase to ten. We were very hearty and open, though two or three of us had never before seen each other, which calls to my mind the blessed association at Pentecost. O, may much of that spirit and fire of love rest upon us all! As we have a chapel to meet in, we propose to communicate always together, which will give a greater solemnity to the thing, and prove, we trust, a bond of union. Hereby also, it will be less liable to degenerate into a neighbourly visit.

From Mr WHITEFIELD'S Preface to the new Edition of his Journals, 4th June 1756.

Since it hath pleased our heavenly father to protect my worthless life, I desire to thank him from my inmost soul, that he hath given me to see the gospel seed that was sown upwards of twenty years ago, now grown into a great tree. How far it is yet to spread can be known only to him with whom the residue of the Spirit is. At present, thanks be to God, the prospect is promising. A new set of instruments seem to be rising up, by whom, I trust, those that were first sent forth will not only be succeeded, but eclipsed. May they go on and prosper in the strength of their common Lord.

SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL AT TRURO IN CORNWALL.

From a letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr FAWCETT at Kidderminster, dated 8th Feb. 1755.

You have given me the first information in several particulars. I never imagined the late revivals in Scotland and America had been so extensive. Nor was I ever told of such a remarkable concert for prayer. Blessed be God for such apparent dawnings of the glory of the latter day.

Methinks the renewal of that concert in 1746 for seven subsequent years, has been owned and answered by a new and glorious revival in the county of Cornwall. There the Lord is stirring up the spirits of several clergymen to preach Jesus Christ in their own parish churches, and has already given them to see hundreds of souls under the most serious impressions. By the accounts I have had, it appears to me as remarkable in its kind as that at Cambuslang, or Kilsyth, or any places in America.

The Rev. Mr Walker at Truro in Cornwall, is the instrument whom the Lord has principally been honouring with his presence, power, and blessing. Dr Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, and author of *The Contemplations*, &c. was, by the mother's side, Mr Walker's great-grandfather. The instrument of Mr Walker's conversion was one of his parishioners, of whom he speaks with the highest esteem and veneration. Though this delightful work, from first to last, has had no connection with any sort of dissenters, yet the accounts of it from Mr Walker and his friends have been immediately communicated to such dissenters with whom he has freely engaged in an epistolary correspondence. Such are the following extracts:

Rev. Mr WALKER to Dr GUSE, Truro, Nov. 1754.

Accounts of the work of grace draw out my soul in love and praise to the great Redeemer, quicken my diligence, and direct me more wisely to correspond with the will of the Spirit in my ministrations. With the same views I sit down to make you particularly acquainted with what God has done for us here.

In the year 1746 I undertook the charge of this populous and large town, in many respects the principal town in this country. God knows upon what unworthy views I did it; and my heart and head—how utterly disqualified for any ministerial trust! I had been then some years vicar of a neighbouring parish. But, dear sir, how must I have suffered the poor souls there to starve and perish, while I was only possessed of historical notions of all the vitals of Christianity, the corruptions of man's nature; his misery and helplessness; the satisfaction and sufficiency of Christ; the necessity of a renewed mind; the need and the work of the spirit;—these I knew notionally, but neither felt nor taught practically. You must own I ought to go sorrowing to the grave, upon the review of six years so past. Nevertheless, I was thought well off, and indeed esteemed beyond most of my brethren for my regularity and decency, endeavours to keep up external attendances, and somewhat or other in my public addresses. It was at least a year after the kind providence of God brought me hither, e'er I fell under considerable suspicions or uneasiness about myself and manner of preaching. When, by the frequent conversation of a Christian friend, I became sensible all was wrong within and without. My uneasiness was rather abiding than violent, possibly because my life had been free from gross sins. The change wrought upon me was slow, till, by a variety of means, I was brought (I trust in some measure) to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. As the work was going forward in myself, the people were made partakers of the effects of it. By and by I began to deal with them as lost sinners, and beat down formality and self righteousness, and to preach Christ. The

fruit of this, by the mighty working of the Spirit, quickly appeared. It was a new way to them, I am assured; they had heard nothing of it for fifty years. They were surprised, and grew angry, not without an evident fear resting upon them, and an interesting curiosity to hear me again of this matter. I have reason to judge that almost all of them have been, one time or other, awakened; more or less, though I fear the most of them have rejected the counsel of God against themselves. But in the mean time, some more sensibly pricked in their hearts, came to me, inquiring what they must do? And I suppose seven or eight hundred have been with me, first or last, upon this errand.

It was in the beginning of the year 1748, that a young man, who had been a soldier in the regiment raised by Lord Falmouth, and during that time had given himself up to the too common vices of that kind of people, was awakened and brought under great terrors in the hearing of one of my sermons. This was my first, and as such my dearest child. I watched and rejoiced over him. Suffer me to indulge the fondness of a father. With thankful consolation I reflect how God wrought in him, and by him. His conduct drew the attention of the whole town. God left him about a year and a half with me; during which time, with an unshaken firmness of faith and constancy in conduct, amidst perpetual oppositions and the strife of tongues, he lived, I trust, a Christian. About the end of that year, some other young men, convinced perhaps by his example, applied to me. And before his death, which was in June 1750, their number was considerably enlarged; and both men and women, for the most part young persons, had some great concern about salvation. But I think the principal work began immediately upon his death, which begat a visibly anxious distress upon the whole town. I judged a sermon requisite upon such an occasion. The blessings of the Spirit were remarkably with the providence and word; for quickly after, the numbers which applied to me daily were so large, that I was obliged to rent, for more convenience, two rooms at a distance from my lodging, being a boarder, wherein to see them. For this year past, having a house of my own, I see them at home.

The far greater part have been brought to the acknowledgment of the truth in a very gentle way. Very few have been struck into terrors, though some have. The most have been impressed with a sort of mournful uneasiness, and have been brought to Christ in a sorrowing kind of way. I have reason to believe their convictions have been deep, for though many have drawn back, yet I cannot find above one or two who have been able to this day to shake them quite off. Those whose convictions are most lively and lasting, have importunate desires after inward holiness, striving against indwelling sin. May not the gentleness of this procedure, and its tendency, be in a correspondence of the Spirit with the manner of preaching? which has been a mixing the law and the gospel, holding forth the promises of the one with the threatenings of the other; and then the corruption of nature; and the necessity of a new heart as the great fruit and evidence of faith in Jesus Christ, have been in the fullest manner explained and insisted upon.

Our lately erected society, which meets on Tuesday evenings at the society room, appears to have been very instrumental to the establishment of the

most of those who are members of it in saving knowledge and practice. It is my endeavour that none be admitted into it, but such as have given some good proofs of a good faith by an orderly and self-denying conversation; and my hope is, there are not many of it, concerning whose sincerity I have reasonable question.

Public catechising is greatly blessed. The young people are in three classes. The eldest class, consisting of persons from fifteen to twenty years of age, meet me, and all who are willing to be with us, in the church, on Sunday evening, after evening prayers. I explain, *pro re nata*, one point only at once, and that in a large and practical manner, for the benefit of all present. The congregation is for the most part much impressed, and the number of those who attend, are 400 or 500. (His friend says more, and that it begins at six on the Lord's day evening, and continues till eight.) The good effects of this work are manifest both upon the old and the young. I heartily wish this were practised in every congregation in England. I know not how we of the Establishment can evade the express injunctions for that purpose.

Our club consists of six clergymen. We meet monthly, except in the depth of winter. I have reason to hope something from a clergyman or two who are not our club.

Rev. Mr WALKER to — Truro, Dec. 14, 1754.

Never was there such a day of grace with us as of late, and it grows brighter continually. It would rejoice your heart, my dear friend, were you with us one of our Monday evenings. (His friend says, he then gives an awakening lecture in the society room, to all that will attend.) Truly publicans and sinners, some of the most vile and profligate, are amongst us. You know what I feel at such seasons. Some are melted, some confounded, while I persuade them by the terrors of the Lord, and beseech them to be reconciled to God, pouring out all my soul, and more than all my strength, to them, and for them.

Rev. Mr WALKER to — Truro, Jan. 14, 1755.

Satan may well be said to be attacked here in his head-quarters, you will not wonder, therefore, if he fumes. We are daily getting advantage of him, but the many, as no wonder, are still against us. Within these two months perhaps, near two hundred of the lower people, and those the most profligate, have fallen under convictions and impressions. You know what a stir this must cause amongst us. O that God would take away the veil from our hearts! It grieves my very soul to see and hear what I do. O that it would please the Lord to give me this people of every rank and degree! Yet I may not marvel that these things are so. Rather, most admirable is the display made of the power of Christ amongst us. Alas, my good friend, I have not an heart to thank God as I ought for that salvation of his, which I have stood and seen. No sooner was Christ heard of with us, but all Jerusalem was troubled; no sooner was he seen in a poor member or two, but the cry was, away with him. Yet from the beginning we have been supported, yea emboldened, yea enlarged. In despite of an universal discountenance, of a powerful

opposition, of the grossest ignorance, and vice in reputation; in despite of our own inwardly backsliding hearts; we still increase, and many are added to us daily of such, I trust, as shall be saved.

Where there hath been a long famine of the word, it cannot be wondered if people at a distance come to us for the bread of life. I will relate to you one circumstance of this kind, which is somewhat remarkable. It was near a year ago, that a young man, about 26, who lives in a parish twelve miles off, came to the shop of one of my people (for so they are called), thinking of nothing so little as his soul. As his custom is, the man who keeps the shop gave him some serious advice with the goods he had purchased. The poor creature having never heard much of the matter before, seemed to be attentive, which encouraged the other to be more particular with him, and to ask if he were willing to spend half an hour with me. He consented. They came to me together; he was ignorant of everything, and satisfied that all was well with him. I both talked with him and sent home some books with him. As business hath brought him hither, I have seen him from time to time, and always to my great comfort. He told me last Saturday, that there are now many in the village where he lives, whose eyes seem to be opening. They are meeting together for prayer, reading, and religious conversation, and are actually forsaking their gross sins; and that many more in the parish are evidently struck, nor can find themselves easy to live as they were wont.

And now, dear sir, what shall we say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? Shall we not hope that the little stone will become a mountain? Many things correspond to so comfortable a hope; my heart rejoices greatly in the confident expectation of it. If I am not misinformed, the gospel is getting into several other pulpits in this country. O help our praise and prayers!

MR WALKER'S Friend writes as follows:

Before God raised him (*i. e.* Mr Walker) up, almost all this country was involved in gross darkness; the cry of salvation was scarce heard amongst us; almost every one ignorant of the first principles of Christianity; a lifeless ministry, and a debauched or a formal people. My love to him, as my spiritual father, draws me to speak thus of him.

O how profitable and full of comfort was the advice he gave me, when I first made known to him the impressions I had received under his ministry! I cannot well express my love to him. The first book he put into my hands was Dr Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, with these words, "You must not, my dear friend, be prejudiced at this book, when I tell you it was wrote by a Dissenter, for believe me it is the best book, next to the Bible, in print." I read it, God assisted the perusal, and blessed it to my soul, as he has since to the souls of many of my acquaintance. We have, I believe, bought near a thousand of them, and we are often having more. The several ministers of the club recommend them to all their people, which causes them to spread vastly. May the blessing of God go along with them in every place.

*From a Letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr FAWCETT,
29th September, 1755.*

THE FOLLOWING LETTERS RELATING TO TRURO WERE
WRITTEN BY A LAYMAN, A PERSON OF AN EXCELLENT
CHARACTER.

The remarkable meekness and love of God's servant at Truro, confounds or overrules all prejudices. I returned Tuesday morning from that dear place, where I spent two delightful days, one a Sabbath,—a joyful one indeed. It becomes me to offer with thankfulness that joy, which, through Divine grace, I feel, of which holy David speaks when he says, "I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the house of the Lord." Here is a troop, who are willing to subscribe unto the Lord, and own before the whole world that they belong to him. Yes, my dear friend, "one day" spent with these "in the courts of the Lord's house, is better than a thousand in the" once loved "tents of" pleasurable "wickedness!" Better," far better, "to be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord," though in the pitiable circumstances of Job upon the dunghill, than a celebrated Alexander with his many conquests! Time would fail me to give you a particular description of the entertainment I found there, a noble repast for an hungry soul. Let it suffice that I call upon you to thank God on my account, and that of many others. His word reached my heart, and I bless Him that even now I feel its reviving influences. May I learn more humbly to obey it! At a meeting on Lord's day evening, for awakening the careless, was read a portion of Mr Joseph Alleine's Alarm. All seemed affected with it, and the hymn which was sung out of Dr Watt's, had most awakening words indeed. The whole was concluded with prayer adapted to the subject. My heart was much touched, and all my friends were remembered. Mr Walker cannot attend this meeting, as he is profitably engaged in another at the same time at his own study. When he had finished his duty there, he came to us, and spent an hour in very useful application for practice. How great a blessing is a wise reprover to an obedient ear! On Monday evening I went to the meeting, of which you have had some account, at which I had never till now been present. After Dr Watt's hymn, on the complaint of ingratitude, was sung, by near 200 people, (most of them are just awakening out of a careless state,) was read the whole 15th of Luke, and the parable of the prodigal fixed on for illustration. His departure from his father, his progress in sin, step after step, were considered and applied to every one present. We were all called upon to cry out, Lord, we are the men! Concluded with prayer, adapted to every part of the subject. Several parts of the discourse drew tears from my eyes, and melted my heart. I wished to take down in short-hand every word. The longer I live, the more I am convinced of the blessing God gives in a gospel minister. God gives me a heart to love all such.

In another letter, dated September 8, 1755, he says: I bless God, my dear Walker thrives, though his body decays visibly. It cannot long sustain the weight of his labours. He hastens, I believe to his kingdom and his crown. Spare thyself, is a language he is unwilling to hear; but methinks it is pity so valuable a life should be cut short in the midst, when the church of Christ seems to thrive by its prolongation. But faith says, the God who called home a

Baxter in the last century, can raise new Walkers in another century. I have the greatest comfort in two dear young friends who are preparing for the ministry under his cultivation. O may they in future years be heralds for the dear Redeemer, and spiritual fathers to thousands. We had at the society a fortnight since two clergymen, (one of them has a considerable living in Lincolnshire,) who are since sailed for America, rightly disposed to preach the everlasting gospel. May the Lord prosper their labours.

Mr Walker has had for this month past a faithful fellow labourer in the Lord, the Rev. Mr J—ne, from Oxford, whose heart is much enlarged in love to all God's people. Mr Walker's labours and success strike him prodigiously. I trust he will go and do likewise. One good symptom I find in him, though he is one of the greatest scholars in the university, yet he condescends to be taught by Mr Baxter's little plain book, the Call to the Unconverted. He is a man of great abilities, considerable rank, and an honest heart, from which excellent qualifications put together, we may hope for much fruit. This is the gentleman, who, having a considerable living in the city, permits as many of the young students as are desirous to seek God by Jesus Christ, to come to a meeting which he has erected in his house, where he reads them proper lectures about caring for souls. The indefatigable Mr Wesley is now in the west, and I have some hope that he will, under God, revive the languishing cause of religion among his people. I think I have already seen some fruit of his labours. He is glad to hear of Mr Walker's success, and says, "Gladly could I embrace my dear brother Walker, but I am content to let him work, I will pray for him wherever I go, and for the success of that work the Lord is making him an instrument to carry on."

*From a Letter to the Rev. Mr WALKER at Truro, from the
Rev. Mr A——n of W——m, Lincolnshire, 1st Nov. 1756.*

R. D. S.—I return you many thanks for the brotherly communication of your Christian sentiments which come from a warm heart, and I hope will prove animating to me. I am sorry I can give you no satisfactory account of the success of my ministry, which I am sensible it would give you great pleasure to hear of. My lot is amongst a people hardened enough; for though I have many years insisted especially, and only upon the great evangelical points of repentance, faith, and renovation by the power of the Holy Ghost, and made it my business to unmask the unmeaning professor, and strike at the root of a dead formality, I cannot say that much impression has yet been made upon my own parish. Nevertheless, I bless God that my preaching has not been altogether without fruit. Some of other parishes have been either awakened, or confirmed by it, and the influence of it reaches more or less to no inconsiderable distance. But whatever be the event, the duty is evident, and woe be to me if I preach not the gospel, I mean in that sense of it which I am so fully persuaded of, that I would not preach any other for the world. And I am also of opinion, that if the good seed is scattered, it will prosper in some time or manner, imperceptible to us. Mr B——t of S—— is an industrious labourer in God's vineyard, and exerts himself to the utmost in reviving the antiquated

doctrines of the Church of England, for which he does not escape scot free, as you will imagine; but he is naturally stout, and, what is far better, has grace enough to fear nothing. I have lived for some time in a state of Christian friendship and heart communication with them. I thank you again for the overflowing of your Christian heart, and especially for your prayers, for the anointing of the Spirit on myself and ministry, and beg the continuance of them, and give up my heart and whole self to the brotherly unity of those clergymen in your neighbourhood with whom you are in concert, and wish you good luck in the name of the Lord, and say to you in the power of a true love, go on through evil report, and good report, and be of the few names in Sardis.—I am, &c.

From the same, 14th January, 1755.

R. D. S.—The account you give of your work and labour of love at Truro, from sound principles of conversion, is very acceptable to me, and I praise God with you for the success of it; and would gladly believe, that, as you will be steady in the prosecution of it, against all discouragements and oppositions whatsoever, you have still a much greater harvest to reap. I can truly say, let others increase, though I decrease.

The advice for one in your circumstances, and which is offered with brotherly freedom at your request, is humility and strict watchfulness over your spirit, that you be not puffed up with any thing that God has done by you, not grounding yourself upon it for your own salvation, but sinking low in a deep sense of your own instrumentality; and then, that you consider your past success as a loud call to you, if need be, to double your diligence. Not that I imagine you are in any danger of taking your hand from the plough, after having so resolutely broke the first difficulties. Dear sir, what reason have you and many others, to bless God for your meeting with a pious Christian friend at your first coming to Truro. And what encouragement in this instance for all, who know the way of truth, to speak out. Extend your influence far and near. God may work by you in other places. Strengthen those everywhere, who are ready to faint from the smallness of their numbers. If you are in earnest in doing Christ's work, you must be content with the wages he gives his faithful servants, and what they are I need not tell you. Read Bilney's Letters to Bishop Tunstall, in Fox's Acts. If truth should not be opposed and persecuted, the gospel, which declares the universal degeneracy of mankind, and calls upon all to repent, would be a lie. Desiring you once for all to think no otherwise of me than as a weak brother, and one who mourns (though not enough) under a sense of great unfaithfulness, I am, &c.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr WALKER, dated Truro, 14th January, 1755.

R. D. S.—I should have answered yours long ago, and transmitted the papers desired, had not a singular and extraordinary work demanded every moment of my time. It is my way in writing my friends, to speak what is most nearly on my heart; and especially, if it be any thing which I may hope will excite their praises, and engage their intercessions in my behalf. Such, dear sir, is the circumstance I

have now to communicate respecting the success of the gospel among the soldiers quartered at present in this town. The beginning of November, three companies of them were sent hither to winter. I endeavoured to lose no time with them; but without delay preached a sermon extraordinary on their account the Lord's-day afternoon, called by the people here "the soldiers' sermon." There was great difficulty to get their attendance to hear it; for though they be ordered to be at church in the morning, and brought thither by their officers, yet their manner has been to turn off at the door. In this point, I was helped by the zeal of my dear people of the society, who made it their business to speak to these poor creatures, giving them proper advice, and prevailing on a few of them to be at church as was wished. They soon became a large number; and our labours were so blessed to them and us, that in less than three weeks a full hundred of them came to my house asking what they must do. This was what I aimed at, an opportunity of personal and free application. The effects have been very striking. One or two of the whole only excepted, you would have seen their countenances changing, tears often bursting from their eyes, and confessions of their exceeding sinfulness and danger breaking from their mouths. I have scarcely heard such a thing as self-excusing from one of them; while they desire to be instructed, and uncommon thankfulness for the least pains used upon them by any of us, have been very remarkable. Such promising symptoms gave me great confidence it would come to something; and more so when I found that many of them were greatly stirred up to pray. Many of them, as was to be expected, soon went back, nevertheless thus far both they and the others who never came near me are plainly influenced, that a certain fear has restrained them from swearing and cursing, which when they came hither was universally their practice, has engaged them to attend public worship, and at least so far biased their conduct, that military punishments are grown much less frequent among them. They are about twenty who have kept close to the means, and concerning whom I have encouraging hope that a good work is begun in them. Indeed conviction of sin appears to have gone deep with them, and they are crying after Christ, with such marks of godly sorrow, as makes me hope it is indeed sorrow which worketh repentance unto salvation. These I intend shall be united together when they leave us under the name of the "soldiers' society," having already drawn up regulations for the purpose; and while they are here they make part of our society, by the exercises of which, as well as by meetings I particularly give them for their use, they seem to be much established. What such a society of soldiers may produce amongst that body of men, God only knows; yet I would comfort myself with the hope it may please the Lord it shall go further. It may be observed, that seven of these, viz. six Scotchmen and one English dissenter, have enjoyed the benefit of religious knowledge in their youth; the rest, except two, I find totally ignorant of every thing relating to Christ. Concerning the former, I cannot but adore the mysteriousness of God's ways, in leading them from one end of the island quite to the other to do his work upon them, as if he should have said, "It shall not be done in Scotland, but Cornwall; John Gillies nor John Porteous, but Samuel Walker, shall be the instrument." Yet

withal there is an evident reasonableness in this procedure, for by some unaccustomed outbreaks since they have been in the army, they were more open to conviction. As to the others, their total ignorance has made me to lament the superficial use or entire neglect of catechising among the English clergy, by which more than by any other thing, I am persuaded the kingdom of darkness and sin is established in England. For a particular account of the Lord's work in this place, I beg time. It is my full purpose to send it. Meantime, remember us in all your prayers.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr D——r at W——n, Somersetshire, 4th Dec. 1786.

My time will not allow me to give you a circumstantial account of our religious affairs here. At present, I would just observe to you in the general what it has pleased God, in the riches of his grace, to do by the weakest and unworthiest of instruments.

'Tis now fifteen years since I was settled in this place, and though I found religion at a very low ebb, it pleased God by my poor ministration, to revive it soon on my first coming, and to continue it more or less in a flourishing state to this day. Every year there have been additions, and in some years very large, to the church, of such as I hope will be saved. Upwards of 200 have been taken into communion upon a credible profession, since my settlement; many of them the most profligate in the places round us, whose change has been so remarkable, that the world at once bears their testimony to, and expresses their astonishment of many of them so very ignorant as not to know the plainest and most common principles of religion, yea, were not able to read a letter, who are now making the Word of God their daily study and delight; many who never prayed in all their lives, and lived without God in the world; who have attained to such a gift in prayer as to be engaged on particular occasions in public, to the pleasure and edification of all present, and whose houses, which were once dens of thieves, are now become Bethels in which family worship is constantly and seriously performed. O, my dear sir, rejoice with me, and let us exalt His name together. You would be more astonished did you know by what a poor, weak, sinful instrument this has been done. I assure you it has often humbled me to the dust when I think of it, and yet I am not humbled enough. O that I could lie lower before the Lord! and that I were more affected with such grace, the every quintessence of grace.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the same hand, 11th January 1787.

The following extracts, I doubt not, will give pleasure to you and your friends:

Rev. Mr B——n of Ch——n, Somersetshire, to ——.

We go on here, I thank God, triumphantly. Great is the company of bearers. They flock after the gospel with an insatiable hunger, and I find many forced to cry out, what shall we do? Oh may they all find balm in Gilead to heal their wounds. The country about here begins to be sadly alarmed, and some cry out with great bitterness against me; and I experience more and more daily, that contempt

and persecution in one shape or other, which are the certain portions of gospel preaching; God Almighty grant that it may not discourage me. Indeed I find it sometimes hard to bear it; flesh and blood recoil at it, and I am but a novice in the way of God; but I hope and pray that I may be enabled, by a steadfast faith, to look through the veil, and press forward through evil report and good report; for light surely must offend some eyes, "and men love darkness rather than light."

Mr S——s goes on with great success at Bristol, Mr H——r with greater at Warminster. The week before last, he gave me an account of the progress of religion with them. He believes above an hundred have applied to him privately about their souls, within about three years; and a great many he looks upon to be savingly enlightened. By his instrumentality, another minister is arisen to preach Christ in the large town of Frome.

Rev. Mr I——n of C——r, Gloucestershire, to ——.

Since my last, God has opened a door for the word among the most profligate of my parish; I mean the workhouse, where are some times near 150 hearers; and it would do your heart good to see the lame, the halt, and the blind, sinners of all sorts and sizes, brought down from their nests, and putting forth all their strength to come and hear. There is a remarkable attention sitting on their faces, but I have heard of no shaking of the dry bones as yet. However, I am sanguine in my prospect, because it opened so provisionally, and I was in a manner forced into it by clear conviction. I read a few of the church prayers to them, best suited to the occasion, and expounded a chapter with all the ease and familiarity of conversation. What with the usual duty of the place, and occasional sermons which I give at funerals, I have really work cut out which fills up all my time, and leaves me but little leisure to remember my dear correspondents. Oh, whence is this to me, that I should be so employed! that God should so incline my backward heart to the work! yea, and be seems to have spoken to many of my people by me; yea, and to set many a dying saint as a seal to my ministry.

From —— to ——.

We should rejoice to see you among us,—all gospel ministers it is our highest honour and happiness to receive. If their bowels are straitened, ours are not; all glory to his free spirit that is never bound. Mr Whitefield preaches twice a-week amongst us while he stays. I have heard much of that excellent man, Mr Walker. He goes on gloriously; may our Lord help him more and more. Such a general stir I have never known. And I have the comfort to tell you, about a month ago the following clergy agreed to meet:—Mr Ch——n, Mr C——n, Mr B——n, Mr J——n, Mr G——n, Mr I——s, Mr F——s, Mr H——t, Mr G——g. They were not all able to be present, but I hope the next they will; accident only prevented some. But 'tis settled for once a-month. There are two lately come out in Yorkshire, Mr C——k and Mr W——n, and sorely tried they have been; they want strength, and to such the Lord increase might. I hope to write to Mr Walker soon, for I do so truly rejoice in the gospel news, that I cannot express it. May the Lord enlarge our hearts to each other, and bear down all divisions among the true Israel of God. A threat-

ening time is coming on, when we should all unite, and be strengthened to stand all shocks that earth or hell can contrive.

Ms D—Tt, who sends the three preceding extracts, adds.

The clergymen who write the two first letters are but young, but very promising, and God is with them. Mr I——n moves in a large sphere, and is indefatigable, and has had some remarkable seals. Mr B——n was a spiritual son of our dear Mr Williams; a word dropt by that man took hold of him, and he has ever since been preaching Christ with great zeal.

The excellent person who writes the third letter is deservedly esteemed by all for eminent piety and a Catholic spirit,—honouring all the ministers of Jesus, and giving them cordial assistance in every good work. The clergymen referred to in the third letter are forming themselves in this county in somewhat of the same society as dear Mr Walker and his brethren in Cornwall, for the success of which I need not request your prayers. 'Tis indeed a dark day, yet, blessed be God, there is a revival of his work. The clergy increase, and are made very useful. I have received this morning a most excellent letter from a new correspondent of that sort,—the Rev. Mr B——t of St—w, a minister of Christ, zealous for the truth, of a humble spirit, and one who loves all who love his master. God add to their number.

I beg that you will communicate every thing that respects the prosperity of the gospel at home or abroad. No accounts cheer me like these, and I have a few praying people to whom I read these things; and I hope it quickens our prayers, and strengthens our faith in the promises of God, relating to the latter-day glory which shall almost assuredly be accomplished in his time. I read about a week since, a particular and delightful account from dear Mr Walker, of his success among the soldiers, which affected me greatly. I cannot but fervently pray God to impress the hearts of ministers with tender compassion for those precious souls in particular, who on a variety of accounts, call for our highest concern: and I sometimes think they are neglected by us, as persons past recovery. But I see every day more and more fulfilled, the observations of our blessed Redeemer, "Publicans and harlots," &c. A few weeks ago, several companies of soldiers passed through this place, and halted the Sabbath-day here. Pretty many of them attended our place of worship. I took tender notice of them, both in my prayers and preaching; many of them seemed much affected. In the evening after the service was ended, I told them, that if they would come to my house I would give them a good book. They came readily and received what I gave them, with the greatest thankfulness, and expressed their affectionate sense of my concern for their souls: One in particular told me, he hoped he should never forget that day. I was sorry they were to leave us so soon; but, as I understood they were marching to Cirencester, where they were to winter, I recommended them to my dear and worthy brother the Rev. Mr I——n, and I am in hopes God will bless his labours to them. The Lord stir up all our hearts to take pity upon these and all others that are out of the way. To me it looks as if there was a great readiness in sinners to receive instruction; Oh, that there was more readiness in ministers to in-

struct souls; and that we did but see more the infinite value of one soul, though clothed in rags, and had by the rich of this world in the greatest contempt. The gospel has in all ages met with the best reception by such, and grace has had its most considerable trophies among what has been accounted the refuse of mankind. But this bids me break off, as I am going forth this evening to bestow my poor labours among these poor despised souls. O that I may but win one of them, and that the very meanest to Christ, and I shall esteem myself happier in such a soul, than with all the riches of a Croesus, or the victories of an Alexander. My principal success has been among such as I may give you account sometime hereafter.

From the Rev. Mr WESLEY to the Publisher, London, 12th November, 1756.

There is a wonderful increase of the work of God in London. Many are daily convinced of sin, and many converted. Mr Walsh (one of our preachers who is critically skilled in Hebrew,) has once or twice disputed openly with the Jews in their synagogue. All were patient; one of them is convinced of the truth. He hopes to visit them there, again and again.

ACCOUNTS FROM NEW ENGLAND, &c.

From the Rev. Mr PARSONS at Newbury to the Publisher, 25th February, 1756.

It has appeared to me, for several years past, that great distress was near, and I am more satisfied of it since the earthquakes here and elsewhere. God warns and threatens a careless world, and yet gives a space to repent. And, blessed be his name, some among us, I hope, take the warning. 'Tis a day of revival among us in Newbury and several other places. We have many under very serious impressions, and I hope, that about six or eight are savingly converted since the 18th of last November. Some that seemed not at all moved by the earthquake, are very deeply affected since that time. We have very crowded assemblies in public, and no less than seven fellowship meetings, in different parts of the congregation, and a general attendance. But Satan is working every way to bring all as near to nothing as he can. I hope God will not suffer him; hitherto God has helped us, and may we not hope that he designs to gather in a good number before the storm comes.

From the Rev. Mr EDWARDS at Stockbridge to the Publisher, 9th April, 1756.

You desire me to write some particular account of affairs, relating to the success of the gospel in America. If I mistake not, I did this in my last letter. I know of nothing remarkable that has happened since that time, excepting that we hear from Boston, of good and abiding impressions, made on the minds of many that way, by the earthquake; but you will probably have more particular accounts of that, from your correspondents in Boston, than I am able to give you, as also concerning our warlike commotions. These commotions much affect religious affairs among the Indians. The mission that was attended with the fairest prospect of success,

and of gradual extensive good among the American savages, was Mr Hawley's mission among the six nations at Onohohquaughé, a place on Susquehanna river, about an hundred miles from the head of it. But there is danger that this mission will be broke up. The Indians that live further down the river, are chiefly the nation of the Delawares; who had their original seat on Delaware river; but in latter time, have dwelt principally about Susquehanna river. These Indians, through the indefatigable investigation of the French, the last year turned enemies to the English, (with whom before they used to live in friendship,) and have committed dreadful ravages, on the back parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and have used endeavours to alienate the Indians at Onohohquaughé, among whom Mr Hawley has been. They are not very far from them, and some have intermarried with them; and one or other of them are often there. So that Mr Hawley thought it no longer safe being there, and came from them about two months ago, with my young son, of about ten years of age: who was there with Mr Hawley the greatest part of the year past, to learn the Mohawk tongue. Mr Hawley has since been at Boston, to confer with the commissioners for Indian affairs, and is returned, and is this day gone from my house in order to meet and confer with some of his own Indians, that he has appointed to meet him in the country of the Mohawks, about 130 miles on this side Onohohquaughé. If after his interview with them, he judges it not safe to return to Onohohquaughé, there is some probability that he will go with General Shirley in his expedition to the lake Ontario, as chaplain to such of the six nations as shall be in his army.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

From the Rev. Mr WHELEY's Eighth Journal, 1782.

Friday, April 3. I rode to Bankhouse, near Rochdale, where T. M. gave me the following account.

"On Sunday, 7th August last, I preached at Rangdale, at 5 o'clock in the morning, as usual. About six, two constables came, and carried me to a public-house, where I was kept till near four in the afternoon. Then one of them said, he would go and ask the minister whether they might not let me go? Upon his return, they brought me to a large mob, who carried me, and threw me into a standing water; and as often as I tried to come out, they pitched me in again: at last some of them said, I should come out, and kept the others off till I got up the bank. I found myself happy all the time; for I knew I was in the Lord's hand.

I got back to the house where I lodged, and went to bed. But in less than an hour the mob came again, broke open the doors of the house and chamber, and dragged me away with them. They carried me to a great pond, which was railed round, being ten or twelve feet deep. Then four men took me up by my legs and arms. I felt the flesh shrink a little at first; but it was soon over, and I did not care whether I lived or died; just as pleased the Lord. They swung me backward and forward two or three times, and then threw me as far as they could into the water. The fall took away my senses, so that I felt nothing more. But some that

did not care to have me drowned, when I came above water, catching hold of my clothes with a long pole, pulled me out.

I lay senseless for some time. When I came to myself, I saw many people about me; one of whom helped me up, and bid me go with him. He brought me to a little house, and put me to bed. But I had not lain long before the mob came again, pulled me out of bed, and drove me before them, almost naked, to the end of the parish, where they left me. I made shift to get on to a place three miles off, where I got to bed again, and slept in peace."

Friday 10. I preached at D——, where the case of the vicar and curate will not soon be forgotten. After a conversation I had with the vicar, about three years ago, he was deeply serious, till he conversed again with certain rich and honourable men, who soon cured him of that distraction. Yet in a while he relapsed, and more serious then ever, till he was taken ill. The physicians made light of his illness, and said, "He would do well enough, if they did but keep those methodists from him." They did so. However, in a few days he died, and according to his own express order, was carried to the grave at seven in the morning by eight poor men, whom he had named. The curate who buried him, sickening the same week, insisted that the methodists should not be kept from him. About ten days after, he died, and, according to his desire, was about the same hour, carried also by eight poor men, and laid in a grave close to that of Mr R——.

Sunday 26. At seven, God was with us as before, and his word brake the rocks in pieces. We left York about nine, as quietly as we came, and rode to Acomb.

Monday 27. We reached Omothersly. After preaching in the evening, I was desired to visit a person who had been an eminent scoffer at all religion, but was now, they said, "in a strange way." I found her in a strange way indeed. We prayed with her; her agonies ceased. She fell asleep, and waked in the morning calm and easy.

Tuesday 28. About noon we reached Stokesley, where I found none had ever yet preached abroad. Samuel Earwood had attempted it, but in vain; and so had Mr Roberts some time after. But a clergyman came, at the head of a large mob, and obliged him to desist. About one, the person in whose house we were, came in trembling, and told us what threatenings were breathed out. I answered, "Then there was no time to lose," and went out immediately. I suppose the mob expected to hear us sing, but they were disappointed, for I began preaching without delay; by this means, missing their signal, they came not in a body, but two or three at a time; and as fast as they came, their minds were changed; so that all were quiet, from the beginning to the end.

Monday, May 11. After preaching at Morpeth, in my way, though with little present effect, I rode on to Alnwick, and preached at the cross to a far more numerous and serious congregation.

Wednesday 13. I rode to Berwick, and after preaching, desired all who had been of the society to meet me. I spoke to seventeen, who were thoroughly willing to unite again.

Thursday 14. At five, the soldiers made a considerable part of the congregation. At noon, they came again in troops. One of them, T. W. came last year from the Highlands, and went through

Westmoreland to beat up for recruits. He had been earnestly warned, on no account to go near the methodists. But at Kendal he lighted on two or three, from which time they were not one day assunder. It was not long before God clearly assured him of his pardoning love. A fortnight after, he was ordered to follow the regiment to Berwick, where he is continually exhorting his comrades, 'to be good soldiers of Jesus Christ.' And many already have listed under his banner.

Friday 15. In the afternoon I preached at Ale-mouth. How plain an evidence have we here, that even our outward work, even the societies, are not of man's building. With all our labour and skill, we cannot in nine years time, form a society in this place; even though there is none that opposes, poor or rich. Nay, though the two richest men in the town, and the only gentleman there, have done all which was in their power to further it.

Saturday 16. I rode on to the poor colliers at Placey. When we came hither first, John Lane, then nine or ten years old, was one of the first who found peace with God. From that hour he continued to walk, day and night, in the light of his countenance. I saw him last year, longing to be with Christ. But he was detained here a little longer, that he might witness a good confession in death as well as in life. He praised God as long as he had breath, and was buried a day or two before I came.

May 17. I preached in the morning at Gateshead, to a huge congregation, on our Lord's words, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." About five, I began near the Keelmen's hospital, many thousands standing round, or sitting on the grass. The wind was high just before, but scarce a breath was felt all the time we were assembled before God. I praise God for this also. Is it enthusiasm to see God in every benefit which we receive?

Monday, June 15. About noon I preached near Shackerley, at an old man's house, who was groaning for redemption. We walked together a little way, after preaching; and almost as soon as we parted, the power of God fell upon him, so that he hardly knew whether he was on earth or in heaven. From that hour he has been continually filled with peace and joy in believing.

At my return to Bol'on, I wrote down a particular account of one that lately adorned the gospel. It was as follows:—"In April, 1746, Katherine Whitaker went to Halifax to hear John Nelson. She was before convinced of the truth by reading, and from that time grew more and more serious. The next year John H—— called at our house. As he was going, he turned back, took her by the hand, and said, "you must believe." As soon as he was gone, she began crying to God, and ceased not till she knew she did believe in Christ. She never afterwards lost the sense of his love; nor could she rest if she found the least cloud, till it was removed, and the clear light shone again upon her soul.

In May 1750, she removed to Bolton, still rising at five, four, or three in the morning, and continuing to teach her scholars as usual, till winter 1751. From that time her bodily strength failed, though she did not keep her room till March. She was then afraid lest she should live to be a burden to her relations, but that fear soon vanished away, and she said, "Now I can leave it all to God; let me die sooner or later, it is all one." But she had still some

struggle concerning her husband, before she was thoroughly willing to give him up.

The next Friday but one before she died, one of her sisters sitting by her began singing,

"O happy, happy day,
That calls the exile home."

She immediately joined with her, and sung on to the end of the hymn. The Thursday after, she looked round upon us, and said, "O how I love you all. I am all love. I love every soul God has made." Her husband asked, "Are you happy?" She said O yes,

"I cannot fear, I cannot doubt;
I feel the sprinkled blood."

Sing on, sing on,

"Let every soul with me cry out,
Thou art my Lord, my God."

At breakfast, she desired a little cold water, on receiving which she looked up and said, "In a little while I shall drink new wine in the kingdom of my Father." About ten o'clock she broke out,

"My God is reconciled,
His pardoning voice I hear,
He owns me for his child,
I can no longer fear."

One asking her "how she did?" she said, "I long to be with him whom my soul loveth." On Friday and Saturday, being extremely weak, she spoke very little. On Sunday morning, she partly sung and partly repeated that hymn,

"O when shall I sweetly remove,
O when shall I enter my rest!
Return to the Sion above,
The mother of spirits distressed."

She then said, "who is in the house? O, I do not love this staying at home on a Sunday. Desire them all to go to church. When I was most diligent in going to church, I always found the greatest blessings." At night she said, "swelled legs for a little time; there will be no swelled legs in heaven." About five on Monday morning, March 23, her husband asked, do you know me? She said, yes, I do, and putting her arm round his neck, quickly began to slumber. Waking soon after, she said, "I must make haste and dress myself for the bridegroom." She then dozed afresh, but waking in a few minutes, said, "I am going to Christ," and fell asleep.

August 9, Sunday. At eight we had the usual congregation in the market-house, and the usual blessing. Mr G—— preached an excellent sermon at church, on the necessity of the religion of the heart. At five I preached on the Connaught side of the river.

Here I learned from her husband, that Rose Longworth found peace with God in June 1749. This she never lost, and often rejoiced with joy unspeakable. From that time she was always remarkably serious, and walked closely with God. In spring 1751, she found a great decay of her bodily strength. But of this she never complained, being only concerned lest her soul should suffer loss. In July following she was removed into the country, and still continued walking in the light. Toward the latter end of the month, apprehending her time was short, she desired to return to Athlone. On Saturday, the 21st, she returned extremely weak, but continually praising God, and all the following week expressed a strong desire to depart and to be with Christ.

Mr —— administered the sacrament to her on Sunday. She could speak little, but said, she had no doubt of her salvation. He was deeply affected,

and said, he believed her, but could scarce speak for tears. When she could not be heard, she had her eyes constantly fixed upwards, and her lips moving. In the afternoon she fainted away; coming to herself she said, "Ah, I was disappointed; I thought I had escaped." She then prayed for her husband, for her parents, for the society, the church, and the whole world. A little after she ceased to speak, and went to God.

Monday 10, I preached at Aghrim, and found the people much alive to God. Tuesday 11, I rode over to Mr M——'s. How gracious has God been to this family. Some years ago his youngest daughter, after she had received a clear sense of the love of God, was brought to the gates of death, and continues still on the wings for eternity. His other daughter was suddenly struck last year, and after having witnessed a good confession, to all that were round about her, went to God in the full triumph of faith. Some months since, Mr M——'s brother began to decline; and two or three weeks ago, full of unutterable peace and joy, went to Him whom his soul loved.

Monday, November 6, A remarkable note was given me in the evening. It ran in these words: "James Thomson, sailor on board the George and Mary, a Sunderland collier, bound for Middleborough in September last, met with a gale of wind, which wrecked her on the Baynard Sands, off the coast of Zealand. Here every soul perished save himself, who was for three days and three nights floating on a piece of the wreck, with another man dead by his side, in which time the poor sufferer had lost his senses. At length he was taken up by the Dolphin packet, and escaped safe to land. He is now willing to return hearty thanks to God, and to proclaim his deliverance to the world, that all who hear it may 'praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that be doth for the children of men.'"

In the remaining part of this and in the following month, I prepared the rest of the books for the Christian Library, a work by which I have lost above two hundred pounds. Perhaps the next generation may know the value of it. (Thus far the Rev. Mr Wesley's journal.)

SCOTLAND.

From a Letter to the Publisher from Mr W—— of C—— May 7, 1756.

I am just now come home from witnessing the last sighs of one dear to you, to me, and to all that knew him. The worthy minister of Bathgate died yesternight, at ten o'clock. He was seized on Sabbath last, just as he was going to the kirk, with a violent cholick, which terminated his life, after a variety of changes, yesternight. My heart is like to burst when I think of him. What an invaluable friend have you and I lost. But what shall we say, it is the Lord hath done it; let us therefore hold our peace. We imagined the interests of his kingdom and glory, demanded the prolongation of life so remarkably useful; but it seems Infinite Wisdom thinks otherwise. O to be helped to rest satisfied because the Lord hath done it. Mr Adams was present, and will tell you with what pleasure and satisfaction he received the message, and went off a conqueror in all the triumphs of the Christian faith, crying, "My warfare is accomplished, I have fought the good

fight, my victory is completed. Crowns of grace shall adorn this head, and palms shall be put into these hands I now stretch out. Yet a little while, and I shall sin no more, but sing for ever. I know that my Redeemer liveth," &c. I cannot think of the joy that filled his heart in prospect of his decease, without pleasure. I was never witness to any thing so delightful.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr ADAMS, at Falkirk, 8th May 1656.

It is a painful office to be the messenger of bad news; but neither the distress it gives me to communicate the account I send you, nor that it must give you to hear it, can excuse me from informing one so much interested, that upon Friday night, about ten, I witnessed Mr Wardrope of Bathgate's entrance into the joy of his Lord with all the triumph of the Christian faith. But ah! who can help mourning the loss to the church of Christ. To this corner in particular it is an awful judgment. You knew him too well to need his character from any. In him I have lost my dearest and most intimate brother and friend. I know not the instance that could have had so threatening an aspect upon the progress of the Mediator's kingdom among us in these parts. His amiable character and universal regard gave him a distinguished weight and influence; and his Lord and Master had given him the heart to value that regard, only for its subserviency to his honour and glory, and to employ it upon all occasions, as Providence brought opportunity in his way for that end.

He was suddenly taken ill last Lord's-day, just as he was making ready to go out to preach, and from the first moment took a persuasion it was death. There were various symptoms which the physicians thought sometimes a little promising; but vain was the help of man. "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail from among the children of men."

I went to see him upon Thursday evening, and heard some of the liveliest expressions of triumphant faith and zeal for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls, interspersed with that amiable humility and modesty which shone eminently in his whole behaviour and conversation. "Yet a little while, and this mortal shall put on immortality. Mortality shall be swallowed up of life. This vile body shall be fashioned like to his own glorious body. O for the victory. I will get the victory. I know in whom I have believed." With a remarkably audible voice, and lifting up his hands, he cried, "O for a draught of the well of the water of life, that I may begin the song before I go off to the church triumphant. I go forth in thy name, making mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only. I lie at the foot of mercy." Then stretching out his arms he put his hand upon his head, and with the most serene and steady majestic eye I ever saw looking upward, he cries out, "Crowns of grace—Crowns of grace and palms in their hands; O Lord God of truth into thy hands I commend my Spirit." After some little unexpected recruit, when he had been thought to be going off, he says, "O I fear His tarrying, lest the prospect become more dark. He will take me home; none can be more willing to go. Perhaps he may nourish me this night, and not take me home till to-morrow. I sometimes fear he will spare me to live, and be less faithful than He has helped me to be." He said to me,

"You that are ministers, Oh bear a proper testimony against the professors of this age, who have a form of godliness without the power." Observing some of his people about the bed-side, he said, "May I have some seals among you. O where will the ungodly and sinners of Bathgate appear. Labour all to be in Christ, and take that way to heaven." Then he stretched out his hand to several, with a grand and striking composure and easiness, as if parting but for a little, saying, "Farewell, farewell. And now, O Lord, what wait I for; my hope is in thee." Once or twice he said, "Let me be laid across this bed to expire, where I have sometimes prayed, and sometimes meditated with pleasure." One instance I cannot omit of his Christian humility and modesty. Mr W— of C—, who attended him, was at so much pains, and such assiduous and fatiguing care, that the good man was expressing his grateful sense of it; to which his friend replied, too much could not be done for so valuable a life. He says with an ardour that showed the heart, "O speak not so, or you will provoke God. Glory to God that I have had any regard paid me for Christ's sake." Some tender things passed betwixt my dear deceased friend and me, which I could not then receive without emotion. I feel still more at recollecting them.

Mr Adams died March 20, 1757. In his character published in the newspapers, it is justly observed, "That he was the delight of good men in every station, and one of the brightest ornaments of the Church of Scotland."

The Rev. Mr F— V— to —, Nov. 30, 1756.

Why was I not suffered to fill up the measure of mine iniquities, and receive the wages of my mistaken choice? Why was I called to S—, from my old companions, taverns, cards, plays, &c.? Oh why was I, who not long since spoke evil of the things which I knew not, called into this marvellous light? Well, by the grace of Christ, I am what I am, and I trust his grace bestowed upon me was not nor will be in vain. Did I tell you, dear sir, that the Lord was visibly working for his own honour and glory here? Yes, last week we had a fresh and great instance of it. An idle fellow, by trade a whitesmith, has been here in and about for seven or eight years. He confesses he never used, nor ever thought of using, any means of grace in all this time, nor for a long while before. One night in bed he saw as if his spirit was departed from his body (Oh, the terrors of a guilty conscience!), and was going to its sad eternal abode. He immediately started up with the usual cry, what shall I do? He is become one of my small body, and seems to be in a most promising way. There is also one dear little girl awakened under catechising. Our number almost daily increases, bidding fair for a plentiful harvest. I desire your prayers, that I, (otherwise a weak instrument, and every way unfit for the work) may be secretly taught of the Lord how to lead these souls.—My friend (says Mr Fawcett) tells me, this clergyman has the largest and most populous parish in the country.

And the person to whom the above was sent, writes to Mr Fawcett, March 26, 1657. In a town called T—, not many miles from hence, God has hid many dry bones live. About eight months since, a pious humble young man, by trade a clock-maker, went there to settle, his apprenticeship being

expired at Truro. God has wonderfully blessed his pious endeavours with sinners, so that from one, and that to appearance an unqualified instrument, there is come a glorious society of more than sixty, most of them established Christians, and many more under awakenings, and amidst the most violent opposition (mobbing, breaking windows, &c. &c.) their number daily increases. The devil will storm when his kingdom is invaded, whether regular or irregular methods are used to pull it down. Wonderful are the ways of the Lord towards rebellious sinners. This has been evidenced by several very extraordinary awakenings among this people. One young fellow in particular, set out with full purpose of heart to root out those who turn the world upside down. Full of rage and revenge, he, with many others, foremost of the rabble, proceeded to the house where they met, and threw the first stone at the windows; when, wondrous grace! a dart from the Almighty struck through his liver, and made him roar for the disquietude of his heart, crying out with, till then unfelt torment, what have I done? whom have I persecuted? what will become of me? and making application to them at the same, with the most earnest crying, what must I do to be saved? He was very kindly received by them with open arms, and is now become as bold in the cause of Christ as formerly he had been in the cause of Satan.

The Rev. Mr Darracott writes, March 7 and 21, 1757.

It has, you know, been a time of great distress with the poor in general. Their condition here touched me tenderly. I therefore made a motion to the principals of the parish to raise a subscription for them, and first subscribed myself. We went through it with success greatly beyond our expectations. This little affair has opened my way for something greater. Being desired to assist at a parish meeting to consult about the manner of distributing what was collected, I proposed the putting in execution the laws against profaneness, &c., and suggested serious considerations in favour of such a proposal, especially the threatening state of the nation, and our peculiar engagements to promote reformation, according to our capacities, arising from our late solemn employment on the national fast. I bless God for the attention, unanimity, and zeal which appeared in all present. It was agreed to begin with the laws against Sabbath profanation. An abstract of these laws was drawn up and fixed on the church doors and other places of religious worship, concluding with these words,—"Zeal for the glory of God, and for the honour of the Sabbath, love to our king and country, and desire to avert the divine judgments from us, have determined the church-wardens and others to put these laws in execution against all persons without distinction, whereof they give this public notice." The chief men of the town resolved by turns to walk the streets every Sabbath day, and search all ale-houses, &c. It is delightful to see the happy effects,—places of public worship crowded,—ale-houses empty,—nothing done in the shops of barbers, &c.,—no idle walkers on the streets, but an air of solemnity, becoming the sacred day, reigned through the whole town. At the close of the first Sabbath I insisted on the words of Nehemiah, "then contended I with the nobles of Judah, and said unto them, what evil thing is this that ye do, and profane the Sabbath-day, &c. The gentlemen, on the se-

cond Sabbath, were pleased to take in their pockets a number of Reynold's Compassionate Address, and to leave one in every ale-house. And farther to animate them in this good work, some of "Dr Woodward's Account of the Societies for Reformation" are to be distributed among the principal inhabitants. About the same time, it happened that a recruiting serjeant came into our assembly. The second sermon he heard me preach, from Jerem. viii. 6, was made the happy means of his deep and serious impressions, for he cried out with inexpressible agony, "What have I done?" From that day he continued with us three weeks, and in all that interval gave us the most satisfying evidences of a true conversion, so that we took him to communion the day before he left us, at his own earnest request, and to the edification and joy of the whole church, though in doing it so speedily, we entirely departed from our constant practice, but the uncommon nature of the case, rendered the deviation both safe and profitable. His account of his past life much resembles Colonel Gardiner's before his happy change. He is a native of Scotland, his parents were pious, but both dead. He very soon broke from the restraints of a religious education, for he was but fourteen when he was first enlisted, and has been in the army 26 years, in which time he has seen his regiment almost destroyed twice over. His dangers and deliverances, by sea and land, have been remarkable, but he himself unaffected by all, as well as by all the sermons he ever heard in the three kingdoms. He used to think it was not possible for anything to touch his heart; but divine grace has done it, and never have I seen, in so short a time, so thorough a change. His wife is a very sensible woman, a native also of Scotland, and who retains the good principles of her education. She has of late been more thoughtful about her eternal interests, partly owing to her having been among some methodists in Ireland, and since that has been more earnest with her husband to reform from his swearing, drunkenness, &c., which made her so much his burthen, that he thought of leaving her, as unable to bear her serious discourse any longer. But now they are mutually delightful and profitable to each other beyond expression. It was the very morning after he had been with us at the Lord's table, that an order came for his going with his recruits to Exeter. We parted with prayer. A most tender parting it was. He fell upon my neck, overcome with a sense of his obligations to me, blessing God he ever entered the town, or saw my face, &c. &c.

ACCOUNTS FROM VIRGINIA.

From a Letter to the Rev. Mr. —, in Scotland, from the Rev. Mr. WRIGHT in Virginia, 20th January 1757.

Blessed be God, we have had more of the power of God last spring, summer, and autumn, than ever. This I told Mr Adams. But since I wrote him, there have been some remarkable revivings in Messrs Davies's, and Henry's, and mine. The former had it chiefly among the negroes, the other among the youth, and in my congregation I may say it was general, and eminently among young people. When I went off to the synod on the first Thursday of September, which was the Thursday after my sacrament, I don't know that I left above two cold and unaffected hearts in my congregation. I had another sacrament on the third Sabbath of November, which was

a day of special outpouring of the spirit, as far as I could judge. Christ triumphed among us. This was my third sacrament. Last July twelvemonth, I had about a hundred new communicants; last August about eighty or ninety added; and last November between thirty and forty new ones. At my first I had not quite six young people, but at my last I had between fifty and sixty. Do tell this to the young in Scotland, that the wild Virginians may shame them. Alas, when I lived there, I loved play more than the cross of Christ. There are many particular instances of convictions very remarkable, but I cannot take time to give you the account of them now. But this I would remark, that convictions were more deep and pungent last year than formerly, and that more got clear views of salvation this summer, than I have known since I came to Virginia before.

I sent you from Newark the commencement of a sermon of my good friend Mr Davenport's, which I know will be cheering and supporting to you. There seems to be something of a religious stir among the negroes in my congregation, and among little children. I believe I have five or six of the former, who have even now a title to heaven. They received lately a present of addresses done by Mr Fawcett of Kidderminster, Testaments, Bibles, &c., which animates them much to learn to read. A good number of ministers in this country entered into a concert of prayer on Saturday evening and Sabbath morning, not only for the church in general, but for one another in particular. Will you not get a goodly number to join?

From a Letter to the Publisher from the same Hand, January 21, 1757.

I shall not transcribe what I sent enclosed to the Rev. Mr. —, but, having nothing else to add, shall give some account of convictions since last spring, which I esteem very remarkable.

A man attended on my ministrations ever since I came here, who was all his lifetime uncommonly serious, but had been tainted by the leaven of the Quakers to such a degree, that he could not join with us; neither had his children baptised. This summer he seemed frequently affected; but upon the preaching of two Quakers within ten miles, he was uncommonly affected, which made me think that he was irrecoverably confirmed in that awful heresy. But, blessed be God, the Sabbath before the August sacrament, the snare was broken and his eyes opened. Upon a week day he told me, that he was fully convinced the eucharist and baptism were of Divine institution, and earnestly begged me to try his qualifications for the table. Upon inquiring into his religious exercises, I was well satisfied with his piety. He told me he endeavoured after the light within, till he found himself nothing but darkness, deadness, and everything horrible. It would cheer

¹ Of Mr Davenport, see Hist. Coll., pp. 357, 391, &c. The sermon here mentioned was preached by Mr Davenport at the opening of the Synod of New York, met at Philadelphia, October 1, 1755. In the preface by Mr Gilbert Tennent and Mr Richard Treat, are the following words: "Let not the pious author be offended with our freedom, in saying, that his life adds weight to this discourse; for the latter is but a copy of the former. Nor should it be forgotten, that the gracious God, who delights to honour the humble and sincere in heart, gave manifest tokens of his special presence when this discourse was delivered,—not only the speaker, but divers of the hearers, both ministers and people, being solemnly affected."

your heart to hear him talk. I have now six children to baptize for him.

Another instance is a young woman that was awakened last spring, but did not discover it till the beginning of November. Her husband, to whom she was married last September, had very uneasy thoughts about her turning a Presbyterian. About two weeks before our November sacrament, she told him she must come and talk to me, which shocked him much. Upon discoursing with me, I thought I had not seen any instance of deeper distress for many years. Forgetting God so long, slighting Christ when relations highly prized him, stifling convictions when she had them, seemed to her unpardonable sins. But her ignorance of God in consequence of that, and aversion to duty, she thought rendered her case quite helpless and hopeless; and which added to her distress, she said her husband was averse to religion. After I had spoke to her case, I told her the danger of her husband being her worst enemy unless converted, and exhorted her, to cry mightily to God for his conversion, which she promised to do. After she got home, he was in a rage, and authoritatively insisted upon hearing every word I said to her; but she refused, because he was in such a rage. According to directions, she cried night and day for him, and the Lord inclined his ear and answered prayers; for her conduct and distress preached to his conscience, in so much, that the Saturday and Sunday before the sacrament he neither could eat nor sleep, telling her that she was holy and a lover of God, but he was a beast and infinitely worse. On the Sabbath morning she got ready to go to the sacrament, not doubting of his going till the very time, and then to her surprise found that he resolved against it. Upon which she asked the reason. He told her that he was too vile to appear at that holy place. He said it killed him at once. Upon which she and he wept together, and she begged him to go, and at last prevailed. After we dismissed in the evening, I saw him leaning upon her shoulder, pale as death, with the tears running in abundance. A few days after, I sent him a letter directing him to pray in the family morning and evening; but he put it off from day to day, till one morning he heard negroes at prayer, which struck him with such conviction, that he told his wife he durst not venture out of doors till they prayed together, which exceedingly rejoiced her; but he told her she must pray, for he was a beast and no man. Upon which they kneeled, but she could not get words, and cried bitterly, in which he heartily joined, and when they were tired weeping, they got up, humbled and ashamed.

I shall mention one instance more. The husband of one of my last summer new communicants, a young rake, the Saturday night before our last sacrament, after they got home, asked her what made all the people look as solemn as if they were afraid of thunder and lightning; and added he could not see how people could weep and look so. She told him that if ever he saw his danger, felt his misery and the power of the word of God, he could not help being just so. Upon which he answered, that he must have some strange new light before he could possibly be so. But on Sunday he was so struck, that he was like to roar out in the meeting-house. Ever since, he is a constant hearer, and has set up prayer in his family.

Dear Sir, pray for me and mine, and engage as

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many advocates as you can among the children of Zion, in the same charitable work.

COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY, &C.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr A. B., Feb. 12, 1757.

As I have had more fatigue, so I have had more comfort in my little society this winter than ever. There is at present, and has been for some time, more of a religious concern among the youth here than ever I have known; some of the most careless and thoughtless are considerably reformed, and others solemnly concerned, what they shall do to be saved.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr DAVIES, Hanover, June 3, 1757.

It is with great pleasure, and ardent gratitude to God and man, that I hear of so many and such generous societies formed, in various parts, for promoting Christian knowledge, by distributing good books, especially as Hanover, the favourite spot of the globe to me, has been so highly distinguished with so large a share of this generous charity, and my unworthy hand has had the honour of conveying it. I really hope it has had very good effects already, especially among the poor African slaves, whom I have considered as the most proper objects of it. In their names, and my own, I heartily thank the society in Glasgow for their liberal and well-chosen benefaction. Mr Richardson, now a resident in my family, and myself will divide them according to direction, and endeavour to distribute them to the best advantage.

Nothing remarkable has happened of late as to the state of religion here, but what you have seen in my letters to my English correspondents. But my honest friend Mr Henry has had remarkable success last winter among the young people in his congregation. No less than seventeen of them were struck to the heart by one occasional evening lecture; and he tells me he has great hopes of the perseverance of sundry of them, and that hardly any of them appear discouraging.

But the best news that perhaps I ever heard in my life, I lately received from my favourite friend, Mr Samuel Finley, minister of Nottingham, Pennsylvania, tutor of a large academy, and one of the trustees of the college of New Jersey. I had sent him some extracts from my British letters, giving an account of the revival of religion in sundry parts of England, particularly among the clergy; in answer to which he writes thus:

— April 16, 1757.—“I greatly rejoice that our Lord Jesus has put it in my power to make you a large compensation for the good news you sent me. God has done great things for us. Our glorious Redeemer has poured out his holy spirit upon the students at our college,” (i. e. the college of New Jersey), “not one of all who were present excepted; and they were in number sixty. The whole house, say my correspondents, was a Bochim. Mr William Tennent, who was on the spot, says he never saw any in that case, who had more clear views of God, themselves, their defects, their impotence, and misery, than they had in general—that there never was, he believes, in any house, more genuine sor-

row for sin, and longing after Jesus—that this glorious work was gradual, and spread like the increasing light of the morning—that it was not begun by the ordinary means of preaching, nor promoted by alarming methods; yet, so great was their distress, that he judged it improper to use any arguments of terror in public, lest some should sink under the weight—that what makes the gracious visitation more remarkable was, that a little before some of the youth had given a greater loose to their corruptions than was ordinary among them, a spirit of pride and contention prevailing, to the great grief, and even discouragement, of the worthy president—that there were no public outcries, but a decorous, silent solemnity—that before he came away several had received something like the spirit of adoption; being tenderly affected with a sense of redeeming love, and thereby disposed and determined to endeavour after universal holiness.

Mr Treat and Mr G. Tennent tell me in theirs, that the concern appeared rational, solid, and scriptural, and that in a remarkable degree. I was informed by some of the students, who had been my pupils, that this religious concern first began with the son of a very considerable gentleman of New York. The youth was dangerously sick at college, and on that occasion awakened to a sense of his guilt. His discourse made some impression on a few others, and theirs again on more; so that it became almost general, before the good president, or any others, knew anything of it. As soon as it became public, misrepresentations were spread abroad, and some gentlemen sent to bring their sons home. But upon better information, the most were sent back again. The wicked companions of some young gentlemen left no methods untried, to recover them to their former excess of riot, and with two or three have been lamentably successful.

Mr Duffield (a worthy young minister) informed me the other day, that a very hopeful religious concern spreads through the Jerseys, especially among young people. In several letters from Philadelphia, from Mr G. Tennent and others, I have assurance of a revival there, for which good people are blessing God. Lawyer Stockton informs me, that he is certified, by good authority, of a gracious work of God at Yale College, in New Haven."

This, sir, is some of the best news from one of the best of my correspondents. You will join with me in blessing God, and congratulating posterity, upon this happy surprising revolution, in a college, to which the eager eyes of so many needy churches look for supplies. Perhaps it may afford me the more pleasure, as my having taken so much pains to promote that institution, gives me a kind of paternal solicitude for it, though I live near 400 miles from it.

The finger of God is the more conspicuous in this affair, as the students, who had so often heard such excellent sermons from the worthy president, and from the many ministers from various parts, who have occasionally officiated there, without any general good effects, should be universally awakened by means of a sick boy. Though this college was well-founded, and is well-conducted; yet I must own I was often afraid it was degenerating into a college of mere learning. But now my fears are removed by the prospect that sincere piety, that grand ministerial qualification, will make equal advances.

The Rev. Mr EDWARDS of Stockbridge to the Rev. Mr EDWARDS of Culoress, April 12, 1757.

Amidst the great darkness which attends the state of things in British America, God is causing some light to arise. We have news truly joyful concerning the college in New Jersey. I had a letter from Mr Burr, dated Feb. 14, 1757, wherein he says,—“I have never had more constant hurry and fatigue with the college than this winter; and never so much comfort. There has been a growing concern about the things of religion among the students for some time past; some that have been very vain and careless have been remarkably reformed. One at present under as deep convictions as I have almost ever seen; and they seem to be of the right kind. There has been a religious society for prayer, &c. that meet once a week, ever since the college has been under my care, though attended but by few till this winter; but now I think above half the students join in it. I am acquainted by Mr Treat of some revival of religion at Fogs-manor, under the preaching of Mr Duffield; as also in Philadelphia under Mr Gilbert Tennant.”

Mr Burr adds, in a postscript, dated Feb. 20,—“The person I mentioned as under deep convictions has hopefully met with a saving change. Though much old experience has taught me to judge of these things more by the fruits than any account of experience for a short season. Some others seem deeply concerned. There don't appear at present any signs of such imprudence as have too often attended the revival of religion. Such as we look upon to be truly religious in the society I have endeavoured to direct and caution in the best manner I could; and they seem to conduct with prudence, and are no small comfort and assistance to me on this occasion. I concluded with our pious governor that, as soon as the season would admit of the trustees meeting, we would keep a day of fasting and prayer, to implore the Divine blessing on the college, and humbly to adore him that his providence has so remarkably appeared for it: have fixed on the first Tuesday in April for that purpose.”

Afterwards, in a second postscript, dated Feb. 22, he says,—“I have now much more to add about the religious concern in college, but must refer to my wife's letter. I never saw anything in the late revival that more evidently discovered the hand of God.”

His wife in her letter to her mother (Mrs Edwards) of Feb. 21, says,—“Although I have wrote one letter, I doubt not but another will be agreeable, when it brings such good news concerning Zion. A great and glorious work is going on in college. God is evidently here in a surprising manner. Mr Burr mentioned the hopeful conversion of one. I can now add another, that has been the subject of a very remarkable and evident work of grace; and many under anguish of soul seem to be brought to the birth. Mr Spencer says, he never saw anything more remarkable in the late revival than what he saw the last night. This morning a pious young man came to call Mr Burr, said a number were met in one room in great distress. Certainly a glorious work of God is going on.”

After this, I had another letter from Mr Burr about the end of the same month of February, wherein he says, “For near a week past, a religious concern has been universal, not one student excepted. There

is a surprising alteration in the society. The minds of the students are taken off from their vanities and vicious courses, to which they were most addicted; their conversation seems naturally to turn on the things of religion, and it seems to be without affectation. The utmost harmony prevails, not the least appearances of censuring, judging, &c. Though a considerable number have received comfort, there is no public proclamation about it. Time must discover what genuine effects will remain. I can't but hope a number have been enabled sincerely to give themselves to Christ. It has been remarkably carried on by the still voice of the Spirit; no boisterous methods; no special pathetic addresses to the passion. I told you in my last, that above half the students joined in a religious society that had long been kept in college; I can now tell you, that last week the whole society joined, not one excepted. It would do you good to see the solemnity and good order which everywhere appears. When the religious concern first began, I called such as were hopefully pious, laid before them what I thought had obstructed the work of God heretofore. Their conduct has been very prudent. I sent for Mr William Tennant, who spent sundry days here, who perfectly agreed with me as to the method of conducting this important affair, and has been exceeding helpful by private applications."

I have also lately heard very credibly, that there has appeared the winter past, a very evident reformation in the college at Newhaven in Connecticut; that many have changed their meetings for mirth and diversion into meetings for prayer, &c., and much more good order, sobriety, and diligence than common, has appeared through the whole society. That college is now the largest, having the greatest number of students of any in America.

There is also at this time a very remarkable awakening and revival of religion at Bedford, a small town about thirty miles from hence, under the pastoral care of Mr Smith, a pious young minister.

P. S. After I had finished the preceding letter, the same day I received a letter from Mr Bellamy, in which he informs me of a pretty remarkable revival of religion lately in two parishes in Lebanon, viz. those under Mr Williams and Mr Wheelock.

P. S. April 13. I this morning received another letter from Mr Burr, wherein he says as follows:—"The behaviour of the students has tended much to silence our enemies, who invented and spread the most false and malicious reports, upon which some sent for their children; but they are all like to return, excepting the two sons of one gentleman, who went so far that he did not know how to come back, but I am persuaded is heartily sorry for what he has done. It is matter of thankfulness, that I have not one scholar but speaks well of the reformation; so that their being called home has served to confute the false reports. The religious concern has had a good effect on all, and with many, I trust, issued in a saving conversion to God."

The Rev. Mr BURR to the Rev. Mr ESKINE of Culross, March 1757.

In my last I acquainted you that a religious concern began to prevail among the students. Since that time it greatly increased, and indeed became universal, without any exception, so far as I could observe; with some in a greater, and some in a lesser degree. Many were deeply distressed, and had very

lively apprehensions of their guilt, misery, and danger out of Christ. Such as appeared heretofore void of any sense of divine things, were now seriously inquiring what they should do to be saved. Though I have had considerable opportunity in time past to observe such things, I never observed conviction of sin so rational, solemn, and thorough; nor any, to the same degree, with so little outward noise and show, or attended with better effects; and this was the opinion of Mr Spencer and Mr William Tennant, who were here some part of the time, and had opportunity of making observation.

The minds of the students were remarkably taken off from the pleasures and vanities of the world, and turned on things of religion, which now appeared in their reality and importance, and became the subject of their conversation when together. They discovered an uncommon disposition to hear about the things that related to their eternal peace. And whatsoever was spoken on divine subjects, they seemed to bear with great attention and solemnity, and with frequent weeping, though never with any indecent noise. This religious concern has produced a visible change in the whole college, and with many I hope it has issued in a saving conversion to God. There is a very remarkable reformation as to many disorders and vicious practices, which before too much prevailed, notwithstanding the extraordinary pains taken to suppress them. The government of the students, as to their moral conduct and decent behaviour, which has been heretofore attended with great difficulty, now becomes easy and delightful. Such as had been before addicted to vice were reformed to the admiration of all that knew them before. They have often been admired for their serious and decent deportment, when they appeared in public.

There had been a little before a great alienation of affection among the students; their spirits were much embittered towards one another, being divided into two parties; the contention grew so high as to threaten much mischief to the society. This difference was in some degree accommodated before, but when the religious concern prevailed, it wholly disappeared; and there has since a delightful harmony and friendship subsisted amongst them. They live together like brethren, and seem to have buried all their former controversies. In a word, so far as I yet can observe, there is much more of a serious conscientious regard paid to the duties they owe to God, their neighbour, and themselves, among the students than heretofore. And I have often said, if a moral deist thoroughly knew the state of the college before and since, he would confess there was a change much for the better.

This reformation was the more remarkable, as it was brought about without any extraordinary means. The dangerous sickness of one of the students gave the first rise to it; he had some lively sense of his sin and danger in his illness, and his conversation with his companions was blessed as a means of bringing them to some seriousness about their everlasting concerns. This gradually increased, and was communicated from one to another. It was not begun, nor in any special manner promoted by preaching; sermons have not been multiplied at this season, as has been represented, and I think there was less terror and awakening in them, than at other times: no warm addresses to their passions, as their case did not require it; and no religious exercises were at any time carried on in the hours appointed for study.

The students were particularly cautioned against such excesses and extravagances as, with too much reason, were complained of in the late revival of religion in this land; and their conduct has been remarkably prudent and discreet.

The enemies of our college have, however, spread the most false and malicious reports to its disadvantage—that *the students were all mad, &c.* which I need not mention, or attempt to refute, as I am persuaded they will never reach your ears; for the authors of them begin to be ashamed, finding there is no foundation to support them.

It has often appeared surprising to me, as well as matter of great thankfulness, that the whole affair was so conducted as to take away all foundation for such clamours as have been raised amongst us. However, some at a distance have been so imposed upon as to send for their children; but on being acquainted with the true state of things, all but one have, or design to send, them back again; and the most profess themselves, not only satisfied, but well pleased. There is at present a greater prospect of the increase and prosperity of our college than ever. I doubt not you will help us in your prayers to give God the glory of what he has done for us, and hope you will not cease to pray for you, &c.

P. S. May 31, 1757. Last month was the usual time of vacation for the students. Their good conduct has effectually silenced the false reports some ill-minded people had raised to our disadvantage. And since their return, the good effects of the religious concern they were under are very visible and desirable.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr EDWARDS of Stockbridge, July 28, 1757.

I shall now inform you what things have come to my knowledge, that in any respect appear favourable to the interest of religion in America, leaving it with you to judge whether it be proper to insert anything of it in any of the numbers of your Appendix.

Mr Burr, in a letter dated May 14, 1757. Speaking of the state of the college in North Jersey, with respect to the late great awakening there, and of the vacancy in the spring, wherein the students were allowed to go home and visit their friends, which I had wrote to him about, after giving the reasons of his granting the said vacancy, he says:

“Upon the whole, I believe it has proved no disadvantage. Such false and malicious reports had been spread about the scholars running mad, &c., that a considerable number of the students were sent off by their parents, and they were daily going off. Their dispersion has proved an happy means of convincing the world of the falseness of these reports, and establishing the credit of the college. When the religious concern first began to prevail in the college, I laboured to keep it as private as possible; and it became universal before it was known among the ministers and people in neighbouring places. But when the agreeable news brought many of the ministers together, reports began to spread, and scholars to be called off. This seemed to divert their thoughts in some degree from the best things. Since their return, they appear to be very serious, behave exceedingly well, and the good effects are very visible; and in many respects they seem to be in a more desirable state than when they parted; though some have in a great measure lost their con-

cern. The enemies of our college begin to be ashamed of the reports they have spread, as there appears so little foundation to support them. It appears surprising to me, as well as matter of great thankfulness, that the students have conducted themselves with so much prudence. Three of the students that were sent for home I do not expect will return; but three have been added to the college since, and seven to the grammar school. There appears to me a greater prospect of the increase of the college, as well as of its answering the important ends of its institution, than ever. It is remarkable there has been no controversy among the students about the matters of religion, no appearance of any opposition, except in one scholar, who was absent at the time, and that only on his first coming. A most delightful harmony seems to subsist among them. The government of the college is delightful and easy.”

In another letter, of June 4, Mr Burr makes mention of a late remarkable revival of religion in Mr William Tennent's congregation, at Freehold, in New Jersey.

In another letter, of July 10, he says: “The visible good effects of the late revival of religion in the college continue beyond my expectations. Our numbers have increased this summer; some that have come lately are under religious concern.”

Mr Davenport, minister at Hopewell, in New Jersey, in a letter dated May 7, says: “Within a few days, I have heard of a reviving religious concern at Freehold, and something at Newark, and Danbury in Connecticut. I heard particularly of a negro of Mr White's, the minister there, that had been very ignorant, being remarkably and hopefully converted. I had the account from one or more that had information from those places. As I understand, at some or all these places, accounts from New Jersey college, and conversation with some members of it that had been under religious exercise, had some happy influence. A letter from Mr Gilbert Tennent, of Philadelphia, dated April 27, 1757, informs me, that two persons there, to appearance, are lately converted, and that the children are frequently affected in their conventions. Mr Tennent has been lately more than ordinarily engaged in endeavours in public and private for the good of his people, especially young persons and children. Several other ministers our way seem to be quickened. I forget whether I informed you in my last letter before this, what I was informed of last summer by Mr Hodsen, a gentleman of undoubted veracity, from South Carolina, that several ministers, and I think others, of different denominations, united cordially and harmoniously in their endeavours to promote the interests of religion, and had frequent brotherly meetings to this purpose. Not long since I received a letter from Mr Wheelock, dated February 21, 1757, wherein he says as follows: ‘We have seen much of the goodness of God, lately in a work of conviction, and as I trust of conversion, in my family, school, and neighbourhood. Mr Robbins, son to Mr Robbins, minister of Branford, our schoolmaster, Shelden a scholar, son to Elisha Shelden, Esq. of Litchfield, my daughter, R—, and I hope R—, and two of my neighbours. Every scholar, except one, in the school appears under religious impressions; and so do a number of my people. Saints seem to be wakening up, and things

1 Minister of a part of Lebanon, in Connecticut.

look with a better aspect than they have done for thirteen years past.

"In some places I have heard they have dropped attendance on the quarterly day of prayer, on the supposition that the concert was not intended to continue above seven years from the first conclusion about it. I should be glad of your thoughts upon this head, and an account of the practice of God's people in Scotland, &c., and would humbly propose that if there has been an increasing neglect, that concert may be publicly renewed, which doth not at all interfere with the late call from the city to the country." Thus far Mr Davenport.

In a conversation I had with Mr Eaton, (minister of Spencer, about ninety miles from hence, an eminently pious man,) in a late journey to Boston, he informed of several ministers of the younger sort, in those parts, that had lately fallen under remarkable awakenings. When I was in Boston, I was invited to spend some time in a private religious meeting of younger women, of considerable figure, and one of them one of the greatest fortunes in Boston. They seemed to have their hearts greatly engaged in religion; but keep their meeting very private. They informed me that there were several other such societies in the town, kept up since the earthquake that was the year before last, and that they thought those that belonged to them had their minds still as much engaged in religion as ever.

With respect to the renewing of the concert for prayer, which Mr Davenport speaks of, I wish it might be explicitly done, and that it were done for a longer time, for ten or fourteen years, and I would propose that before it be done, many, in different parts of Great Britain, may be consulted by letters, that their mind may be known, that so it may be signified in the proposals for the renewal of the concert that shall be printed, that it is the united desire of many ministers, and other Christians, in different parts of England and Scotland, which will be a very great encouragement and incitement to others to join in the affair. Perhaps it will be convenient that the proposed time and method of the concert should be printed, to save the trouble of often transcribing; yet I should think it best that the union should be come into, maintained and encouraged, chiefly in the way of private correspondence. I wish there might be much corresponding on such a subject between the people of God and the hearty friends of the cause of Christ, in all parts of the Church of God, however distant one from another, that the concert may be as much as possible the united cry of the Church of Christ, and that, by such an extensive correspondence, the concert may be not only at first set forward and spread, but constantly and mutually encouraged, by God's people in different parts being informed by one another how the affair is managed, how it goes on, what numbers fall in with it, with what spirit it seems to be maintained; withal, informing one another of any instances, or happy tokens, or omens of success, in parts where they live, or that by any means fall under their observation and notice, which I think would be in many respects of great advantage, and would tend to the agreements spreading more and more. And if it be proposed for a pretty long time, there will be more opportunity for this.¹

If the concert should be heartily come into by great numbers in Britain, why could not some there

communicate the affair to some in some other parts of Europe, as Holland, Geneva, Switzerland, &c. I stand ready to do my utmost to promote the affair in all parts of the British America, so far as I can do it by conversation and letters, as far as I have any correspondence, and to give all information I can concerning the affair, to friends in Great Britain.

ACCOUNTS FROM VIRGINIA.

From a Letter to the Publisher from the Rev. Mr W— in Virginia, Nov. 14, 1757.

I have been very sickly all this spring and summer. I was obliged to quit preaching altogether, but could not keep silence; at last I fled from my flock, to be out of the temptation of preaching, but could not keep away long; and upon my return must preach or sink into melancholy.

I got some interval of ease about the middle of May, and preached at Willis Creek church, on Acts xvii. 30, which I thought then would be the beginning of days, though I had very little success there since I settled among them, but highly encouraged from what I felt and saw that day, appointed the communion to be given on the second Sabbath of June, but relapsing within ten days, sent letters acquainting them that Messrs Henry and Martin were to administer the sacrament, and that I should meet candidates at the church on Friday, and a fast on Saturday. Accordingly, under all possible discouragement, met at the church, and behold there was a congregation expecting a sermon. Though unable to do anything, I ventured to talk from *All things are ready, come to the marriage*. This was a word in season to saints and sinners. We had a preliation of what followed; but I think I never saw the cross of Christ triumph over the hearts of saints and sinners as on the Sabbath. Brother Henry preached in the morning from Rev. xxii. 17. One B. W., who had near three years been under sore temptations, added vastly to the solemnity of the day. On the Friday before, I asked him whether he intended to sit with us at the table? No, no, said he; such miserables as I have no business; I tremble at the thoughts of it, continued he. I endeavoured to convince him, but altogether in vain. At last I asked him whether he was willing to give up all his part and portion of the blood of Christ? No, no, said he, not for a thousand worlds! Well, then, said I, you must go to the table, for "all things are ready," or turn your back upon Christ and his shed blood. On Sabbath, when I arrived at the church exceeding sick, I led him aside, and he accepted a token trembling, and with great reluctance; I desired him to be led in and sit at the table, before the congregation filled the house, which he did. After Brother Henry finished his sermon, I attempted to fence the table. I set apart the elements, and distributed the bread. This poor object was within four or five of me, and I found by his looks that he did not take the bread, upon which I took bread and went to him, but he told me that he could feel no faith. I dare not take, said he. But don't you want a Saviour, said I? O yes, O yes, said he; but I am not worthy of him. But are you not needy? O yes, said he, I am lost without him. But are you not labouring and heavy laden, said I? O yes, O yes, said he, I am crushed under the load of sin. Well, then, said I, Christ calls you by name to come to him, upon which he

¹ See Hist. Coll. p. 432, in the note.

took the bread into his hand and stood upright, and being a tall man, all the assembly almost could see him, and stretched forth his hands as far as he could, and looked with the most affecting countenance that ever I saw on the symbol of Christ's body, and wept and prayed to this purpose: "Lord Jesus, I am lost without thee," looking intensely at the bread; "I come trembling; I would fain be a partaker of thy broken body, for I am undone without thee; Lord Jesus, have mercy on me. He then attempted to put the bread into his mouth, but, by the trembling, could hardly get the bread into his mouth. He then sat down, and with all imaginable sedateness, partook of the wine. You would never forget the solemn transaction between Christ and that poor sinner, if you was spectator as I was. I know I never shall in this world, as long as I can remember anything.

The whole day was one of the days of the Son of Man; when Christ was lifted on the cross, he seemed as if he would draw all unto himself. I received at this sacrament about thirty-six new communicants.

From a Letter to the publisher from the Rev. Mr D—TT, at W—n, Somersetshire, Sept. 17, 1757.

My accounts from Cornwall continue comfortable. Two more clergymen have been lately raised up there, whom God is greatly owning. Several clergymen in Bristol are preaching the gospel with great success. About four months ago I had the pleasure of conversing with them at the lodgings of that eminently pious lady, the Countess of H—n, and we took sweet counsel together. I hear also of great things doing in London, of some appearance of a work among our great folks. You have surely heard of G— the Jew; he is a person of an immense fortune. What think you of the grace of God coming into his family. His youngest daughter is, it seems, a real convert to vital Christianity, and by her letters has had some happy influence upon her sister, who is married to Lord —. Mr G— has a son about twelve years old, on whom he bestows a great deal of learning. One day the child said to him, "I thank you, papa, for giving me such an education, but I'll be a minister, and preach the dear Lord Jesus Christ, my sister's Saviour." Upon the death of a favourite servant in the house, the young gentleman came down in the morning with this question to the servants, "is he dead?" They told him he was. "Then," said he, "I charge you that none of you tell papa or mama of it; I'll tell them myself, and I have a particular reason for it." So he went into the room where Mr and Mrs G.... were, and with the greatest solemnity, addressed them as follows: "Sir and madam, your favourite servant is dead; he is gone to appear before God's awful tribunal; and there you, sir, and you, madam, must stand too, and if you are not found in Christ, must be eternally miserable for all your money;" and then withdrew.

From a paper sent to Mr WHITEFIELD by Mr HART of Warminster, Feb. 3, 1757.

The following instance of conversion appears, in my judgment, to be so remarkable, that I think it my duty to record it in writing, for the honour of God, and profit of immortal souls:

Yesterday, between the hours of one and two, a poor man of this parish, whose name is James Watts, and to whom, before that moment, I was an entire stranger, came to my house, and entreated me to go and pray with his daughter, who lay at the point of death, assuring me that she was quite sensible, though almost speechless. Immediately I found in my heart a reluctance and unwillingness to comply with his request, which I perceived to arise from hence: that I have often been sent for by hypocrites in times past, for no other purpose but to repeat over a few prayers (as they say) by their bed-side, from which they vainly hoped to receive the same benefits as the blind Papists do from extreme unction. I took that opportunity of talking very seriously to the man about his own soul. He received what I said with apparent meekness of spirit, and told me he had been under some concern about eternal things (and more especially his daughter had) ever since the death of his wife, which happened four or five months ago. He then left me, and I instantly followed him to his house, but O! how great was my astonishment and sympathising anguish of heart when they admitted me into the chamber of the sick woman. Such a scene of distress I never saw before, so solemn, so gloomy, so grievous to behold, that it transcends all the powers of description. Her body was emaciated and dried away. Sorrow had drunk up her blood, and her visage was so marred, that she appeared to be of an advanced age, and from whence I really concluded that the man had made some mistake in calling her his daughter; but yet she was no more than twenty-eight years old. Her head lay reclined on a pillow, and on a chair by the bed-side there was an open Testament, into which she looked with a wishful eye. I now addressed myself to her, and asked with much tenderness a question or two concerning her spiritual condition, and in order to know what sense she had of her guilt, I dropt a word now and then concerning the covenant of works, and the woful state of a soul that launches into eternity without a saving interest in Christ. I evidently saw that her heart was almost broke with despair, and that every syllable I had uttered was like vinegar poured into her wounds.

Her language was extremely affecting. "Oh!" cried she, "what shall I do without a Christ? How can I die without a Christ? Oh! that I had never been born—that I had never seen the light of the world—will not Christ save me—will he not receive my poor soul? Oh! he hath forsook me—Christ has rejected me—Oh! what shall I do—whether shall I fly—How can I ever bear the torments of hell?"

These are some of the expressions she used, and which were uttered with such a dismal tone of voice, such vehemence of elocution, wildness of look, convulsion of the eyes, and distortions of the body as I believe were never yet equalled by any actor on the stage. Indeed, I seemed to myself as if I were conducted to the mouth of hell, and there caused to look in upon its wretched inhabitants. But I must observe by the way that when I first addressed myself to her, her tongue faltered very much, and scarcely anything she said was intelligible, though her bodily gestures showed what she felt; but as her grief swelled higher, her efforts to speak increased proportionably, and what she uttered became more articulate. When I had been in the room about a quarter of an hour, and was satisfied con-

cerning her inward state and condition from the fore-mentioned circumstances, I thought it high time to refresh her wounded spirit, with those healing medicines which the gospel of Jesus Christ affords. Accordingly I selected three comfortable passages of scripture, and recommended them to her immediate attention, viz. "The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which is lost. Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely."

At the first she seemed not to regard it at all, upon which I asked her if she was not thoroughly sensible that her soul at present was quite in a lost condition; which she having declared in the affirmative, according to her nervous manner of expression—why then, said I, the Scripture assures you, that the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost. I moreover added a remark or two on the freeness of grace, telling her that every privilege and blessing contained in the gospel covenant was at this instant hers, upon her believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that there was an efficacy in our Saviour's blood to wash her guilty soul, and to make it as white as snow. She then raised herself upon the bed, waved her meagre arm from side to side, and seemed by her look and gesture, as if she actually saw the person of the Redeemer with her corporeal eyes, crying out with the utmost earnestness of desire, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." In short, at the first moment till now she resembled one of the distracted inhabitants of Bedlam. But she was not long held in suspense; presently her Beloved hastened to her relief, yea, and on a sudden He came leaping on the mountains and skipping upon the hills—the day broke, the sun arose, and the shadows of the night fled away. As the lightning shineth from the one end of the heavens to the other, so was the coming of the Son of Man. "Oh," said she, "He is come;" and clapping her hand to her breast, said, "He is come, I find him here; Jesus Christ has received my soul. Lord lettest now thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. Oh, the joys that I feel, the joys of heaven itself, such as no tongue can express"—with a few more words that I cannot recollect. She then burst forth into a triumphant hymn of praise, which I was unacquainted with, concerning the spiritual Jerusalem, the blessedness of the saints above, and the certainty of her own admission among that happy number; all which she sung with lively and rapturous emotion, whilst heavenly smiles adorned her countenance, and her very eyes sparkled with undissembled joy. I asked her father and those present if she were accustomed to sing, and they answered no, and were surprised beyond measure. I asked her where she learned that sweet hymn. She said in her little hymn book; but what she meant by that none could inform me. She then sung again, with which we were all so deeply affected, that we were quite drowned in tears. It was then impressed on my soul, that the Lord had made me abundant recompense for the little reproach that had been thrown upon me in the public newspapers last Monday, the thought of which so overwhelmed all my faculties, that I almost fainted, and I could not help wishing that every infidel in the land had been present on that occasion, inasmuch as they would have been furnished with an infallible demonstration of the truth and power of the

gospel promises, and though they might not have been converted, yet they must have been confuted. After this she insisted on our kneeling down to pray, when I, according to my poor manner, lifted up my feeble voice to the Lord for this marvellous instance of his loving kindness. Upon our rising up, she desired me to give her my hand, and grasping it with both of hers, she astonished us again with another hymn; in which she poured forth her ardent thanksgivings to Christ Jesus for having sent me to be the messenger of glad tidings to her guilty soul, and that I was born to be the instrument of saving many lost sinners, and that now from her example none need to despair. When she had ceased singing, she spoke out again in the raptures of her redeemed soul, saying, "That Christ was her beloved, her shepherd, her Lord and her God—that he had washed her in his blood, and reconciled her to the Father," &c.

She called for a Bible. I directed her to the 23d and 27th Psalms. She read them out with such a volubility of tongue and eagerness of spirit, as if she did even eat the words, plainly showing that her soul feasted on the delicious manna. She frequently paused as she went along, to tell us that she claimed the privileges therein recorded; and when she had done, she laid down the book, saying, "It is all mine." She then desired that her neighbours might be called in, to rejoice with her, saying, the lost sheep was found, and she would tell them what great things the Lord had done for her soul, and, what is a most amazing circumstance, every thing she now uttered was in verse, and in the measure of eight and six syllables, which sung to the same tune as before, and into these lines she introduced many of her neighbour's names, with an account of what she intended to say to some of them in particular, and all this with an entire freedom and readiness as was inconsistent with premeditation, and could not cost her a thought; and it is remarkable, that one of the neighbour's names was a woman with whom she had no acquaintance, but a woman that, in my opinion, is the most eminent Christian for divine wisdom, ardent zeal, undaunted courage, deep humility, and tender affection that I ever conversed with, and who for this reason bears a greater burden of reproach than all the rest of the believers in the parish besides. Whilst her father, in pursuance of her request, was gone to call in the neighbours, she exhorted them who were present, especially a young girl, with great earnestness, to mind the concerns of their immortal souls, on which occasion she denounced the terrors of the Lord to the unbelieving and disobedient, and gave them a description of the solemnity of judgment, which, partly in prose and partly in verse, was taken from the 25th of Matthew. She spoke of the torments of the damned in a manner exceedingly awful, solemn, and majestic. What they felt I know not; but to me it was quite awful, and perhaps I never had before so lively an idea of that last and most tremendous scene. Her nervous expressions, dismal tone, look, air, and gesture, bespoke her the trumpet of inexorable justice. When Mrs T— entered the room, she looked at her with a wishful countenance, and said, "Come in thou blessed of the Lord." Others came in presently after, but she did not say much, her spirits and strength being quite exhausted. As I saw her so weak and fatigued, I advised her to compose herself to sleep, and withdrew. I returned to her in the evening, and found some believers in

the room. She immediately said to me and Mrs T., as before, "Come in thou blessed of the Lord."

I asked her how she was, and she answered with a most harmonious voice, O angels wait around my bed; and added something more concerning the goodness of the Lord, who had sent to her by me, &c. Upon inquiry, I found she had slept almost the whole afternoon, not having closed her eyes the former night, and had been talking about heavenly things to those that were present, to their unspeakable amazement; but she was not quite so lively now, having again lost much of her strength. Feb. 4th, I saw her to-day. She was in great bodily pain, and so extremely weak, as not to speak many words at a time; but her heavenly looks and triumphant smiles showed that her hope was still full of immortality; and I found that the continual burden of her lips during my absence had been either, "My eyes have seen thy salvation," or else, "Come Lord Jesus, come quickly." I asked her if she still found the Lord to be her God. She could not answer, being almost suffocated with phlegm in her throat; but she cast a look so languishingly sweet, as if, with Stephen, she beheld the blessed Jesus standing on the shore of eternity to receive her departing soul.

On Sunday morning, February the 6th, she fell asleep in the Lord. Glory be to thee, O Lord Most High!

From a Minister in Devon, 12th May, 1757.

Very remarkable was Mr Walker's success among the soldiers at Truro. May a Divine blessing attend your paper! in the Magazine. Lately there was a company of soldiers sent hither, and continued with us about ten days. But two or three of them attended the meeting, and of these one (Hugh Roberts, a Welshman,) seemed remarkably serious and attentive. I had a good deal of conversation with them, particularly with this one. He gave me a short account of the manner in which he received his first religious impressions, which, because it will give you some pleasure, I will, as I can, relate. He entered into the army about seventeen years ago, sometime after the regiment to which he belongs (which, by the way, is one of those lately at Minorca,) was called to Edinburgh. As he was one evening taking a walk, there was a gentleman of the city, whose name was B—n, joined him, and, after some little conversation, asked him to come to his house. He accepted the invitation, and went the first opportunity. Mr B—n received him very kindly, gave him somewhat to eat and drink, and then addressed him in a religious way. At this time he was quite ignorant, and devoid of all sense of religion. He was directed to Mr W—; and from his being with Mr W— he dates the time of his conversion. His private conversation, and his public preaching, were greatly blessed to him, and he was taken into communion. Soon after he had left Edinburgh, he was in danger of returning to his former course of life. After he had set his face towards Canaan, he was returning again to Egypt; but he was made sensible of his danger, and through grace he has been enabled to persevere in the good ways of God. When in Minorca, he with several others would often meet together, when one read a sermon, and another prayed, just as it came in turn. He

1 Proposals for Amending the Morals of the Soldiery.

spoke of these seasons as peculiarly happy ones. On the whole, he appears to be an established Christian. Last week I was at Exeter, where the regiment lies, and sent for him, and had a good deal of agreeable conversation with him. Upon asking him if he had joined in communion with one of the churches there, he told me it was what he was very desirous of, but did not know how to make his application. I told a minister of the good man's desire, and he was soon admitted a member of his church. Last summer I had a very agreeable account of the Highlanders quartered in this neighbourhood. There are, it seems, numbers in that regiment who are well instructed in the principles of religion, and truly pious and devout. They make conscience of inward godliness, and have left a sweet savour behind them in the places where they resided. When they left this part of the country, they went to America, and the excellent spirit that is among them is a very encouraging circumstance. Did such a spirit prevail throughout the army and navy, might we not then hope, that a small force would vanquish a much greater, and that our enemies would be obliged to confess, that the Lord is with us of a truth?

Kidderminster, 4th June, 1757.

In answer to the above letter I observed, that the last Lord's day I had a pious soldier to hear me, and had him also at my house, and since that he brought his comrade with him, who was detained in this town by illness. The first was converted a few years ago under the Methodists, and proved the means of converting his comrade by his serious conversation. They are men of good sense, talk well, and made many pertinent and useful remarks on the state of religion in the towns where they are quartered. They read and pray together much, and are much valued by the houses where they lodge. I gave them some books, and among the rest a Bible; for having borrowed one of an ignorant landlord in this town, and having in their talk with him quoted Scripture for his conviction, he told them his Bible would make them mad, and therefore they should have it no longer.

The Lady, many of whose letters are in Mr G—'s hand, writes to me, April 30, 1757.

What thankfulness and praise is not due to the great Jehovah, King of kings, Lord of Lords, God in the highest above all, from and to eternity everlasting. O the unspeakable majesty of the Father of our Master Jesus, and the unfathomable abyss of his miraculous goodness of us miserable sinners in him! O Sir, what was I that I should be called to behold the mercy of the Creator in the face of his adorable Son? Far gone in the pharisaical path, I sinned with lofty pride, and though I knew my services could not extend to the Lord, yet I conceived (how shall I utter the blasphemer's word?) that even such as they were, they would conduct me half-way to heaven, and Christ would supply the rest. It may be asked, But where was your Bible then? Does not Paul inquire, Is Christ crucified? I must own the truth the sacred volume was so revered by me, that I kept it free from dust, and often perused the gospel as the written word of God, the records of his

will, which I was sensible we are bound to know and obey, as we hope to be saved. The Scripture marks of believing, many of them, seem plain enough, and I found a concern at seeing them verified, neither in myself or others. I was uneasy. The things of the world became totally unsatisfying, and in opposition to every allurements it could flatter me with, my very soul declared for God, and how to obtain his favour was my chief aim. My thoughtfulness and gravity, so unusual at my age, being then about sixteen, and the most awful impression I was under at confirmation, and now that I was assaying to robe myself for attending my first communion, caused the interposition of my female acquaintance, who did their utmost to settle me in fashionable Christianity. And they but too well succeeded; for I grew unhappily steady in their doctrine, and at London, or Bath, or wherever I was, the world offered me compliments I blushed to receive. But at the same time it convinced me I had its approbation, I judged it so dangerous, that I longed for retirement, where by reflection I imagined the hurt I contracted would be remedied, could go on unnoticed, and carry on my scheme of a religious life more conveniently. This is a short epitome of my state above — years of my mortal days, when it pleased God to take from me a dear relation, whom I could truly style a parent, sister, or friend; for the care, affection, and service each could bestow, centered in my cousin. Her death, which happened at London, called me to attend new business, and experience a new sphere, placing me here in the room of one more worthy. I could not suddenly come to occupy the seat of the dear deceased, and made half a year's visit to a brother at Truro, during which period a young person of that place, together with Mr Walker's ministry, in 1755, were the instruments of a gracious God to unrivet the scales and bring light to my eyes. You must allow I have cause to glorify God abundantly for his inestimable gift of free grace in Jesus Christ, and with him readily to wash the disciples' feet, who have helped me to such good, and theirs also who rejoice in it; deeming myself in nothing more distinguished than by the commands and persevering grace I receive in this spot of dearth, where I am situate as a mark for the unbelievers to shoot at. How necessary is the whole armour of God for so weak and inexperienced a babe!

From a friend in Cornwall, June 25, 1757.

Since I wrote you last, I have enjoyed the pleasure of attending the ministry of dear Mr Vowler at St Agnes, and found there abundant comfort in the hopeful prospect he has of glorifying king Jesus in the salvation of sinners among that once barbarous people. Such a congregation I hardly ever beheld. He has in his parish upwards of fifteen hundred men, mostly common tinnars, most of whom seem to receive the word with deep and solemn seriousness, while he displays, with persuasive language, the ways of sin, and the love of Jesus, the thunders of Sinai, and the mild still voice of Emmanuel, whose bowels yearn over sinners. Numbers inquire after Christ, and many, receiving him into their hearts, have peace and joy in believing.

From an eminent Clergyman in Lincolnshire, 10th October 1757.

What shall I say to you of Lord — (whom I
3 X

had praised in a letter) at this instant in my heart? Summer was twelvemonth at S —, he was pleased to take notice of my preaching Christ, and to admit me to his conversation then, and correspondence since. He is indeed a lovely youth, and values none of his titles but that of Christian. He seems deeply sensible of the dangerous situation he is in, and fears his rank and estate more than others covet them. Would you wish him a greater felicity? Yes, he has a lady of one heart and one soul with him, resolved not to be an inch behind him in the glorious race.

From a friend in Suffolk, 19th Nov. 1757.

Being lately assembled together, our minister with us, a great number of persecutors of the gospel arose, with great rage, threatening vengeance to all the followers of the dear Redeemer. But the Almighty, whose ways are past finding out, thereby constrained me to wait upon a gentleman in our parish, who was a very great enemy to the cause of Christ, and whose servants were at the head of the persecutors, with whom I had the happiness to spend some hours in the defence of the gospel, which has been so far blessed, that though at present he does not join us, yet he powerfully defends us. He was some time since my very great enemy, but has now declared himself my very great friend, even in the face of all my foes, so that our enemies' rage is turned against each other, and the people of God enjoy peace. May the Lord keep my heart from pride, and through grace may I ever be enabled to give him the praise due to his name for the wonderful deliverance wrought amongst us. A clergyman about seven miles from me was, about fifteen months since, powerfully awakened, and brought to an experimental knowledge of the gospel, which he soon preached boldly, and began to visit his flock at their houses. This has occasioned a great shaking among the dry bones, and about forty have been brought to the knowledge of Christ, and are surprisingly rejoicing in God their Saviour. But a gentleman in the place, who is an enemy to the truth, endeavoured to set the people against him, but not succeeding in his wicked design, applied to the bishop to turn him out of the church, because, by his doctrine, he was a dissenter. The bishop acquainted him with it, and threatened him. At the request of his congregation, he waited on the bishop, with a certificate under their hands, declaring their earnest desire to have him continued among them, but was not heard. He was turned out last Michaelmas. I heard him preach several times, and have been much in his company. He declares he will preach the gospel. He needs not a church benefice, for he is worth ten thousand pounds.

From an eminent minister in Salop, 10th Nov. 1757.

There is a most worthy and pious clergyman in this neighbourhood. He is by birth a Swiss, and now is tutor in the family of —. When he came first into these parts, he came occasionally to our meeting, though then nobody knew him. He seemed pleased with what he heard there, and said it was the only Christian sermon he had heard since he came into the country. He has since taken orders, and preached with great acceptance in several churches. He talks about the New Birth, and the Spirit of Bondage and Adoption, things that several of the hearers had never heard from the pulpit before.

I hope some good impressions have been made by his labours; one of my people lent him the *Rise and Progress*, which he commends as the best practical book he knows, and promised to buy and recommend it. By means of a pious girl, one of our people, this book was put into the hands of one of the daughters of the family, at the time she was looking for a play-book. She read some part of it, and the effect was, that she sent for the tutor into her chamber to pray with her. I hope God will own him as an instrument of doing much good in this wealthy family, and among the people where he preaches. Surely God will not quite forsake our land, when he is raising up so many faithful and zealous ministers in different parts of it.

From the Rev. Mr D—TT, Dec. 24, 1757,

It has pleased God to revive his work among us. I do think more has been done these few weeks in a way of awakening than I have known for these two twelvemonths. It principally is among the young people, and especially among the young women. I had more than twenty of such with me last Sabbath evening, and a most affecting season it was. They meet and pray together, and have agreed to spend Christmas in a different manner to what they ever did before. My dear daughter is one of them, and my heart is fuller of joy than I can express, to see and hear what I do. Infinitely more does it rejoice my heart to see her meet with these poor young women, and join with them in these exercises of social devotions, than to be called to a court, and numbered among the princesses of the earth. O pray, and praise God for us.

Account of the death of Miss RUTH CHILD, who died October 4, 1757.

On the approach of her last illness, she desired to see her dear friend Mrs S—, to whom she said, What shall I do? I never dreaded sickness and death as I do now; the enemy brings heavy accusations against me, and conscience says they are true. He charges me with being a hypocrite; but I can appeal to the Searcher of hearts I desire to be sincere. He tells me my heart is deceitful and desperately wicked. Oh, awful truth! Oh, here I sink! Oh, Lord, save me or I perish! Oh, help, Lord Jesus! Her friend said to her, Supposing all the tempter suggests is true, may the Lord enable you to come now as a perishing lost sinner. Remember that great word, "Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out." Christ makes no exceptions, do not you except yourself. He is the same compassionate Saviour he ever was. She answered, There is wrath in my cup. Oh, remove thy stroke from me, I am consumed by the blow of thy hand. Her distress of mind continued till Tuesday September 27, when, after lying very still for some time, she called to her friend, I have conquered through the Captain of my salvation. I have been enabled to tell the tempter, if all he accused me of was true, yet Christ calls me now. I told him it was his word, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." I know I am one of these, and all the devils in hell shall not hinder me from coming now, vile as I am. Christ says, come, and my heart answers, I come, Lord Jesus, thou only hast the words of eternal life, and thou had

said, my Father is greater than all, and none shall pluck you out of my Father's hand. I told the tempter I knew I had a heart of stone, but Jesus had promised me to take it away, and to give me, vile me, a new heart of flesh; and faithful is he who has promised, who also will do it, for he is faithfulness itself. Now I can give Satan the challenge, and say, "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." And for me, Lord, vile me. Oh, vile hell deserving me! I come to thee, O Lord, my righteousness and strength. I am going to the place where the inhabitants shall not say they are sick; for they are forgiven their iniquities. No room for pain there, sighing and sorrow shall flee away for ever. Oh, blessed eternity! Mrs S. desired her to take something to support nature. She replied, My flesh and my heart faileth me, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever. Oh, who can tell what a portion God is! no words can express it. O that my dear brother and his son may have this portion; my dear parents have got it in the promise, and they will soon have it in full possession. Tell my dear brother, for I think I shall see him no more here, that things will appear quite different to him when he is in the near view of the eternal world, as I am now, from what they do in health. Oh, how tender is conscience then! Tell him a whole Bible in the head is nothing: God says, My son, give me thy heart. O bid him do it now! Tell him now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation. God has appointed it, Christ has purchased it, and the Holy Spirit will apply it to his soul, if he is in good earnest. Tell him of that Scripture, and bid him plead it, "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?"

She desired her nephew to be called, for she had much to say to him. When he came into the room, she spoke to him in a most awful and affectionate manner, till her strength was almost quite spent. Her friend desired she would cease a little, and recover her strength. Oh, said she, let me tell him if he does not mind what I have now said to him, I shall rise up in judgment against him another day; and all my former instructions, as well as what I have now said to him, will stare him in the face at that great and awful day. Two or three friends coming into the room, she spoke to them in a most serious and suitable manner, till she was so far spent, that she could scarce utter a word more, only in a low voice to Mrs S., to remember what she had desired her to tell her brother, who was all that time from home. From Wednesday till Saturday the fever was so high, that her understanding was much impaired; but then her understanding became quite clear, and her lips were opened. She desired all her friends to withdraw, that she might be alone with Mrs S. She began—I long to be dissolved, and to be with Jesus. Had I ten thousand worlds, fain would I fly from them all to that Jesus who is the chiefest of ten thousands, and altogether lovely. This is my beloved, and this is my friend, that loveth at all times, that bled for me, that rose for me, that now sits at the Father's right hand to make intercession for me, O for vile me. Why me, Lord?

What, the Father's good pleasure to give me a kingdom? Oh, I long for possession. When, Lord? My dear parents and brother have been a heavy weight on my heart; but now I have cast them all upon that Jesus I am going to. Come, Lord Jesus, come Lord. On the Lord's day morning, seeing Mrs S., she said, My mansion is ready, let me go, you hold me back. My dear Lord Jesus assures me the gates of hell shall not prevail against me. After lying silent for some hours, with an uncommon sweet composure in her countenance, she cried out, Oh, I shall burst for joy, joy unspeakable, and full of glory. I long to begin the work of heaven! Her brother coming into the room, she said, Come; what, will you not help me? He, supposing she meant outward help, answered, I hope the Father of mercies will, I cannot. She replied, Yes, yes, help me forward a little, come along with me, begin now. He replied, If I have not begun, I hope I shall be enabled through grace to begin from henceforth to love and serve the Lord. She replied, I doubt not but you have begun; but go on, follow on to serve the Lord: it is not the almost Christian, but the altogether Christian that Christ will own at that day. Come, pray with me, help me home, the supper of the Lamb is ready, the great supper is ready. My dear Lord Jesus says, Come; I answer, I come, Lord. After her brother had prayed with her, he retired, and she lay quiet for some time, and then called out aloud, Praise, praise! call them up, come let us sing a hymn. Mrs S. asked her what hymn? She replied, I will tell you when you come back. Upon her return, having called up her brother and some friends, she said, Come, come sing the 30th hymn of the 2d book of Dr Watt's hymns, that begins with "Come ye that love the Lord," &c. Her brother read the whole hymn, and asked her if that was it? She answered, Yes; come, begin the work of heaven. I must begin it, it is begun already, and then she aimed to sing with quivering lips, adding, Sing aloud, sing praises, and at the end of every verse, Highter, higher hallelujahs. Observing one present not to sing, she said, Sing, you lazy Christian; what, not sing praises? Oh, sing aloud! After the hymn was sung, she closed her eyes a few moments, and then said, A little more completes. Her friend asked her to take something to support nature, she replied, Why will you detain me? On telling her the precise moment was in her heavenly Father's hand when she should be set at perfect liberty, she aimed to smile, and took something, after which she shut her eyes, and never spake nor took any thing till Monday the 3d of October; but such a sweet composure of soul was expressed in her countenance, as is past description, and sometimes said, Lord, I am thine, I come, Lord, I come, why are thy chariot wheels so long a-coming. She asked Mrs S. if she remembered what she had said to her in her illness, and (said she) write it down, and when I am gone post it up, that God may have glory and souls good. Her lips oft moved speaking a few broken sentences which showed her frame, as Come Lord Jesus, come quickly. Glory, glory, glory! No sighs nor groans, or complaint, from Saturday the 1st till Tuesday the 4th of October, when she slept in Jesus.

From a Letter to Mr A. W. from the Rev. Mr DARRACOTT.

When I came hither, which was in the year 1741, I found the interests of religion very low; the com-

munion was almost reduced to nothing; the stated hearers very thin and the greatest stupidity and unconcernedness about any thing of religion I ever saw. When I first made my pastoral visit to their houses, I was astonished to find how many families had not so much as a good book, and more still had not a bible; how many parents as well as children could not read a letter. When I saw this I less wondered at the ignorance many of them discovered and surely greater ignorance could hardly be found among the wild savages. I urged them to attend the public preaching of the word; and multitudes were soon brought to that, who before seldom went any where to worship; and to encourage them to learn to read, I promised to procure Bibles, Testaments and other books for them; and by the help of a noble charity in London, immediately got a hundred children to learn several sets of Catechisms, there being a reward both of money and books for so doing. I took out licences for houses in the most ignorant villages round us, and went out in the week time to preach, which drew a number of the most abandoned in these places to hear me, who afterwards came to our place of worship on Lord's days. And I have now great numbers of these poor creatures who come in three four and five miles to hear me constantly all the year round, and are some of the most judicious and exemplary Christians I have, who were before among the most stupid and dissolute. The preaching of the word for several years made constant impression in more or less degree. And though the convictions of some hundreds who have heard me are quite worn off, yet in considerable numbers they have terminated in a remarkable and saving change, which the country round is at once a witness to, and have expressed their astonishment at. Our house of worship though enlarged since my coming hither, is now crowded every Lord's day, and our communion is increased to between two and three hundred. I must observe the principal success of my ministry has been all along among the poor, the richer sort having rather despised my ministrations and opposed my endeavours than given me any countenance and encouragement in them. I cannot stay to tell you (and indeed I do not choose) what difficulties and trials I have been exercised with and would only say God has been exceeding gracious to me under all, and his presence with my soul, which has been often in a more delightful manner than I can express, has been infinitely more than an equivalent. Will not you, my dear Sir, and your friends with you rejoice at these things? I know you will, and will glorify God too on this account. Let me engage your prayers for the continuance of the Divine presence with me and a blessing upon my labours. I hope there has been a little revival of late and that among the young people which gives me great joy.

The work is also, blessed be God, going on in various places in the kingdom. Some of the nobility have received the grace of God—The number of the pious clergy is increasing. I sometime since had the honour to visit the Countess of Huntingdon, with whom I spent a few days, and there enjoyed the company of four pious clergymen, who were preaching the gospel with great success. We took sweet counsel together, notwithstanding our difference in lesser matters, and were indeed of one heart and one soul having all of us drunk of the same spirit. And lately, I received a most charming letter from a young clergyman, who is just ordained by the Bishop of

Oxford, and preaches in one of the parishes in that university. I'll give you a specimen of his temper and preaching.

"I labour," says he, "to set forth a dying Jesus, the only desirable object under the sun, as the most glorious and most interesting concern in the world, for poor perishing dying sinners, and I think, I would know nothing but him, and I am sure, nothing but this knowledge can ever be eternally salutary. I cannot but praise God, that he hath in any ways set to his seal, that this word, however, delivered in weakness and fear and much trembling, is powerful and mighty in casting down the strongholds of Satan, and that with this outset, I have experimentally cause to be assured, that this name is the only name, the preaching of which convince, convert, and save dying sinners."

From a Letter to Mrs. A. W. from the Rev. Mr. Fawcett, dated 23th April, 1758.

My Cornwall friend, writes the 10th instant as follows:—"Mr Walker has had a considerable awakening among his people. On the death of a careless young man he seized the opportunity to improve such a providence, by giving a free lecture to a numerous congregation. All were greatly affected; many in floods of tears. Two of the youth's companions who walked with him in the ways of sin and helped his body to the grave, after having resisted many a gracious overture from the spirit, are at last on their return to their fathers' house. But a more remarkable instance is this; one of the most obstinate and incorrigible sinners who about two months since, among the carousing herd, threatened to spend all his fortune, which is L.500 or L.600 per annum, to pull Walker's gown from his back, for refusing to bury his drunken companion, is now (surprising instance of the grace of Christ) crying out in the bitterness of his spirit, what shall I do to be saved? He frequently sends for Mr Walker, owning him his best physician, and receiving with his whole heart, his free and friendly admonitions. And though he has for 30 years led the van in iniquity, yet Mr Walker is not without hope concerning him. Mr V——r goes on gloriously, his whole parish are more or less awakened. He told me last week he had some times eight or ten new converts come in at a time. Scarce one in the parish will use any kind of uncustomed goods, though it was formerly the most noted mart for such diabolical commodities. Mr H——s at Oxford finds his catechising on Mr Walker's plan greatly blessed and solemnly attended: His church is much thronged, and he is now heard with uncommon attention, and not a few have been awakened under him.

His labour is great, and very often crushes him both in body and mind, to see the hardness of men's hearts under the gospel, puffed up in the pride of life, pleasure, and worldly interest their idol, their all qualification! To be wise, sober, prudent, and careful about the one thing needful is but the folly of old women, and fools, but to run into all the madness and distraction of a wicked world is quite polite. A modern gentleman, or a fashionable lady, must be all over worldly, carnal, and sensual, or they are not fit to live in such a world as this! Religion is moping, melancholy, and eternal life not worth a looking after! Such is our modern way of thinking; but yet, one of these fine gentlemen, now upon his death-bed, has thought fit to desire Mr Walker's assist-

ance, and he attends him constantly every other day, which has alarmed the place, for but the other day, this same gentleman declared, he would spend all he had in the world, in order to strip Mr Walker's gown off his back, but alas! when death stares us in the face, our thoughts are very different from what they are in all the height of the pride of life! But it is a sad thing not to have our eyes open, till just at the time when death is about to close them for ever!

Mr Vowler, a curate at St Agnes, about four miles from this place, is greatly blessed, and the people flock to him every night in the week, but one, which he reserves for making his plain practical sermon. His house is full, and more than it can hold, every night, and by day, (taking a bit of bread in his pocket) he walks round his large parish, about three or four thousand inhabitants, and inquires into the state of of their souls; besides the people come to him for advice, three or four miles round him, not regarding wind, or weather, and, by what we hear, a greater reformation among the common sinners, was never known in any parish or neighbourhood. Mr Vowler is a capable, humble, and prudent man, and was not long since a gainsayer, but by means of Mr Walker's acquaintance is become truly serious. Another clergyman, and friend of Mr Vowler's, a gainsayer too formerly, one Mr Philip in Devon, has likewise success in preaching the everlasting gospel, all the country in alarm, as if the gospel had never at all been preached to them, calling the preaching of Christ, the new way, and the new preachers. This man too has been brought to a sense of himself by Mr Walker's means, and acquaintance, &c. I find "Mr Jenk's submission to the righteousness of God in Christ," has given these gentlemen full satisfaction.

* CORNWALL, September 11, 1758.

"I will not withhold from you the sorrowful joyful news of my dear Vowler's going to glory. The twenty-eighth of last month he quitted this world of trial. He took his parting leave of all below in the full assurance of faith, and with his expiring breath poured out his soul in earnest cries for his dear people. The last intelligible words he uttered, were an answer to Mr Walker's inquiry, how it fared with his soul in the near approach of the king of terrors? Ah, my friend, says he, I thought I should have been in eternity before I could see you, but I rejoice that we have once more a meeting. I am near expiring, but blessed be God, I have the testimony of my conscience, and an interest in Christ, and I have nothing to fear."

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE REVEREND MR RISDON DARRACOTT, MINISTER AT WELLINGTON, IN SOMERSET, WHO DIED MARCH 14, 1759.*

From a Sermon preached on that occasion by the Rev. Mr Fawcett.

Mr Darracott wrote his last letter to me, January 1, 1759, after he had been eleven days in his last illness, and concludes thus:—"Whenever it shall please God to take me away, as I hope you will survive me, I shall leave an office of friendship to be done by you, which you will not deny me; especially as you will see the glory of God, and the good

* Some of his Letters are printed in this Appendix.

of souls, are the great things I aim at."—His daughter's letter to me, February 9, informed me:—"This day se'nnight, at night, my father was in his own apprehensions almost gone. He called for pen, ink, and paper, as he was in his bed, and told us, he would write a few lines to you, which we should let you have after his decease. He was calm and easy after he wrote it, and then said, Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace." On the day he died, a copy of what he had then wrote was sent me, in which are the following words:—" 'Tis my desire, that my dear brother, the Rev. Mr Fawcett, be sent to, to preach my funeral sermon, about a month or six weeks after my decease, as it shall suit his own convenience. And I would have him tell the people, that, having loved them, I have loved them unto the end; and, as a proof of it, have made choice of Philip, iv. 1, as my last and dying charge to them; praying and hoping that God will help my dear brother to carry home the exhortation upon their hearts, and that they will carefully attend to all the affectionate arguments with which the exhortation is urged. My further desire is, that the sermon be printed, and that my dear people would not fail to have, each of them, one, to be with them when they will see my face no more, and by which, though dead, I would be considered as speaking most affectionately and tenderly to them."

Mr Darracott, after concluding his academical studies at Northampton, under the Rev. Dr Doddridge, removed from thence in 1738, to exercise his ministry at Penzance, in Cornwall. He continued there but little more than two years; being forced, by the loss of large quantities of blood from his stomach, to leave a people abruptly, that were earnestly desirous of his continuance among them. Under such an alarming affliction he spent about half a year among his friends in Devonshire, where his own father had been a fervent and useful preacher, and where he died, when he had not completed the fortieth year of his age.¹ Upon the death of the Rev. Mr Berry, an aged and excellent minister of Christ, at Wellington, in 1741, Mr Darracott had an unanimous invitation to succeed him. He at first found the congregation small, and the number of communicants but twenty-eight. His ministrations soon drew a large concourse of people together from the neighbouring country, many of which had never before taken upon themselves any profession of religion, and were at first brought to Wellington out of mere curiosity. His meeting-house soon became too little to contain the number of his hearers, and was therefore somewhat enlarged; but even after that it was usual for many to stand on the outside, because there was no room left for them within. In proportion to the number of his stated hearers, I must say, from a long acquaintance with their circumstances, that I never knew any one congregation, which appeared to me to have so many instances of abiding religious impressions; and I have good reason to believe that it has pleased God to own Mr Darracott's ministry, both occasionally and steadily, to the effectual conversion of many hundreds of souls. As one consequence of this remarkable success, he left behind him, at Wellington, more than two hundred communicants.

A profane gentleman once said to his friend, as

they met Mr Darracott going to his meeting-house to preach on a week-day, "There," says he, "goes a man that serves God as if the devil was in him."

Nothing did Mr Darracott less affect than ostentatious show; for wherever the good of souls was not to be promoted, he was very desirous to have everything conducted with all possible secrecy and simplicity. To this inclination was owing the plain and private manner of his funeral, though, as it afterwards appeared, there were generous friends ready to assist his widow in making his funeral remarkably handsome. Nothing could have prevented them from doing this, but his having given the following express directions in the above-mentioned paper. " 'Tis my will and desire that I be buried about the fourth or fifth day after my decease, about one of the clock in the morning; that the time be kept secret from all but such as are hereafter mentioned, who I only desire, may attend me to my last bed." He then names six of his pious friends, and constant hearers and communicants, whom he desired to carry him to his grave. He also names the Rev. Mr V— to be with them at the time, and to spend one half hour in prayer in his parlour, before they carried his corpse away. "At the grave," says he, "I would have nothing said; but let them commit my body to the dust in cheerful hope of a resurrection to eternal life, and let them all be concerned to give me a joyful meeting at the great day." He then orders a plain coffin, such as were made for his children, and names three persons only to accompany the bearers, and three others to stay behind with his wife and children.

Some of the expressions which dropped from his lips, in the space of a few weeks before his death, which a friend took down in writing, were these: "I am going to Jesus, whom I love, and whom I have so often preached." It was then Lord's-day morning. "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Why are thy chariot wheels so long in coming?" He then added to those that were with him, "I charge you see to it, that you meet me at the right hand of God at the great day."

At another time he said, "O! what a mercy is it, to have such a rock to build upon as the Lord Jesus Christ. I have found him to be a firm rock, that will never fail. What a mercy is it to have a covenant-God to fly to,—a covenant that is ordered in all things, and sure, which is all my desire, and all my salvation. I have found him to be a covenant-keeping God." He said to his wife, "My dear, do you speak of the goodness of God towards me, for I want a tongue to do it. I do not want a heart to praise him, sure I don't." It seems he for some weeks almost lost the use of his voice.

At another time he said, "How good is God. He is all praise, all love, all goodness;" then added to those about him, "Hold on unto the end; I trust I have begotten you in Christ Jesus. May the Lord pour down plentifully of his spirit upon you." He then said, "What attendants have I got? Jesus is with me; angels are my guardians; the blessed Spirit is my comforter and supporter; and you, my dear Christian friends, waiting on me, and my dear wife; but don't think highly of me, for if you have seen a great deal of grace in me, you have also seen a great deal of corruption." When he was at dinner, he said, "Blessed be God for this meal;" and to a friend that came in, he said, "I have often sat with you at the table of the Lord here, but I am now

¹ His father had spent the first years of his ministry in the Isle of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, and there Mr Darracott was born, February 1, 1716—17.

going to sit around his board above. Those were days in which I took great delight when I went to the house of God in company with you." He said to his wife, "I must leave you without any formality. When will the glorious day dawn, and these shadows flee away?" She asked him if he was warm. He answered, "I have a general warmth over my body, and a general calm over my soul."

The Monday before he died, he awoke very calm, and desired to know what the apothecary thought of him; and when he gave but little hopes, Mr Darra-cott replied, "All is well. Blessed be God, I know whom I have believed, and can rely on the promises. They are all mine, especially this: 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee;' and I am sure he will not." He desired that the church might be called together, to pray for him and to give him up to the Lord. Afterwards, when symptoms of recovery appeared, he called on those in the room with him to bless God for it, saying, "When thou shalt call, I will hear and answer. O, blessed promise! I have found it made good to me. Should the Lord raise me up again, surely praise will become this house."

The night before he died, he said, "O, what a good God have I, in and through Jesus Christ! I would praise him, but my lips cannot. Eternity will be too short to speak his praises." He then earnestly desired his tongue might be loosened to speak the praises of God; and the Lord heard and answered him. He was in a delightful frame, full of heavenly joy, and the faculties of his mind as strong and vigorous as ever. The apothecary coming in, he said to him, "O Mr K—, what a mercy is it to be interested in the atoning blood of Jesus. You tell me I am dying. How much longer do you think it will be?" It was uncertain as to a few hours. "Will it be to-night?" "It was answered, he might survive the night. "Well, said he, all is well; I am ready. This, sir, is agreeable to the doctrine I have at all times preached, that I now come to the Lord as a vile sinner, trusting in the merits and precious blood of my dear Redeemer. O, grace! grace! free grace!"

One of his Christian friends came to see him, to whom he said, "O, I am glad to see you; you are some of the first fruits of my labours. Never fear. Be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. Your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord. O, could I tell you what I now feel. No tongue can tell what I now enjoy. I want to be gone. O, glory, glory, glory!" He then begged to see his dear people, to talk to them of Christ and his grace. But he was entreated to forbear, that he might not hurt himself. "Well," said he, "you must sew up my lips, or tie my tongue, if I must not speak of Christ. If you will not let me see my dear people, be my trumpeters to tell them what God has done for my soul. I told you in my Scripture marks, that my last work on earth should be praying for my people; and now would I pour out my whole soul in ardent prayer to God for them." He then offered a few petitions, but his spirits failed.

Upon recovering himself, he related his experiences of the goodness of God to him in his sickness, and said, if he had a thousand lives to live, he would live them all for Christ. He solemnly took his leave of all present, one by one, and said, "Watch your hearts, and keep them with all diligence, for out of them are the issues of life." Seeing his wife weeping, he said to her, "Weep not for me, nor yet

for yourself, for you are a child of the covenant. I am going to see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all that are got to glory."

The morning he died, his wife said to him, "My dear, you are just on the borders of glory." He replied, "I could not have thought it, had not the doctor and Mr K— told me so, the passage is so easy." She again said to him, "How will you behold the dear Lord Jesus when you come to glory?" He answered, "I shall behold him face to face." He then lay in a slumber, while all around him thought him dying, as there was no pulsation in his wrists. About twenty minutes after he awoke, and asked, "Is Mr K— come?" Being answered that he was, "My dear friend," says he, "did not you tell me last night that I was dying?" I did, replied Mr K—. "Surely," says he, "it cannot be, it is so easy, it is so easy. What a mercy it is to be in Christ. O precious, precious Jesus. Now I am hoping and believing, rejoicing and triumphing too." There were ten or twelve of his Christian friends around his bed, and knowing them, he asked them how they did? Then wishing them all well, he added, "You see, my friends, I am now dying, in the same faith I have always preached to you, and would not die any otherwise for all the world. O keep close to Christ." Presently after, he said with a smile, "Come, Lord Jesus." Again he asked, "Is this dying?" Being answered, Yes, he replied, "It cannot be, it is too good, it is too good." He then called for his wife and children, and took his leave of them with the utmost composedness and serenity of mind. Observing them and all his friends weeping, he said to his wife, "My dearest, why do you weep? You should rejoice. Rely on the promises. God will never leave nor forsake you. All his promises are true and sure. Well, I am going from weeping friends, to congratulating angels, and rejoicing saints in glory. Blessed be God, my dear friends, all is well. Mr K., how much longer do you think it will be, before I shall gain my dismission?" It was answered, not long. "Well, all is well. Here I am waiting. What a mercy it is to be in Jesus." He then threw abroad his arms, and said, "He is coming, he is coming. But surely this cannot be dying, cannot be death. Oh, how astonishingly is the Lord softening my passage. Surely God is too good to such a worm. O speed thy chariot wheels. Why are they so long in coming? I long to be gone." His last words were, "Faith and hope."

I find among his papers a meditation, without a date, but with all the appearances of his having wrote it a little before his last illness, probably on the evening of December 3, 1758, the last time he administered the Lord's Supper; and it well deserves to be inserted here, as his solemn farewell to all things below.

"Is this the voice of my dear Lord!—surely I come quickly? Amen, says my willing joyful soul; even so, come, Lord Jesus. Come, for I long to have done with this poor low life, to have done with its burdens, its sorrows, and its snares. Come, for I grow weary of this painful distance, and long to be at home, long to be with thee where thou art, that I may behold thy glory. Come then, blessed Jesus, as soon as thou pleasest, and burst asunder these bonds of clay which hold me from thee; break down these separating walls, which hinder me from thine embrace. Death is no more my dread, I welcome the

stroke which will knock off my fetters, throw open my prison doors, and set my soul at liberty; which will free me (transporting thought!) from all those remainders of indwelling sin, under which I have long groaned in this tabernacle, and with which I have been maintaining a constant and painful conflict, but which all my weeping and praying, all my attending Divine ordinances, could never entirely cure me of; yea, will perfectly and for ever free me from all my complaints. Give me the answer of all my prayers, and put me at once in the eternal possession of my warmest wishes and hopes, even the sweet, beautifying presence of thee, O Lord Jesus, whom, having not seen, I love, and in whom, though now I see thee not, yet, believing, I rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. This world has now no more charms to attract my heart, or make me wish a moment's longer stay. I have no engagements to delay my farewell, nothing to detain me now. My soul is on the wing. Joyfully do I quit mortality, and here cheerfully take my leave of all I ever held dear below.

"Farewell, my dear Christian friends. I have taken sweet counsel with you in the way; but I leave you for sweeter, better converse above. You will soon follow me, and then our delightful communion shall be uninterrupted, as well as perfect, and our society be broken up no more for ever. Farewell, in particular, my dearest —. How has our friendship ripened almost to the maturity of heaven. How tenderly and closely are our hearts knit to one another. Nor shall the sweet union be dissolved by death. Being one in Christ, we shall be one for ever. With what eternal thankfulness shall we remember that word, Christ is all, and in all. He was so then indeed, and he will ever be so. Mourn not that I go to him first. It is but a little while, and you will come after. And O, with what joy, think you, shall I welcome your arrival on the heavenly shore, and conduct you to Him, whom our souls so dearly love. What though we meet no more at Wellington; we shall, we assuredly shall, embrace one another in heaven, never to part more. Till then adieu, and know I leave you with the warmest wishes of all felicity to attend you, and the most grateful overflowings of heart for all the kindest tokens of the most endearing friendship I ever received from you.

"Farewell, thou my dearest wife, my most affectionate, delightful companion in heaven's road, whom God in the greatest mercy gave me, and has thus to the end of my race graciously continued to me. For all thy care, thy love, thy prayers, I bless my God, and thank thee in these departing moments. But dear as thou art, and dearest of all that is mortal I hold thee, I now find it easy to part from thee, to go to that Jesus, thine and mine, who is infinitely more dear to me. With Him I cheerfully leave thee, nor doubt his care of thee, who has loved thee, and given himself for thee. It is but a short separation we shall have; our spirits shall soon reunite, and then never, never know separation more. For as we have been companions in the patience and tribulation of our Lord's kingdom, we shall assuredly be so in his glory.

"Farewell, my dear children! I leave you, but God has bound himself by a most inviolable promise, to take care of you. Only chuse him for your own God, who has been your father's God, and then, though I leave you exposed in the waves of a dangerous and

wicked world; Providence, eternal and Almighty Providence, has undertook to pilot and preserve you. With comfortable hope, therefore I bid you my last adieu;—pleading the faithful and true promise, saying as the patriarch,—I die, my dear children, but God will be with you;—praying in humble faith, that your souls, with those of your parents, may be bound up in the bundle of life with the Lord our God."

"Farewell, ye my dear people! to whom I have been preaching the everlasting gospel: That gospel, which is now all my hope, and all my joy. Many, very many of you, are my present rejoicing, and will be my eternal crown of glory. And now I am leaving you, I bless God for all the success he has been graciously pleased to give my poor labours among you; for all the comfortable seasons of grace I have enjoyed with you. Adieu, my dear friends! I part with you this day at the sacred table of our blessed Lord, in the confidence and hope, that though I shall drink no more with you this fruit of the Vine, I shall drink it new with you in the kingdom of our heavenly Father. Only, my brethren, my dearly beloved and longed-for, my joy, and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved. But for the rest of you, I mourn to think in what a miserable condition I am leaving you and though you will no more hear my voice, and have often, alas! heard it to no purpose; this once hear, and regard, my dying charge,—That you do not continue in a Christless and unconverted state, nor meet me in that state at the day of judgment."

"And now farewell, praying and preaching! my most delightful work!—Farewell, ye Sabbaths and sacraments, and all divine ordinances! I have now done with you all, and you have done all that was to be done for me. As the manna, and the rock, in the wilderness, you have supplied me with sweet refreshment by the way; and now I am leaving you, I bless my God for all the comfort and edification I have received by your means, as the appointed channel of divine communications. But now I have no more need of you. I am going to the God of ordinances; to that fountain of living waters, which has filled these pools below; and instead of sipping at the streams, I shall now be for ever satisfied from the fountain-head."

"Farewell now, my poor body! Thou shalt be no more a clog to my active spirit; no more hinder me in the service of God; no more ensnare my soul, and pollute it with sin.—And now an everlasting farewell to all sins and sorrows, all doubts and fears, conflicts and temptations!—Farewell to earth and all terrestrial scenes! Ye are now no more! An infinitely brighter prospect opens to me!"

From Mrs CHURCHMAN'S Memoirs, which were never published; the copy sent to the compiler by the Rev. Mr FAWCETT of Kidderminster.

As my parents educated me, so I was zealous for the Church of England, and thought all fanatics who differed from it. I had as much prejudice against the dissenters, and as great an inclination to persecute as Paul had.

There lay a way through my father's yard for Mrs Marling, a godly woman, to go to the meeting, which she did every Lord's day. I really thought it my duty to set the great dog on her, and used sometimes to encourage him for half a mile together, with the most bitter invectives, such as saying, "my

dog shall smell the blood of a fanatic." The cur, though bad enough to others, yet, such was the preventing providence of God, he never fastened upon her, though for some time I continually made it my business to set him at her.

When I was about eighteen, it pleased the Lord to lay on me a languishing fit of sickness, which excited in me some promises of a new life, and by the persuasion of a neighbour, who had been very useful to me in my illness, I went with her to hear that great man of God, Mr Holcraft. He preached powerfully of hell and judgment, which had made me tremble, and secretly wish I had never come there. Every time he named the name of Christ, it was as terrible as the thunder and lightning of Mount Sinai. I wished myself covered with the mountains, and looked upon Christ as my terrible judge and enemy. I vented in floods of tears, and often wished that I had never been born, and that I had never come thither, for now, thought I, they will think me one of them, which I was resolved against. I thought I liked their persons worse than ever. Satan also suggested, what would my relations say? They must never know I have been at a meeting. Thus in a great hurry and confusion I sat till the service was ended. After sermon I staid for my neighbour. The minister came to me, and asked me where I lived, who I was, and whether I knew anything of the Lord Jesus Christ. But such was my ignorance, and such the confusion I was in, that dark was my answer. I told him, I believed the world was at an end. But, as I have been informed since, he turned to my neighbour and said, "I believe this is a chosen vessel." Well, home I came. Not one word did I say to my neighbour, but was very angry in my mind, that she should ever ask me to go among the dissenters. (This was in the reign of Charles II.) I grew worse and worse, so that my mother sent for a physician, fearing I should be melancholy, which indeed greatly increased upon me. The next opportunity which presented, I had an inclination to go to the meeting again, which I did, but very privately. My mother began to suspect me, and repeated her charge, warning me not to go among such sort of creatures as the fanatics, "for I believe," says she, "they bewitch persons into their persuasion." However, I went on a working day, and the same minister preached from these words: "My beloved is mine, and I am his." He was a good Samaritan to me that day. The Spirit of the Lord shone round about me. There I saw Christ become my husband. He was to me as a hiding-place from the storm and tempest, to which I saw my guilty polluted nature exposed me. O happy day indeed! I found him, who a little before appeared to me as a terrible judge, was now become my beloved, and I knew that I was his. O joy inexpressible! He was as a bundle of myrrh to me. I had not only here a little, and there a little, from the word of God, but I had everywhere much. I had everything I wanted to my decayed spirits. I well knew that I should meet with hard things from my relations; but I could now pray, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.

As soon as my father and mother knew that I went to the meeting, Satan was in a great rage. My father was then high constable, and had an order from the justices to return all the names of those who went to the meeting. This made it very difficult for his own daughter to be a fanatic. This he could not

bear; and this also made it very difficult for me to get out on a Lord's day, which, nevertheless, I sometimes did, and have walked eight, ten, yea, twelve miles to a meeting. If my father at any time understood where I was gone, he spent the day in nothing but oaths and curses, and resolutions to murder me. My mother, though an enemy to fanatics, would often send a servant to meet me before I reached home, telling me not to appear till my father was gone to bed. I have often hid myself in a wood-stack, and seen my father pass with a naked knife, declaring he would kill me before he slept. In this bondage I lived a whole year, but God carried on his work in me with much power, and enabled me to declare in Zion what he had done for my soul, which I accordingly did on a Lord's day, as the manner then was. I had some dread upon me lest my parents should hear of it, which they did a fortnight after, by means of a basket-woman, who came to our house, and asked my mother if she had not a daughter? She answered, yes. "O," said she, "I heard her preach such a sermon at Meldrid, as raised the admiration of all that heard her." This she obliged the woman to attest before my father and me. As soon as my father heard it, he immediately turned me out of doors, not suffering me to carry anything with me, except the clothes on my back.

I went to a godly gentleman's house, about four miles distant from my father's, who had often told me that I should be welcome to his house, where my employ should be to be governess to his seven children. But there the Lord was pleased to try me greatly at my first setting out. My mistress, though a godly woman, quickly became uneasy, and thought her husband showed me too much favour. She was suffered to carry it very cruelly to me, ordering my lodging with the meanest of the servants, and my diet likewise as coarse as theirs. It being a time of scarcity of provisions, we under-servants lived chiefly of barley bread. I was obliged to borrow a coarse shift, till my own was washed. Neither did I know for months together what it was to have one penny in my pocket. This great change of living, and the grief I went through at being banished from my father's house, brought me so low, that a great fit of sickness ensued. My life not being long expected, the gentleman sent a messenger to acquaint my mother, that I had a great desire to see her. But as soon as the messenger informed my father, he replied, "If you don't immediately get out of the yard, I'll shoot you dead." However, about a fortnight after, my mother sent me a box of wearing apparel, which was received with those words on my mind, For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things before ye ask him. I lived in this place with much difficulty three years. But in all that time, I never knew what it was to have one barren Sabbath. I thought my mercies equal to the children of Israel. I gathered my manna on the Sabbath, and it always tasted sweet and good. I was never clogged, always hungry, so that I thought if seeing and hearing the saints sometimes here was so delightful, what must it be to dwell for ever with them above? Providence placed me among these, where I had opportunity of being convinced, that good men are subject to like passions with others. This grieved me, but God did me good by such disappointments. Hereby he brought me more off from the creature to the Creator.

The year following, Providence placed me twenty

miles another way, where I obtained a Joseph's character and a Joseph's promotion. I was greatly valued by many noble families, especially the Lady Masham, who told me she loved me years before she knew me. She gave me of her liberality, and maintained Christian communion with me. One remark which this lady made I well remember. Speaking of the suitableness of the Spirit's applying the word to all ranks and conditions, she added, "It is well said in holy writ, not many noble are called; if it had been, not any noble, what a condition must I have been in?" Persecutions now came on apace; the Dissenters could have no meetings, but in woods and corners. I myself have seen our parties alarmed with drums and soldiers. Every one was fined five pounds a month for being in their company. Here God left me to stagger. Satan brought those words: "If you give your body to be burnt, and have not charity, it is nothing." But the greater the temptation, the greater was the deliverance, by means of those words: "These are they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes." Blessed be the Lord, Satan only bruised my heel, my head was whole. While I was in this family, the commissioners came and searched for ministers. Mr Billio and Mr Holcraft were asleep in a private harbour. I ran with some difficulty and awoke them, and they made their escape through the hedges. But as I returned, the officers surprised me. They went and found some of the slips of their clothes on the hedges, which made them roar like blood-hounds. These men were Major Taverner and Colonel Colley. After this they came and seized a whole house of goods. But oh! the great trial now came on; they found and seized my beloved pastor, Mr Holcraft, and carried him to Cambridge Castle; but there God appeared wonderfully for him; he preached, and many were converted in that place. Now God was with us much. He was as a pillar of fire by night, and a cloud by day. O how do I still remember his loving kindness to me, the least of all saints. He not only delivered me from fear, but the flames with which we were threatened, yea, and even death itself, were made familiar to me. I was enabled to say, "O death where is thy sting? The Lord was a covert from the storm, and a strong rock in that day of trouble." Mr Billio, with whom I lived, had a call to Holland; and as the persecution was very threatening in England, he thought it his duty to accept the call. He gave me an invitation to go with him, assuring me that all things should be in common. As I well knew my circumstances were very precarious, not having anywhere to hide my head when this worthy family was gone from England, this drew me into great straits. I sought the Lord time after time on this account, and it seemed as if the Lord was about to provide for me in another land. Grace taught me my duty to my parents, though they were enemies to the cross of Christ. I acquainted them with this invitation, and that I should comply with it, unless their commands were to the contrary. I added in my letter, I should be all obedience to them, saving in matters relating to my God; and although I had not been admitted to see them for seven years past, yet I could assure them my affections for them were the same as ever. I begged they would consider of it, and let me know in eight days, for all things would be ready to embark in a fortnight. As I did not hear from them in the time I set, I took their silence for

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a consent, so prepared all things for my journey, and set out with my kind friends. Just before we reached Harwich, where we were to take ship, a messenger from my father overtook me, with a letter, the contents of which were these: "If you will come home, you shall have your liberty to worship God in your own way; but as to leaving the land, we cannot bear it, therefore, without fail, come back with the messenger." I did so. Great was the sorrow of parting with my travelling friends, but my duty to my parents surmounted all. I no sooner entered my father's house, but my mother, in receiving me, fainted away. My father also, though a man of great spirits, offered to fall on his knees, to ask my pardon for his former cruelties. O amazing work of sovereign grace! When our ways please the Lord, he makes even our enemies to be at peace with us. My father immediately told me I should have my liberty in matters relating to my God. I then humbly offered my obedience to them both upon my knees. At supper there was not a mouthful eaten without tears. I well knew my God had appeared to my father on my account, as he did to Laban of old, and was helped to apply Jacob's promise to myself, Thou saidst I will surely do thee good. The next Sabbath my father came into my chamber by break of day, and told me I should have a horse and man to wait on me to the meeting, which was at a place called Tast. Mr Oddy preached from those words: "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." Then I could see electing love the prime cause of all God's dealings with me.

There was a great reformation in the whole family. My father feared to sin, for fear of grieving his daughter, and in a short time left off drinking, which was the forerunner of all his other evils. Now I thought I could give my body to be burnt for the souls of my dear relations. The Lord granted me my request on their behalf; for in a few years I had not only the pleasure of seeing the conversion of my three brothers, but the pleasure also of seeing them eminently useful in the church. I found my God reserved my greatest mercies for my greatest trials. At the death of my dear sister, I had not only the comfort of seeing her conversion, but the satisfaction to see my dear father and mother converted to the faith of Jesus Christ, though at the eleventh hour. Such was the power and goodness of God, that he left not so much as a hoof behind in the whole family.

Now I may say, nothing but goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life. When we enjoyed free liberty from popery and slavery under our great deliverer, King William, great were the favours I received. God gave me the best and tenderest of husbands,—a prophet of the Lord indeed, whose good instructions abide with my children to this day. In short, God has sanctified every trial to me, and followed me with pleasure and comfort in my old age.

From a short account of the conversion of three Jewish children to Christianity, Second Edition, printed at London, 1717.

Berlin, Aug. the 10th, 1718.

About three weeks ago, three young Jewish girls, whose names were Sprintz, Guttel, and Esther, daughters of Isaac Veits and Sophia Moses, Jew,

came to the house of Mr Kahman, a Lutheran minister of St Mary's Church in Berlin. The eldest of them was twelve years old, (though the mother gives out she is but nine): the youngest was eight, or, as the mother pretends, but six.

These children desired to speak with the minister. As soon as he appeared, the eldest addressed herself to him first, and said she, with her two sisters, were come to request his protection and instruction, for that they had a great desire to embrace the Christian religion, whereby they likewise might have part in Jesus of Nazareth, the true God, who died for them, as well as for the rest of mankind, adding, that the sincere and unfeigned love to this crucified God constrained them hereto, and that they could not possibly live any longer with their parents.

Mr Kahman, the minister, was much surprised at what he heard, and began to think they had, perhaps, met with some severe usage at home, which occasioned their speaking to him in this manner; wherefore he advised them to return home again and be hereafter more obedient to their parents. But all three flung themselves down at his feet, begging and entreating him, in the name of Jesus, whom they loved and adored, to receive them, declaring withal, that nothing in this world had moved them to forsake their parents' house, but the sole view of becoming Christ's chosen ones, and to belong to him alone, and that, let things go how they would with them, they were fully resolved rather to die than to leave their Jesus. Whereupon the minister took them into his house.

The parents having searched up and down for their children a considerable time in vain, came to hear at last they were at Mr Kahman's, to whom they went, and demanded their children of him. He replied he had sent already an account of the case of these children to his Majesty the King of Prussia, and that it did not lie in his power to deliver up the children to them against their own inclinations; however, he promised to say nothing to the children till he received orders from his majesty concerning them. As soon as the king had received the account, he appointed certain commissioners, two of the Reformed and two of the Lutheran persuasion, viz. the Reverend Dr Jablonski, Messrs Achenbach, Posard, and Thering, with strict orders to make an exact inquiry into this matter, and particularly to consider whether these children might be taken into his majesty's protection, in order to be brought up in the Christian religion, against their parents' consent, without infringing the power that parents have over their children, grounded on Divine and human right.

Hereupon the commissioners ordered the children to be brought before them, and appointed the parents in the meanwhile to go into another room adjoining, where they might hear the whole examination. Then they took the children, and examined them one after another, who all, as with one voice, declared they would not return to their parents again, but would be made Christians, and children of eternal salvation.

It appeared they could already say the Lord's Prayer by heart, as also several texts out of the New Testament, with several hymns. The youngest could also repeat the articles of the Christian faith; all which they said they had learned whilst they were at play with Christian children. These they rehearsed with a wonderful devotion, most solemnly protesting

that they would never live nor die otherwise than Christians.

In order to try their sincerity, the reverend persons entrusted with this matter omitted nothing to represent the life of a Christian as uneasy and troublesome as possibly they could. However, after having done this, and laid before them, on the one side, how they would be despised and forsaken, even among the Christians themselves, and be forced to work hard for their livelihood, they replied, that they would work till the very blood spouted out from their nails, provided they might be made children of eternal salvation; and that, though they should not be happy in this world, they hoped to be so in the next. And when it was represented to them, on the other side, how easily and comfortably they might live among the Jews, and that their father had made fine clothes for them, &c., they replied, they did not value that at all; the clothes must remain in the world; they would be children of salvation, and not return to their parents again.

After this the parents were called in, and the children being placed before them, they began to speak to them with abundance of tenderness and compassion; they fell upon their necks, kissed their very hands and feet, and melted away into tears.

The children, not a little amazed hereat, declared with many tears, they would become Christians and not return to their parents. The middlemost, in particular, as she was very much pressed by her mother to go home with her, answered, "No; but you, mother, ought rather to become a Christian also. They sought then to hide themselves behind the ministers, who feigned to turn them off, saying they did very ill to forsake their parents, who had such a tender love for them, who would make them very fine presents, and had brought some along with them; that, on the contrary, they were to expect among Christians, nothing but crosses and affliction; they would hardly get enough to satisfy their hunger; but, in a word, would be very miserable.

The parents being retired, and the children once more earnestly entreated to return home with them, but to no purpose. It was at last proposed to them, that provided their parents would also turn Christians, whether then they would be content to go along with them? To which they, with an uncommon constancy and satisfaction, immediately answered, that if their parents would become Christians too, they should be their parents still, and then they would go back with them, and endure with them any hardship or tribulation. Otherwise they would never return; for that they loved Jesus above all other views, and would, with the highest joy imaginable, take his cross upon them, and follow him; saying, they might, if they pleased, put them into a spin-house, where they would be heartily willing to labour. To which the youngest farther added: If you will give me nothing, let me die of hunger, or cut off my very head; for I had rather lose my life, than be separated from my dearest Jesus, who died for me; and if you refuse to take me, he is always ready to receive me into his arms. I will live and die with him. It is certain, that no person present could forbear weeping at the firmness of these children, whose speech was as sound, as it was artless, particularly Dr Jablonski, who has a deeper knowledge in the Jewish religion than most others.

At last, their parents were permitted to discourse with them alone, which they did for several hours

together. But the children expressing all along the same resolution, and prostrating themselves at last at the feet of the commissioners, they bid farewell to their parents, that they might remain to Jesus alone, and said, That nothing had brought them thither but the love of Jesus, and no manner of reason should be powerful enough ever to divide them from him, &c.

An account of all this has been sent to his Prussian majesty, whose answer is daily expected. In the mean time, the commissioners have proposed, that these children might be instructed publicly in the church; and when they were thoroughly grounded in the truth of the Christian religion, that leave should be given, not only to their parents, but to any Jew that would come and hear them, to make what objections they could, which should be answered by the children so instructed.

The baptising of these children will be deferred till they are more advanced in age, that none may deny this to be the work of God; and it is hoped, that this affair, carried on after this manner, will tend to the edification of many other Jews.

These children have such a tender love for the very name of Jesus, that though they cannot as yet read, nevertheless, knowing this word when they meet with it, they bow down upon it, and kiss it with a thousand tears; and they will turn over whole books to find this name.

Lastly, they assured us that several other children were of the same mind with themselves; but their parents kept them close at home. Notwithstanding, they did not doubt but they would find means to escape, for the love of Jesus knew how to counsel in all such cases; and though the parents should watch them never so narrowly, it would in the end signify nothing at all, which they three knew by their own experience.

A Letter from the Rev. Dr JABLONSKI to the Rev. Dr B——Y, a Divine at London, translated from the Latin original.

You require an account of the Jewish affairs at Berlin, whereof I am not unwilling to treat, since it seems there is something extraordinary in them. But then I cannot but speak, in the first place, of the three Jewish children, though afterwards some other things ought likewise to be mentioned.

It happened that a Jew, whose name is Isaac Veit, did live with a Christian, who is an under officer in the king's troops. The Jew has three daughters. The eldest is called Sprintz, and owned to be aged twelve years; the name of the second is Guttel, of ten years of age; and the name of the youngest of all is Esther, said to be eight years old. The parents asserted each of them to be two years younger.

These children had a familiar conversation with the soldier's wife, who lived in the garret, and they would often get up stairs, eat and drink with them, and be present when they said their prayers and sang their hymns. The matter came at last to that pass, that the girls resolved to desert their parents, and to go over to the Christians; and the Christian woman conducted them secretly for that purpose to the minister of St Mary's church. But no sooner did the parents know their daughters were withdrawn from them, but they address themselves to the king to have them restored, wherein they were

supported by the whole company of the Jews that live in this place.

The king was pleased to nominate a good number of divines, with two gentlemen of the privy-council added to them. They were to inquire, whether the children might be refused to their parents who demanded them back, without infringing the right and power which the father hath over them? The commissioners met in my house, July 19, 1715, whither also the girls were called with their Jewish parents. The parents were heard in the first place, and being dismissed, the girls, who ardently desiring to be admitted to our holy religion, and refusing to return to their parents, and the Jewish communion, the parents were also called in. And it was then that a memorable scene opened itself, not unworthy of a pious spectator.

In the parents appeared a strife betwixt love and hatred,—whilst they did most heartily love their children on one hand, and abhor them as much on the other. They did not know what countenance to show them, and what words to use. In the children a bashfulness was observed towards their parents, attended, however, with a fear. There appeared a paleness in their face, and a trembling in the whole body. The mother, a talkative woman enough, but not wanting ingenuity, began to show the children the womb that had bore them, and the breasts which had given them suck. She descanted also upon the benefits of education, and the tenderness of that natural affection which is betwixt parents and children.

The girls, affected with these things, declared how sensible they were both of the love of parents, and of the duty of children toward them, but refused to yield obedience to them in a matter contrary to their conscience. At the same time, the father began to sigh, to weep, and to lift up his hands to heaven. Again, the mother's love being turned into rage, upbraided the children with disobedience, with obstinacy, and a contumacious temper: then she began to threaten them with her curses, nay, actually to pour them forth upon them.

The parents being ordered to withdraw, the girls were fully acquainted with any thing that might render uneasy to them the Christian religion; such as poverty, the miserable condition of fatherless children, and the hard necessity of seeking their bread by the labour of their hands, &c. On the contrary, what plenty they might have if they returned to their parents. To this the children with an undaunted courage, and a temper strengthened beyond their age, did constantly affirm, that they were not in the least moved thereat; that they did seek nothing but the salvation of their souls, despising all other things, that they might be children of God, and heirs of heaven. The necessities of this life they would earn by the labour of their hands, though by the hardness of work the blood should spurt out of their fingers. It was enough for them, if they were but inserted into the Christian church, to partake hereafter of the spiritual benefits; for this reason they did beg they might not be put to a necessity to return to their parents.

After those things were most amply, and to our astonishment transacted, we then, to explore their minds the better, asked them: That if there were some hopes that their parents would shortly be converted to the Christian faith, whether, after such a thing, they would not return to their parents and

live with them? It was then that the countenance of these babes all on a sudden changed, not unlike the sun, when it shines out after the clouds are dispelled. In like manner did the children, after having laid aside their heaviness, begin to look cheerfully, and in their whole countenance express their gladness. They replied with joy, that they would do that with all their hearts, and love their parents the more cordially, after they had been made part-takers with them of the same holy faith, &c.

This it is what I write to you in a summary manner. It is not in my power to describe to the life the vehement and truly unfeigned commotions of mind which appeared in the parents as well as in the children. Certainly, all those that were present were astonished thereat. As for myself, when I saw the children go on in so intrepid a manner beyond their age, and almost against the laws of nature, it seemed to me as if I beheld with my eyes what Jerome formerly persuaded Heliodor; that although his mother, in a disordered hair and clothes rent into pieces, should show him the breasts that had sucked him; and though the father should lie upon the threshold; that yet, he would make no halt, but walking over his father, fly away with dry eyes to the banner of the Cross, &c. &c.

After we had maturely weighed this matter, it was unanimously resolved that the children ought by no means to be returned to their unbelieving parents; but that they ought to be maintained at the king's charge, and to be instituted in the Christian faith, the rudiments whereof they had already received. However, that the parents should be permitted to speak with them as often as they pleased, in the presence of some witnesses. Likewise that the Jews ought to be severely prohibited from conveying away the children in a clandestine manner, or do them in any otherwise some mischief. As for baptism, it was decreed it ought not to be precipitated, but that the years of maturity ought to be stayed for. All this the king hath been pleased to ratify. The girls are committed to the care and institution of Christians, having all this while expressed a constancy in their purpose, and a probity in their manners. Baptism is now, God willing, in a little time to be conferred upon them.

It has been observed, moreover, that within these twenty years and upwards, very many Jewish proselytes have offered themselves in this town; so that about ten years ago there were about thirteen instituted, and at the same time prepared for holy baptism. Our catechists finding it difficult to go through with their work for want of a form adapted to a Jewish institution, I drew up, at the request of my colleagues, a small catechism for that purpose, and printed it in German and Jewish letters, of which, with your good leave, Reverend Sir, I design to send you a copy with the first opportunity.

Much about the same time, the following memorable thing happened. It fell out that when a Jewish proselyte was to be buried, that both the undertaker, and those that attended the corps, of whom there was a pretty good number, proved all of them proselytes, of whom the major part were baptized at Berlin, and some in other places.

It is certain that some commotions may be observed among the Jews, who begin to be at an uncertainty about their faith. They distrust their own religion, and of the truth of ours they are not yet convinced. It was but lately a worthy gentleman told me that one of the most eminent Jews in this city had confessed to him that he did waver in his mind, and not thoroughly see whither to turn himself. He was displeased with his own; and was not pleased enough with the religion of others; but chiefly that he was afraid of the wrath and reproaches of his own friends. And for this reason, he did wish the king would be pleased, by his royal authority, to compel the Jews to embrace the Christian faith. At this rate he thought the knot might be out at once, which he was not able to untie himself, &c.

As for myself, though I can by no means approve the method projected by the Jew, yet I cannot but wonder at these commotions of their minds, and ardently beseech the Lord that these small beginnings be farther improved to the glory of his holy name; to which end I design to employ what little remains of my temporal life, and that with greater care than hitherto has been done, &c.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

THE Compiler regrets that, in the former part of the work, he omitted the names of some eminent authors, whom Providence raised up, from time to time, to be instrumental in promoting vital religion by their writings.

He has often thought of Abijah, of whom the Scripture says, "That in him was some good thing found toward the Lord God of Israel;" and has applied it to those authors, without regard to those with whom they were unhappily connected; and even without regard to the corrupt mixtures that are to be found in their otherwise valuable writings.

If, in separating the precious from the vile (as the Scripture speaks), there be no mistakes, the Compiler alone, and not any of his correspondents, is answerable for them. At the same time, he returns thanks for the obliging manner in which they acknowledged his letters, the purport of which was, to beg their help towards the enlarging of the Supplement.¹

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EXTRACTS OF LETTERS TO THE COMPILER, WHO HAD REQUESTED THE ASSISTANCE OF HIS FRIENDS TO MAKE THIS SUPPLEMENT MORE AMPLE, BY SENDING HIM THE NAMES OF THOSE WHOM GOD HATH HONOURED TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN HIS WORK, EITHER BY THEIR PREACHING OR WRITINGS, OR BY THEIR EXEMPLARY LIVES, CHIEFLY RELATING TO EVENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

January, 1795.—These last four or five years there has been more pains taken to communicate intelligence as to the success of the Gospel, and the lives of eminent ministers and private Christians, than at any period I can recollect, except immedi-

¹ About the end of the seventeenth century vital religion was promoted in Scotland by what was called fellowship meetings; of which the compiler begs leave to give, as a sample of the members that composed them, a well-known instance, whose memory is savoury to all devout persons in the west of Scotland. This was

Mr STIRLING of the Barony. He was pious from his youth, and much given to secret prayer. When the school-master (who, it would seem, kept his school in the country) complained to his father that he was too late in coming to school; the reason was found to be, that when he observed upon the road an agreeable place of retirement, he went to secret prayer. His father having traced him one day, and observed how he was employed, he desired the master to

ately after the revival in 1742 and 1743² The Methodists, and still more the Moravians, have lately discovered great zeal for carrying the Gospel to those formerly ignorant of it. I have received twelve numbers of periodical accounts relating to the missions of the last, printed 1790 and 1794. I do not approve all their notions or proceedings, but I believe they have carried the saving knowledge of the most essential truths of the Gospel to many precious souls. They have missions at Tranquebar in the East Indies, among the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, and at Greenland; on the coast of Labrador in North America, among the negroes in the Danish West India islands, and in the British islands, Jamaica, Barbadoes, St Kitts, and Antigua; in which last their success has been greatest. I cannot recollect many names of persons singularly useful, unknown to you. As to Edwards, Walker of Truro, &c., references to accounts of them, well known, would be sufficient. Boerhaave and Haller were not only eminent physicians, but eminent Christians, and the last an able defender of Christianity. In New York³, a society was last year erected for spreading Christian knowledge and piety among the poor, especially in the remote parts of that state, by small tracts on important doctrines and duties. Of this society, English, Dutch, and Associate Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, Lutherans, and Moravians are members. They have at present worthy ministers of that city of dif-

ference him. When he grew up, he associated with the fellowship meetings, and was their chaplain. When he was licensed to preach the Gospel, a stranger among his hearers observed that he could not get preaching for praying.

There was such a frank simplicity in his manner, that men of true taste could not forbear admiring him; and the pious were much edified with his uncommon remarks on Scottish history, which were quite natural, and his own.

² The Baptist Register, which for some years has been published by the worthy Dr Rippon of London, contains much information as to late revivals of religion and triumphs of Divine grace, among those of different communions. More articles, however, of general importance to all Christians, are contained in the Evangelical Magazine, in which several clergymen of different denominations are engaged. It commenced July, 1793. Eighteen numbers have been published; and no work of the kind has hitherto been so well conducted, and given such general satisfaction.

³ This puts the Compiler in mind of a Cheap Repository (as it is called) lately printed in England, of religious and moral tracts, which is intended as an antidote to the poison disseminated among the poorer sort (by hawkers and ballad-singers), by substituting what is amusing and edifying, at a very easy rate. Hitherto this good design has been very successful.

ferent denominations. Dr Edwards writes, that he hopes a Theological Magazine will soon commence in America. I do not think I ever till now heard of President Edwards' proposal of corresponding with those who wish well to the kingdom of Christ through the Christian world. I am not qualified to give a better view of his genius and worth than can be gathered from his writings and life. I agree with you that the secession and unwarrantable deposition of Mr Gillespie have turned out to the furtherance of the Gospel.¹

February, 1795.—It occurs to me that some important anecdotes suited to your design may be drawn from Orton's Life of Doddridge, Gibbon's Life of Watts, Tong's Life of Henry, and Henry's Life of his Father.

February, 1795.—Among the examples of eminent persons in this century, not of the priesthood, who have occupied their talents in defending and recommending Christianity, I think the names of Haller, Lord Littleton, Mr West, Lord Hailes, Mr Serle (author of *Horæ Solitariae*), should be mentioned; nor should Mr Williams of Kidderminster, and Mr Welsh, a banker in London, who for a number of years has been constantly paying for the board and education of nine serious students of divinity, be neglected. Perhaps it may be proper to observe the introduction of the Gospel to Calcutta, by the preaching of a Mr Brown, and another serious minister of the Episcopal persuasion. The exertions of the Warwickshire, and other associations of independent ministers, for propagating the Gospel, by itinerant ministers, through villages and towns, in their respective countries, where it is not known or preached, are worthy of remark.

February 27th, 1795.—I was favoured with your letter, announcing your intention of making a Supplement to your Historical Collections, which I remember to have read a great many years ago. I do not recollect any additional information to communicate to you, except what is contained in some books lately published; particularly Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, and the numbers of the Evangelical Magazine now publishing; in the last of which are many pleasing anecdotes of persons who have lived and died lately, in the faith and hope of the Gospel. In the continuation of Jablonski's Church History, there is some important information with respect to religion in modern times. In Mr Milner's Life of Mr Howard, the lives of a Mr Turner and Mr Davies, there are pleasing views of the influences of Divine grace on the heart and life. Mr Milner has lately published a volume of church history, on an evangelical plan, which he means to continue. It promises to be a pleasing and useful work. You no doubt have seen the Life and Experience of Mr Francis Sheriff, minister of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel.

April, 1795.—It will give you pleasure that Messrs Austin and King, two American ministers, have set on foot a renewal of the concert for prayer for the revival of religion;² and Mr Pearse, a

¹ The Compiler was a member of a General Assembly afterwards, when it was proposed to take the sentence of deposition off Mr Gillespie; and well remembers, that when some members thought it hard the sentence should run in the blessed name of the Lord Jesus Christ, Archibald, Duke of Argyll, when he was asked his opinion as a ruling elder, the Duke quoted on the occasion the expression of a heathen poet:

"Nec Deus interit, nisi dignus vindice nodus."

² See of the concert for prayer, begun 1744—Renewed 1746—Proposal of renewing it again, 1754.

Baptist minister in Birmingham, has begun to collect materials for a general history of Protestant missions.

LADY GLENORCHY was the younger of two daughters left by William Maxwell, Esq. of Preston, a gentleman of considerable fortune in Dumfries-shire. The eldest was married to the Earl of Sutherland; the youngest, of whom we treat, to John Lord Viscount Glenorchy, only son of the Earl of Breadalbane.

Lady Glenorchy was formed by Providence for a superior place in society. Her understanding was naturally strong and capacious, and her memory retentive. Her mind was polished by a liberal education, and richly furnished with ideas by extensive reading and observation. Her person was agreeable, her manner engaging, her fancy brilliant, and attended by a constant flow of spirits and good humour. Born to wealth, and allied to a rich and noble house, she was fitted to make a distinguished figure among the great, and to shine in courts. But as Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, in like manner she, in all the bloom of youth, with all worldly pleasures at her command, laid herself, her fortune, her honours, and her talents, at the foot of the cross of Jesus.

About the 23d year of her age, she was visited with sickness, in recovering from which her thoughts were involuntarily turned to the first question and answer of that form of sound words which is given in the Assembly's Catechism: "What is the chief end of man? It is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever." Musing on these words, they arrested her attention, and naturally led her to put to herself the important queries: Have I answered the design of my being? Have I glorified God? Shall I enjoy him for ever?

Reviewing her life of thoughtless gaiety, she found there was no connection between such conduct and the glorifying and enjoying God, and that, consequently, hitherto she had not answered the chief end of her existence. Her conscience was awakened; and for a considerable time she laboured under that anxiety and fear which usually attend such a state of mind.

But, on reading the 5th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, she discovered the way whereby the great God could be just, and yet the justifier of the believer in Jesus. She believed; her understanding was enlightened, her conscience relieved, and her mind restored to peace. The fruits of her faith soon gave the most unequivocal evidence to the truth of the happy change which had taken place in her mind. For some time she endeavoured to avoid the ridicule which attends true religion, by concealing it, and mingling in the society and amusements to which she had been accustomed; but she soon found it impossible to support the spirit and practice of religion, and at the same time be conformed to the manners of the world. She therefore openly avowed her religion, and renounced the sinful enjoyments of the world. From this time her whole life was one continued course of devotion; her closet was a little sanctuary for God, to which she habitually retired with avidity and pleasure. In her family there was

always an altar for God, and from which, with the morning and the evening, regularly ascended social prayer and praise. She loved the house of God, and the most painful circumstance of her frequent ill health in the last years of her life, was her being detained by it from public worship. Well acquainted with men and things, her conversation was full of good sense and information. It was often much enlivened by good humoured pleasantry; but it always was pious and spiritual, always expressive of the high sense she had of the excellence and importance of religion, and of her anxiety for its promotion. With peculiar pleasure she always spoke of the person or place in which it appeared to flourish; and with evident pain, of those in which it was otherwise. The sincerity of her religious principles was established by her actions. She was not of those "who say but do not." She built some places of public worship at very considerable expense. In Edinburgh, she erected a large handsome chapel, which will hold two thousand people, and which has, for many years, been attended by a numerous congregation, and which has now two clergymen, ministers in communion with the Church of Scotland, as its pastors. To this chapel is added, a free school to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, and which she endowed. The chapel and school together has not cost less than five or six thousand pounds. She erected and endowed also, a church at Strathfillan, in the parish of Killin, on the estate of Lord Breadalbane; and she had purchased ground, in conjunction with the late Lady Henrietta Hope, for building a place of worship at the Hot Wells, Bristol; and which, by her directions, has been executed by her executrix since her death, by a very neat and commodious house being built there, called Hope Chapel. In order to introduce and support the gospel, she purchased a very neat chapel at Matlock in Derbyshire; one meeting at Carlisle, another at Workington in Cumberland, and a third at Newton Burhill in Devonshire; all these she left in the hands of trustees, or to her executrix, for their original purpose. She united with others also in purchasing meeting-houses in different parts of England. To some able and faithful ministers, whose congregations were in poor circumstances, she paid the whole of their salaries; to others a stated annual sum in part; to many, occasional donations, as she saw them needful. She educated many young men of piety for the holy ministry. Sensible that ignorance and irreligion, idleness and vice, go together, she founded and endowed schools, and set on foot manufactories for the poor. In private, the widow and the fatherless, the stranger and the distressed, experienced her abundant beneficence. To enable her to prosecute these schemes of benevolence, she herself carefully looked into all her affairs, and studied the strictest economy; and though her dress, her table, her attendants, her equipage, always corresponded to her station, yet she denied herself the splendour which her fortune and rank could well have afforded and excused. She knew the world too well not to expect its hatred and reproach for a zealous and consistent profession of the gospel; but her natural fortitude and greatness of soul, and the force of religion on her heart, rendered this of small consequence in her estimation; more than most Christians, she gloried in the cross of Christ. The falsehood and ill nature which some time were propagated against her, she made the subject of the most refined

and innocent pleasantry. Full of plans for the glory of God and good of men, and busy in the prosecution of them, this excellent lady arrived in Edinburgh from Bath, where she had spent the winter, in the beginning of the summer 1786. Her friends observed with concern her declining state of health. She spoke much to them of death, and of her persuasion that with her it was near; and uniformly expressed her satisfaction and joy at the prospect. Her conversation was nevertheless as easy, pleasant, and cheerful as ever. Religion in her was not the production of gloom, either during the progress, or in the near views of the termination of life. Almost her last words were, "If this is dying, it is the easiest thing imaginable." Disease prevailed, and not many hours afterwards, she expired, on Monday the 17th July, 1786; and of her may be said in truth, what with equal propriety cannot be said of every departed Christian, "Her path was as the shining light, which shines brighter and brighter to the perfect day."

Lady Glenorchy was interred, agreeable to her own request, in a vault in the centre of her chapel in Edinburgh. She left L.5000 to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge; L.5000 for the education of young men for the ministry in England, and other religious purposes; and the greater part of the rest of her fortune, which was considerable, for pious and charitable uses.

LADY HENRIETTA HOPE, third daughter of John Earl of Hopetoun, was by nature formed for eminence. Possessed of a strong, clear understanding and sound judgment; much improved by reading, conversation, deep thought, and observation, she gave early presages of proving highly useful and ornamental to society, if permitted to see those years necessary for maturing the powers of the human mind; and the great expectations formed by her friends were not disappointed. She possessed the nicest moral sense, a heart for friendship, a keen sensibility of human pain, with an unceasing desire to relieve, or at least alleviate, in every possible way, the variegated distresses of her fellow-creatures. Yet, though favoured with a mind thus enriched with every virtue of the moral character, united to the most amiable dispositions and engaging manners, it was not till her twenty-fifth year, that Lady Henrietta Hope began to inquire about the great realities of eternity. At that time, an impression concerning the one thing needful was made upon her mind, which never after was effaced. Her own words upon this subject, at that memorable period, are, "O to grace how great a debtor! Called at first out of nothing; and, after twenty-five years' obstinacy and rebellion, awakened from a state of sin, misery, and death, and brought to the light of the glorious gospel, to the knowledge of Jesus Christ revealed therein, and (though by slow degrees, through various mazes, manifold temptations, and sundry trials, may I not, in all humility, say) to good hopes through grace; how shall I praise the riches of that grace which has abounded towards me!"

Being thus brought from darkness to light, and her mind relieved from anxiety respecting her own state, the language of her heart was that of the Royal Psalmist: "What shall I render unto the Lord?" Believing it her duty, and viewing it as her privilege, she made an entire dedication of herself, with

all she had, or ever should stand possessed of, to that great and gracious Being, who had dealt so bountifully with her. Nor did she ever breathe a wish to recall the solemn deed. No; the residue of her life, by its uniform tenor, proved the sacrifice not only sincere, but universal, in so far as her situation would permit.

The deepest humility marked Lady Henrietta Hope's character, almost to excess. From principle she courted the shade, though her mind, formed by natural and acquired abilities, fitted her for shining as a bright example of the transforming power of sovereign grace, united to every requisite for filling the most useful station in the Christian line. From this excess of the most amiable virtue, the public eye discovered but a few of the numerous instances of her generous and judicious exertions for the cause of religion in particular, and the general good of her fellow-creatures at large, as she generally acted through the medium of others who she believed (from overrating their abilities as she depreciated her own) were better qualified to appear on the stage of life as the witnesses of Jesus; but, though unknown to many, they are all noted in the Divine records, and will, ere long, be read aloud before an assembled world. Suffice it to say, Lady Henrietta Hope, on many occasions, united with others, and gave largely, both of judicious counsel and pecuniary aid, towards erecting chapels, building schools, and endowing them, together with extensive, both occasional and stated, provision for the poor and distressed of every description; while she used her influence with those in the higher walks of life, to gain them over to the interests of vital experimental religion; for which she was well qualified, not only as holding forth by example the word of light in the most amiable light, but also from a thorough acquaintance with the doctrinal and preceptive parts of the holy religion she professed, together with no inconsiderable degree of elocution and command of her pen. Availing herself of these advantages, with a single eye to the glory of God, and with that extreme modesty and winning softness peculiar to her, she often carried captive the minds of those she addressed, at least, so far as to gain approbation. Nothing short of the interposition of a Divine agent, can produce in the human mind that belief of the important truths of the gospel, termed by the apostle "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Yet the Divine blessing often renders effectual the feeble attempts of Christians to effect this great purpose; and there is reason to believe this eminent servant of God did not labour in vain. If to what is already said of this amiable lady, we add her unwearied attention to every relative duty, her faithful discharge of every trust reposed in her, we must say, the portrait is pleasing, the character exemplary.

But as no degree of moral excellence, or strength of grace, can procure the Christian an exemption from trials in this probationary state, Lady Henrietta Hope, though possessed of the favour of her God, the esteem of the world, the affection of her relations, and the love of her Christian friends, yet suffered much in the last years of her life, from a very delicate frame, which gave rise to many distressing complaints, all which she endured with that calm fortitude, and unbroken resignation, that nothing but true religion can inspire.

In autumn 1785, Lady Henrietta Hope went to Bristol hot-wells, where, after every medical exertion

proving ineffectual, and the medicinal virtue of the wells yielding no relief, she meekly rendered up her ransomed soul into the hands of her gracious God, who called her home to receive her great reward, eternal life, the free gift of the Most High, upon the 1st day of January 1786, leaving behind her a fair copy of every thing praiseworthy, and of good report. A considerable part of her fortune she left for pious and charitable purposes.

The compiler closes this list with the celebrated name of LADY HUNTINGDOM, to whom may be justly applied the words of the apostle, 2 Cor. viii. 18, "Whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches."

Extract of a Letter to the Compiler, 30th July, 1786.

Some little time before her ladyship's last illness, one of the clergymen whom she honoured with her confidence, spending a day with her as he passed through London, she spoke of herself in a strain so remarkably affecting, that he could not but mention it afterwards. The subject of the conversation was the cause of Christ, which she always had so deeply at heart, and that led to the state of her own mind and expectations. The expressions were to this effect, but more forcible than these feeble traces of them: "I see myself a poor worm drawing near Him. What hope could I entertain, if I did not know the efficacy of his blood, and turned as a prisoner of hope to his stronghold? How little could any thing of mine give a moment's rest to a departing soul? So much sin and self mixing with the best, and always so short of what we owe. It is well for us that he can pity and pardon; and we have confidence that he will do so. I confess, my dear friend, I have no hope, but that which inspired the dying malefactor at the side of my Lord; and I must be saved in the same way, as freely, as fully, or not at all."

The friend said, "Madam, I cordially join you, and fall in with you. Though our lives may be devoted to the work of Jesus, and our deaths the consequence of the service, it is not to those sacrifices we could look for comfort in a dying hour." She replied, "No, verily;" and enlarging on the idea of the mixture of infirmity and corruption which tarnished all our best-meant services, she added, "That a sinner could only rest satisfactorily on one foundation, and would find nothing in the best works of his best days, that he could dare produce before God for his own sake; sufficiently blessed and secure, if he could but cry, God be merciful to me a sinner, and let me be found accepted in the Beloved, and complete in him." To these, in the course of a long conversation, were added many like words of truth and grace.

To a paper of importance, written within a few months before her last illness, were subjoined these words: "And as I have always lived the poor unworthy pensioner of the infinite bounty of my Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, so I do hereby declare, that all my present peace, and my future hope of glory, either in whole or in part, depend wholly, fully, and finally upon his alone merits; committing my soul into his arms unreservedly, as a subject of his sole mercy to all eternity."

When the blood-vessel broke, which was the com-

menoement of her illness in November, she said to a friend, on being asked how she did, "I am well. All is well for ever. I see, wherever I turn my eyes, whether I live or die, nothing but victory." She has lately with great emphasis repeated often, "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh. O, my friend, the coming of the Lord draweth nigh!"—adding, "The thought fills my soul with joy unspeakable; whether I shall see his glory more abundantly appear, or whether it be an intimation of my own departure to Him."

At another time, "All the little ruffles and difficulties which surround me, and all the pains I am exercised with in this poor body, through mercy, affect not the settled peace and joy of my soul."

A day or two before her last illness, just as she had come from her room to her elbow-chair, she broke out in these remarkable words:

"The Lord hath been present with my spirit this morning in a remarkable manner. What he means to convey to my mind, I know not. It may be, my approaching departure. My soul is filled with glory. I am as in the element of heaven itself." They who know how constantly her conversation was in heaven, will conclude, that those who were around her might fill volumes, instead of pages, with her energetic expressions. But she has forbidden it, and the publication of her papers and correspondences.

Weakened by complicated disorders, and enfeebled by age, when about a week preceding her departure, she was confined on the bed of languishing, it could not but afford surprise to all around her, that the vigour of her mind was as unabated, and her intellects as clear, as in any period of her life. The same earnest concern for the work of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of his dear Son, abroad and at home, occupied all her thoughts. Anxious that an attempt to send the gospel to Otaheite, in the South Seas, should succeed, to a friend engaged in that labour of love, who was sitting by her bedside, she began to express her earnest desire that it might be accomplished. He with difficulty prevailed on her to drop the subject, lest talking earnestly might interrupt the rest which was desirable for her, assuring her that every means would be pursued to effect so desirable an event. "And to-morrow," said he, "your Ladyship shall hear what can be done." And when, next day, difficulties were raised, and the two persons who had engaged to go as missionaries demurred, unless they could be ordained in the Established Church, which was refused them; she said, on being informed of it, "We shall find others, I doubt not;" and gave immediate orders to her secretary to write a note to the person engaged in the pursuit, to assure him of her affectionate regard, and to express her love and honour for his zeal and faithfulness. So warmly was her heart interested in this work to her very last moments.

About an hour only before her death, she said to a female friend, who with assiduous attention for many nights and days never quitted the room, "Is Charles's letter come?" (she had sent for him to supply her chapel in Spa Fields, when Mr Jones of Langan returned home.) On being answered it is, she said, "It must be opened, to see if he comes." When her friend said, "I will go and open it," she added, "To know if he comes, that is the point." So anxiously were the cares of her work impressed upon her dying heart; and often she added, when

speaking of the people in her connection as her children, "I feel for their souls."

During the whole of her illness, her pains never made her impatient; but she seemed more concerned about those who attended her, than about herself. She said tenderly to Lady A. E. and Miss S. A., whose long, faithful, and tender attachment to her is well known, "I fear I shall be the death of you both," (alluding to their constant watching with her); "it will be but a few days more." She appeared, during the tedious nights and days of pain and sickness, engaged in prayer, and animated with thankfulness for the unutterable mercies which she had experienced, saying, "I am encircled in the arms of love and mercy." And, at another time, "I long to be at home: O I long to be at home." A little before she died, she said repeatedly, "I shall go to my God and Father this night;" and, shortly after, "Can he forget to be gracious? Is there any end of his loving-kindness?"

Dr Lettsome had visited her between four and five, shortly after her strength failed, and she appeared departing. Alarmed, they summoned up a friend who was waiting anxiously below. He took her hand, it was bedewed with sweat—he applied his fingers to the pulse, it had ceased to beat—and that instant she breathed her last sigh as he leaned over her, and fell asleep in Jesus, June 17, 1791, in the 84th year of her age.

The next day, Dr Lettsome wrote the following letter to Lady A. E., which speaks the worthy sentiments of his own heart, and the satisfaction which so noble an example afforded him:

"Dear Lady A. E.,—I deeply sympathise with thee and all the family in Christ, in the removal of that evangelic woman so lately among us, the Countess of Huntingdon. Your souls were so united, and your affections so endeared together, that I cannot but feel in a particular manner on thy account, lest the mournful state of thy mind may undermine thy constitution, and endanger a life spent in mitigating the painful sufferings of body of our deceased friend while living. Her advanced age and debilitated frame, had long prepared my mind for an event which has at length deprived the world of its brightest ornament. How often have we, when sitting by her sick-bed, witnessed the faithful composure with which she has viewed this awful change! Not with the fearful prospect of doubt; not with the dreadful apprehension of the judgment of an offended Creator. Her's was all peace within, a tranquillity and cheerfulness which conscious acceptance alone could convey. How often have we seen her, elevated above the earth and earthly things, uttering this language, "My work is done, I have nothing to do but to go to my heavenly Father. Let us, therefore, under a firm conviction of her felicity, endeavour to follow her, as she followed her Redeemer. Let us be thankful that she was preserved to advanced age, with the perfect exercise of her mental faculties; and that under long and painful days and nights of sickness, she never repined, but appeared constantly animated in prayer and thankfulness for the unutterable mercies she experienced. When I look back upon the last years of my attendance, and connect with it the multitude of others whom my profession has introduced me to, I feel consolation in acknowledging, that of all the daughters of affliction, she exhibited the greatest degree of Christian composure that ever I witnessed; and that submission to Divine

allotment, however severe and painful, which nothing but Divine aid could inspire."

MISS JEAN GRAY, of Teases, was born February, 1741. Her parents were the Reverend Mr John Gray, minister at Dollar,¹ who died January, 1748, and Mrs Sophia Stedman, daughter of the Reverend Mr John Stedman, minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh.²

She possessed a sound understanding, and very superior talents, which in her early years, when deprived of both her parents, were highly cultivated, under the tuition of an uncle and guardian, no less distinguished for his accomplishments as a scholar, than his skill as a physician.³ Such was her proficiency in polite and useful knowledge, that Lord Kaimes, and many others high in rank or in literary fame, were fond of her company. Among these, there was none whose esteem she so highly valued as that of Sir John Pringle, Baronet, President of the Royal Society of London. In a tedious illness, in which he attended her as a physician, he discovered in her such extensive knowledge and so amiable dispositions, as produced a firm and permanent friendship; and her respect for his character, and gratitude for his kind paternal attention, were equally strong. It was from confidence in her prudence and judgment, as well as in her piety and fidelity, that Lady Glenorchy, by her last will, in the event of the death of another worthy friend, entrusted to her disposal very considerable funds, destined for pious and charitable purposes.

From the native dignity of her own mind, and from associating with persons of the most polished manners, those properties, which render social intercourse so agreeable, sat easy on Miss Gray. Yet, though always affable and polite; from modesty and diffidence, she was reserved to strangers, and in mixed companies; and seldom took that share in conversation, to which, from her information and good sense, she was well entitled. Among intimate friends, she felt herself at perfect ease; and talking freely, when trifles were dismissed, and subjects of importance started, she discovered the stores with which her own mind was enriched, and her facility in communicating her sentiments with clearness and elegance.

Even before she felt the power of the Gospel, though she mixed with others in fashionable amusements, attachment to them, or to the ornaments of dress, was not the foible of her discerning and contemplative mind. Her deportment at that period was decent and honourable, her attendance at church regular, and her charities such as from her

opulent circumstances might have been expected. In all this, however, she was influenced by other considerations than those derived from the Gospel. It was about nine or ten years before her death that her views changed; by what means her most intimate friends have not been informed. Her religious impressions were, however, cherished and confirmed by the sermons and conversation of several Edinburgh ministers, by the writings of Mr Newton of London, and of Archbishop Leighton, and by the lives of pious persons, particularly Mr David Brainerd, with whose experiences her's much coincided, in deep views of the evil of sin, &c. And now she earnestly sought the Lord; read her Bible with diligence, and with strong desire to know the plan of salvation more perfectly; asked at those in whom she confided the most pertinent questions; on their recommendation, read the practical pieces most suited to assist her progress in the spiritual life; with the teachableness of a little child, bearkened to the instructions of heavenly wisdom; begged her friends to point out and admonish her for her faults, and received their admonitions with meekness and gratitude. One who lived near her, who fully knew and highly esteemed her character, and to whom, as a friend, she was peculiarly attached, generally spent with her an hour or two, twice or thrice a week, in conversation on religious subjects, accompanied with addresses to a throne of grace. These were sometimes blessed seasons of spiritual improvement, communion with God, and Christian fellowship. At such times, she would talk freely on the state of her own mind; the experiences of others; on the marks of a state of grace, and of progress or declension in the divine life; on public events as calling for humiliation and prayer, or for gratitude and praise; on important passages of Scripture, or Christian doctrines or duties; on the books she had been reading, and the sermons she had been hearing, in reciting the substance of which she equally discovered the exactness of her memory and the soundness of her judgment. Without affecting the appearance of it, she was an excellent casuist. She had often occasion to give her sentiments on delicate questions relating to religious character and moral conduct; and her ideas of what is fit and right, though often different from the maxims of the world, were correct, and ably supported by the spirit and precepts of the gospel.

The holy Scriptures and the ordinances of the gospel were now her highest delight. She had little relish for philosophical disquisitions, or for eloquent moral harangues, in which the great motives and helps of Christianity were kept out of sight. At least she counted these things loss and dung, in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, of men's need of him from their guilt and depravity, and of his ability and willingness to supply their needs.

Deeply impressed with redeeming love, and humbled under a sense of her own unworthiness, she bewailed that she did so little for the honour of her Saviour, and the benefit of her fellow sinners. She watched with a jealous attention, not only her outward conduct, but the thoughts and affections of her heart, and looked up to Him for renewed supplies of grace and strength, in whom it hath pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell.

Her opinions were not mere speculation and empty talk. They steadily influenced her temper, and pro-

¹ Mr Gray of Dollar, Mr Ure of Fossaway, Mr Duchall of Logie, and Mr Taylor, first of Tillcultray, then of Alloa, and last of Edinburgh, were among the most esteemed and useful ministers in that country. Though their sermons were not with the enticing words of men's wisdom, they were accurate, well composed, and in a strain the best suited to edify. Mr Gray excelled in preaching on the influence of the Spirit, and experimental religion. Mr Duchall in a striking, pathetic manner, though so excessive was his diffidence, that he seldom preached without shaking and sweating. Mr Taylor was reckoned superior to most in those days, for originality of genius and depth of thought. My worthy friend, the deceased Mr Turner of Stirling, presented me with several of his sermons, but, alas, written in a short hand, which the ablest in that way have not been able to decipher.

² He was esteemed a man of great worth, and an excellent preacher, and left many well composed sermons behind him, distinctly written.

³ Dr Stedman.

duced a beautiful uniformity and consistency in her deportment. Though no way ambitious of fame, cautiously avoiding notice and applause, from purer and higher motives, she studied a behaviour suited to every relation and situation in which she was placed, and becoming her profession as a Christian. In her house she was kind and hospitable. At her table there was elegance and fulness, without profusion or luxury. Though always neat, she shunned those expenses in dress and equipage in which others indulged, that she might have more to bestow on acts of beneficence. To her relations she was attentive and kind; solicitous for their eternal happiness, which was the daily subject of her thoughts and prayers; and anxious and depressed when they were in perplexity or affliction, and still more so when fears of their best interests prevailed. To her servants she was a humane and indulgent mistress. Their external situation was comfortable. By a pious chaplain, she furnished them with the means of daily worship and instruction; and to some of them left legacies as marks of her regard. Few have lived equally worthy of esteem, and whose behaviour would bear so strict a scrutiny. Those who knew her best esteemed her most.

Some of her friends have thought that her strictures on certain characters were rather too severe. But those only heard them in whose secrecy she justly confided; and it is probable, from her knowledge of the world and quick discernment, they were seldom destitute of foundation. Perhaps, too, her judgment, so quicksighted in other instances, was sometimes blinded by excessive partiality for intimate friends, especially for those who had been helpers of her faith, holiness, and joy. Yet, in doubtful matters, that partiality did not betray her to adopt their sentiments without examination. She brought them to the touchstone of reason and Scripture; and when she found them condemned by these, she rejected them without scruple.

Many, however, have had a larger share of consolation and joy, though she had no doubts of her interest in Christ, and final happiness. Often her depression arose from a deep sense of the extent of the divine law, and her falling short of what she owed to her God and Saviour, though probably it was increased by the delicacy of her animal frame. Her bodily constitution was indeed feeble, and her health had many interruptions; but she bore them with exemplary patience and resignation, and more desired that they might be sanctified, than that they might be removed. On one of these occasions, a friend high in her esteem requested, that if he survived her, she would leave him any diaries or other religious papers, which might be a pleasant and profitable memorial of the many hours they had spent together in speaking on the things of God. But she peremptorily refused. She said none of her papers were worthy of inspection, from time to time she had burned them, and wished none of them might remain after her death. She even begged as a special favour, that he would burn all her letters and jottings that were in his hands, with which request he thought it his duty to comply. If her modesty had not prevented her suspecting that she would be the subject of any publication, it would have instigated her to prohibit it.

Her bounties were not extorted by the sight or importunity of the distressed, though to the habita-

tions of sorrow she was no stranger. She carefully inquired who were the most proper objects of her beneficence, and requested their advice whom she esteemed competent judges, what might be the most useful employment of that part of her substance which she had determined to devote to pious and beneficent purposes. She thought that the Great Proprietor of all things had bestowed upon her so ample a fortune, not barely for her own comfort, or that of her relations, but that she might honour the Lord with her substance, and promote the happiness of mankind; and she believed she must one day give an account at his tribunal how she had improved so important a talent. This motive led her to sell her landed estate. She earnestly recommended it to her man of business only to ask an equitable and moderate price. Yet her wealth was much increased, and her power of doing good to others enlarged, without encroaching on what she justly thought due to the ties of blood, of affinity, or of gratitude. She deliberately looked up to God for direction, and consulted friends as to the plans of doing good which might bid fairest for extensive and permanent usefulness.

She often employed one or two of her particular friends, under the express condition of concealing her name, in carrying her donations to different public undertakings and charitable institutions in Edinburgh, to pious students of divinity, and to private objects of compassion. At different times she gave money to the Reverend Dr Hunter, and to Dr Davidson, for purchasing useful books to students and preachers. She supported a Sabbath day's school for the religious instruction of indigent youth. It was blessed with that success for which she was anxiously solicitous, and earnestly prayed. Many were her kind offices to the parents of those children, and she left an ample provision for the continuance of this school. For some years she gave a prize of L.8 for any of the Edinburgh students of divinity whose essay on a theological subject, to be prescribed by Dr Hunter, should appear to him most to merit it. Afterwards she bequeathed L.10 per annum for the same purpose, during the Doctor's incumbency. This, and some similar institutions, have produced excellent essays. When her funds increased, she vested L.500 with the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, for maintaining a school in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood, where poor children should be taught reading and writing. Usually 50 or 60 attend that school. By her last will, she destined a large portion of her fortune to various important charities, e. g. to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, L.3000 sterling; to the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, L.700; to the Orphan Hospital, L.200; to the Society for Relief of the Destitute Sick, the Edinburgh Society for the Sons of the Clergy, and for building the Canon-gate Chapel of Ease, L.100 each; to the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, to the servants' ward in said infirmary, to the Edinburgh Dispensary, to the poor of the parish of Dollar, to those of the parish of Donfermline, to the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse, to that of the Canon-gate, to that of St Cuthbert's or West Church, for erecting the Edinburgh Bridewell, and for release of prisoners for small debts, L.50 each; and for a pious and charitable purpose which she had much at heart, under the management of

one friend, L.1000, and of another, L.500 sterling; in all, L.6200 sterling.

These benefactions did not spring, as many splendid ones have sprung, from vanity and ostentation. They were the genuine fruits of a firm faith in the gospel, and of a love without dissimulation. With wonder and gratitude, she often reviewed how her heavenly Father had loaded her with outward mercies, with affluent circumstances, a comfortable measure of health, respectable and affectionate relatives, and faithful and conscientious servants; especially for his goodness in a preached gospel, frequent opportunities of partaking of the Lord's Supper, regular family worship; leisure and advantages beyond many for secret prayer, reading the Scriptures, self examination, meditation, Christian conference, social prayer, and perusing useful practical books. She lamented that she had done so little for his glory, who had dealt thus kindly and bountifully with her. She admired the patience of God in so long sparing one who had so little rendered to him according to his benefits. Persuaded by the mercies of God, she often solemnly dedicated to him all she was, all she had, her body, her soul, her time, her worldly possessions, and every other talent. Yet her hope, confidence, and joy, was not founded in her own religious affections, resolutions, and duties, but in that blood of Jesus, which cleanseth from all sin, in his righteousness, even his only, and in his grace, without which she felt she could do nothing, but which she rejoiced was sufficient for her, and could perfect strength in her weakness. The remains of worldly-mindedness, and the intrusion of vain, idle, and sinful thoughts, were her grief and burden. She breathed after all the communion with God, and the glorifying his name, which this embodied state could admit; and ardently desired and asked of God more of the faith that overcometh the world, of the spirit of a pilgrim and stranger on earth, and of a heart raised to the things that are above. She looked up to Him who leads the blind in a way they know not, to direct her by his word, providence, and spirit, how best to manage her worldly substance, what part to give to promoting Christ's kingdom, to the poor members of his mystical body, to her kindred and those of her own house, and what to lay out on the accommodations of life, and what portion of her time to allot to devotional exercises, to social and relative duties, to lawful business, and to exercise, and such recreations as might strengthen her for duty.

In her last sickness, which was only of a few days' continuance, her mind was serene and peaceful, and her conversation spiritual and pleasant. A few hours before her death, she seemed insensible, and slept in Jesus, and entered into glory 18th March 1792.

MR WILLIAM DICKSON, dyester in Edinburgh, son of Andrew Dickson, merchant in Howden, Had-dingtonshire, whose sufferings Mr Wodrow has honourably mentioned, was born 1701. In early youth he knew the God of his pious parents, hearkened to the gracious calls of the gospel, chose the better part, and never after repented of his choice. His conversation through a long series of years adorned the doctrine of God his Saviour; and his attention to religious, relative, and social duties, did honour to his profession. He approved himself a loyal subject, firmly attached to the Revolution settlement, and to the illustrious House of Hanover, even in the most dangerous times. He was exceeded by few, as a useful member of society, and a devout and exem-

plary Christian. He was a sincere, open, and steady friend of the doctrine, worship, and government of the Church of Scotland; and he considered the disregard of the peculiar truths of the gospel as a chief source of prevailing immortality. Yet he hated division and party spirit, and loved all who appeared to him lovers of Jesus, even when he could not approve many things in their opinions and practice.

In him were remarkably fulfilled the words of Isaiah, "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things he shall stand." Highly sensible of the value of time, he was unwilling to lose any of his precious and fleeting hours. Of wealth he was not covetous. He wished to leave his children what would assist decency, virtue, and frugality; not what might excite or support pride, vanity, and an emulation of the luxury and profligacy of those in higher ranks. The fear of the Lord was his treasure. Anxious that it might be the treasure of his offspring also, he taught them the good and the right way. He spent much time in his closet, in prayers for himself, and in intercessions for his family, for the nation, and for the church of God. In the evenings of the Sabbath, for many years, indeed as long as he thought it necessary, he addressed his household on the most important and interesting religious subjects, and endeavoured, in the best manner he could, to inform their understandings, and to impress their consciences and hearts. And these his intercessions and labours were not in vain in the Lord. Often he wrought hard for two or three days together, that he might gain a day or two for attending on spiritual things without incumbrance and distraction. His pious desires were sometimes accomplished. Sometimes they were disappointed, and new worldly concerns demanded his attention. By diligence however in his lawful employment, his spirituality of mind was not diminished. Often his devout affections were as ardent, when busily engaged in the toilsome labours of his calling, as even in public or secret worship.

The work of his hands God established and prospered. He disdained the arts of gaining employment, and of increasing wealth, of which some make no scruple, whose religion and honesty it would be uncandid to arraign. From his first setting out in business, his bounties to the needy were numerous. His trade was small, compared with that of others, who were scarce able to keep even with the world. Yet, in balancing his accounts at the end of the year, he often observed with surprise and gratitude, a considerable and unexpected increase of his stock. He often wondered how he had so much to give, how his circumstances improved, and how he never missed what he generously expended.

He thought it blameworthy in some of his fellow Christians, that they seemed to slight poor saints, while they coveted the company of the rich, the honourable, and the learned, though enemies to religion. It was his study to take most notice of persons and things, whose excellence others overlooked. On this principle, indigent householders, especially in his own neighbourhood, whose modesty prevented their wants from being generally known, received a large proportion of his charities; and he bestowed less on good designs, in which persons of all characters were warmly interested, than on designs equally good, or even more so, which were feebly supported, or thoughtlessly neglected.

When his stock had so increased, that he thought he could live comfortably and usefully in retirement,

having reached the age in which the Levites were exempted from their service; after much deliberation what was his duty, he freely gave up his business to a nephew. Beside more private charities, he erected a charity school at the Water of Leith, the usual place of his summer residence, and supported it, so long as he thought it useful. Still, however, notwithstanding his beneficence, his substance, through the blessing of God on his prudence and economy, instead of diminishing, increased. He then resolved, that he should no more enlarge his capital, and that he would devote to pious and benevolent purposes, whatever remained after a suitable maintenance for himself, and a proper provision for his family. Bringing himself under such engagements, he thought he could give more freely and easily, and would consider what he had thus devoted as no longer his own. He hoped, that, what his children might inherit, would not be the less blessed, for the want of a small part of what he had acquired by God's prospering his honest industry.

Two of the charities in his lifetime deserve to be particularly recorded, the rather that he had no personal interest or near relations in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and no knowledge of the Gaelic.

Calendar parish had petitioned the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge for one or more charity schools; but their funds did not allow them to grant the petition. Pitying the situation of that parish, Mr Dickson mortified £200 sterling for two schools, under the direction of their minister and kirk-session. In 1763, there were educated 142 at these schools. In 1782, the Rev. Mr Robertson of Calendar acquainted Mrs Alison Gray, Mr Dickson's only surviving daughter and heir, that the fund was now increased by collections in the parish, and that four schools were kept up, where many were taught reading and the principles of Christianity, and a few also instructed in writing and arithmetic.

For a course of years, many poor though industrious Highlanders have resided in Edinburgh and its environs. Incapable of understanding sermons preached in English, and seldom having opportunity of hearing sermons in the Gaelic or Erse, their native tongue, many of their families were gradually sinking into gross ignorance of religion. In harvest, multitudes resorted to this country from different parts of the Highlands, to assist in reaping the corn, to whom the zealous and indefatigable Mr Niel M'Vicar preached a sermon every Sabbath in their own language. For about eighteen years after his death, no Gaelic sermon was preached here. In 1766, the learned and judicious translator of the New Testament into Gaelic, the Rev. Mr Stewart of Killin, and, after him, several other ministers from the Highlands, preached in that language. This, however, though a welcome, was a very imperfect relief to the spiritual necessities of their countrymen. Their melancholy situation, as destitute of all the ordinary means of grace and instruction, was strikingly represented in a memorial by the generous and liberal minded Dr Daniel Macqueen. Many copies of it were distributed gratis; but they met not with the attention they merited. Only four or five met together, and subscribed little more than £20 sterling, for building or purchasing a house, where there might be stated worship in Gaelic.

January 1768, Mr Dickson, seeing that nothing effectual was like to be done in this matter, resolved to set about it himself. After many difficulties, and

much search for a spot of ground fit for that purpose, he purchased, at his own expense, a waste yard in the road from the Grassmarket to the Castle, and, though uncertain of indemnification, immediately at his own risk agreed with a mason for building the chapel. Some ridiculed his rashness, and many of great influence viewed the building with an evil eye, as encouraging a language which ought to be rooted out. At length, when the building was considerably advanced, the small sum subscribed two years before was cheerfully paid. Many of Mr Dickson's well disposed acquaintances gave money on his application, and others sent it unsolicited. A hundred guineas were generously given by the Society of Clerks to the Signet. Money came in, whenever it was needed. The chapel was roofed August 1768, and the wright work begun February 1769, and August that year the chapel was finished. Considerable discount was obtained for the materials purchased, and for the mason and wright work, on account of his paying every thing with ready money. None advised him as to the plan of the building; yet it was, on the whole, wisely planned and executed. Devoting the greatest part of his time to superintending the work, it was carried on so cheaply, that not only the public at large, but even masons and wrights, imagined that it had cost double the sum which was in fact expended.

By his last will, 28th January, 1772, he bequeathed to the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse, to the West-kirk Charity Workhouse, to the Trinity or Old Women's Hospital, to the Trades Maiden Hospital, and to the Incorporation of Dyers, £10 each; to the Orphan Hospital, £25, paid one time, and £10 another; and to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, £25, to whom he had formerly given a donation of £5, and assigned his right to the Edinburgh Gaelic Chapel.

He was a stranger to the ecstatic joys which others less advanced in the Divine life have experienced. In some happy hours he was conscious, that, though with many weaknesses and defects, he had habitually endeavoured, with uprightness and sincerity of heart, to serve God, and to serve his generation after the will of God; and was comforted with the prospect, that the Lord would perfect that which concerned him, and never forsake the work of his own hands; yea, that when heart and flesh failed him, the Lord would never fail nor forsake him, but would be the strength of his heart and his portion for ever. Yet often darkness, deadness, and jealousies and suspicions of his state, deeply depressed him, though seldom so as utterly to extinguish hope. When he could derive little comfort from marks and evidences of grace, or the remembrance of past experiences, views of the compassion and power of the Saviour preserved him from desponding. His doubts arose rather from the imperfections and disorders of his heart, than from those of his life and conversation. He lamented, that, through fears of his spiritual state, he was often more dull and less cheerful than, for the honour of religion, and the recommending it to others, he wished to be. He could derive comfort from no creature enjoyment, when he apprehended that God was displeased. Sensible that his natural temper was too reserved and melancholy, he strove to subdue it, and chide himself when he imagined that he appeared to others sullen and morose.

Indeed, this tender hearted Christian blamed himself for many things, in which others less acquainted with religion, with the world, and with their own

hearts, would have rather gloried. He regretted, that unpolished manners, and an abhorrence of falsehood and dissimulation, sometimes betrayed him to condemn fashionable follies and vanities, perhaps in a manner imprudent, and in expressions too strong; and to discover too great a contempt of such of the rich and noble as disregarded religion; and also of the pride, extravagance, and ostentation of many in the middle, as well as in the higher lines of life. He was sometimes severe in his reproofs; yet it was from the kindest motives; and he used most freedom with those whom he loved most.

He was thankful to God for continuing him so long in life, with so much health, so little decay of his mental powers, and so many valuable outward and spiritual mercies, which had smoothed his passage through the different stages of his pilgrimage. Especially, he was thankful for Christ, for the Bible, for Sabbaths and ordinances, for offers of grace, for the influences of the Spirit, for being restrained from the grosser pollutions of the world, and for some evidences of his interest in the Redeemer.

He went to church to be edified, not be entertained. The learned and worthy Dr Henry, whose manner in the pulpit some censured as cold and unanimated, was for a few years minister of the New Greyfriars church. Mr Dickson, who, when in town, usually sat there, discerned and admired in the Doctor's discourses, excellencies much more valuable than the beauties of eloquence, and the graces of delivery, and often spoke of his lectures as uncommonly judicious and instructing.

There are few to whom the character of Tabitha may be more justly applied—full of good works and alms-deeds which he did. Though his faith had to struggle with many a melancholy thought, gratitude for redeeming love so deeply impressed his heart, that glorifying his God and Saviour, and doing good to the souls and bodies of men, became the chief business and pleasure of his life.

He died June 1782. As in former years, so on his death-bed, this fearer of God, when walking in darkness, trusted in the Lord, and stayed himself on his God. Upon comparing his temper and frames with the strictness, spirituality, and extent of the Divine law, he was deeply humbled, and sometimes depressed. But views of the mercy of God, and the finished work of the Saviour, upheld his drooping heart, and he held fast the beginning of his confidence firm to the end.

His first wife was Mrs Euphan Snibert, who lived with him seven years, and bore him three children, of whom only Mrs Gray is now alive. He then married Mrs Agnes Turnbull, widow of Mr William Wardrope of Thornhill, who was forty years his wife, survived him three years, and died aged eighty-five. She bore him seven children, who all died before their father.

May a double portion of the spirit of these excellent ones of the earth, rest on Mrs Gray, and her seed, and seed's seed!

**FROM A PERIODICAL ACCOUNT OF A SOCIETY
OF THE PARTICULAR BAPTISTS FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HEATHENS.**

Northampton Nov. 13, 1792.

THE object of this Society is to evangelise the poor, dark, idolatrous heathen, by sending missionaries into distant parts of the world. It is a very

affecting fact, that, according to the lowest computation, there are at this moment above three hundred millions of our fellow men in the state of Pagan darkness; many of whom, not only live in the habits of offering human sacrifices, but feast on the flesh of their enemies. Were those ignorant immortals but thoroughly instructed in the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, their civilisation would naturally follow, and what miseries would be hereby prevented. Never let us yield to discouragements, from the apprehension that the attempt would be in vain. If we have duly considered the methods whereby God has already accomplished the designs of his grace in some degree, we cannot consistently object to the adoption of similar measures now. The Acts of the Apostles (the most ancient record of Christian history) informs us, that God hath chosen to propagate his truth among mankind, by the efforts of their fellow-men, committing the precious treasure of the Gospel to earthen vessels, that the excellence of the power might appear to be of God, and not of man.

Our Protestant brethren in other nations have laboured with considerable success. Especially the Danish mission to the coast of Coromandel, in the East Indies, has since the year 1706 brought above eighteen thousand Gentoo to the profession of Christianity. The Dutch in the island of Ceylon, and other of their East India settlements, have had still more extensive success. In North America, the apostolic Elliot, in the last century, was the chief instrument of the evident and thorough conversion of many of the native Indians. By his labours, and those of other ministers, several churches were raised among these poor savages, some of which were supplied with ministers of their own race, and others with Anglo-Americans. In the present century, the Presbyterian Society in Scotland has sent its support to several useful missionaries among the American Indians. The excellent David Brainerd, and after him his brother John, were supported by this Society. They still afford their assistance to Mr Kirkland, from whom very pleasing accounts have been lately received. And there is also a Mr Sergeant that is successfully employed among the Indians at this time. The Moravian brethren have, within these sixty years past, sent missionaries to various heathen nations; and have discovered a zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, which ought to provoke in all other denominations of Christians a godly emulation. Their success has been remarkable among the Greenlanders, and in the Danish West India Islands. They also have sent missionaries among the American Indians, and the Esquimaux on the coast of Labrador, who have been hopefully owned for the conversion of souls, and have attempted to preach the Gospel among the Tartars and the Hottentots, to which last people they are about to renew their mission again. We are informed, that in the year 1788, they had in their societies nearly fifteen thousand converted heathens. The Wesleyan Methodists have within these few years attempted a mission to the Caribbs, who are natives of the West India islands, and have laboured with success among the negro slaves in these islands. The labours of brother George Tille, the Baptist negro, in Jamaica, have been greatly blessed among his fellow Africans, both bond and free. This success of our worthy brethren may serve at once as a reproof of our indo-

lence, and a spur to our activity. To such an effort, arguments of the most powerful nature must impel every believer in Divine revelation, and well-wisher to mankind; for, various as the different opinions of Christians may be with respect to particular parts of the Gospel scheme, all will agree in this, that the Sacred Scriptures assure us of the universal conquests of the Redeemer; that his dominion shall extend from sea to sea, even to the ends of the earth; that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, and that the isles shall wait for his Lord. Will not God who seeth the heart be well pleased with every sincere and earnest effort to promote his blessed cause? Without the Divine blessing, we readily believe nothing to purpose can be effected. But is this an excuse for inactivity and sloth? Are we not encouraged by innumerable promises and prophecies of the Divine word, and by an evident blessing crowning the labours of our brethren and predecessors? Let then every Christian who loves the Gospel, and to whom the souls of men are dear, come forward in this noble cause. And whether we can or cannot honour him with our substance, let us attend the generous donations of those that are able to contribute to the support of his cause, with our most fervent prayers. Many Christian societies have, for some years back, united in extraordinary prayer for the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom. And may not this be considered as a certain harbinger of success? Let us persist, and we shall prevail. Pray ye for the peace and increase of the Church: they shall prosper that love her. Ye that mention the name of the Lord keep not silence, nor let him rest, until he establish and make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.

The compiler has received some copies of an Earnest Invitation to Prayer during the present troublesome times, written, as is generally believed, by the Reverend Mr Romaine of London,¹ and addressed to the friends of the Established Church; reprinted at Edinburgh, 1795. A short extract follows: "Several ministers have resolved to spend part of every Lord's day in this holy exercise. They have chosen this day, partly for the sake of the day itself, being a day sacred to religion, and because they wanted to have the joint prayers of those persons who might be hindered on other days, but who were now entirely free from worldly avocations; and they have chosen from eight to nine in the evening, because it is the time that could be best spared from the duties of the day. We earnestly request our brethren of the Established Church, and all our fellow Christians, to join with us; and we hope no person who has the spirit of prayer, and who is a lover of the Protestant religion and of our Establishment, will be prevented by any slothful or needless excuse from offering up his petitions (about that time) along with ours; but that all the faithful servants of God, in every part of the land, will be at the same time, as one congregation, presenting their prayers before the throne of grace."

The compiler of these Collections being now in the 84th year of his age; and the 54th of his ministry, desires to join in prayer daily for the success of the gospel, with those who cannot otherwise promote it,

and humbly hopes both they and he may take comfort from the following lines:

Doth God exact our labour, strength denied,
I loudly ask; but patience, to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts. Who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best; his state
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest.
They also serve who only stand and wait.²

Meantime, the compiler concludes with an extract from a brief history of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, from the establishment of the Society in 1701 to 1795, by the Rev. Dr Hunter, Secretary to the Corresponding Board in London.

In the year 1701, a small number of pious and public-spirited citizens of Edinburgh thought proper to form themselves into a Society for the Reformation of Manners. The dreary and dark regions in their own country arose first into view, presenting a melancholy and affecting picture of human wretchedness. In the low countries of Scotland, the common people are among the most civilized and best instructed on the globe. They are all taught to read—all are accustomed regularly to attend the place of worship. The clergy visit their flocks from house to house in a stated course of exhortation and catechising; and the country abounds with the Bible, with catechisms, and with other treatises on practical subjects, in the vernacular language, which are eagerly read, and with no slight degree of improvement. It was not so in the Highlands; there the generality had no opportunity of learning to read, and if they had acquired that art, to what purpose, in a region where there were no books, not even the Scriptures, in the native tongue? Meanwhile, Popery was availing herself of this dark and rude state, to make proselytes to the Church of Rome. The aversion was insuperable to the constitution and government established at the Revolution in 1688, and the whole religious knowledge of the country was reduced to a few Popish legends and ceremonies, received without examination. A few plain facts, the result of inquiry made on the spot, by impartial and intelligent persons specially appointed for the purpose, will serve to confirm and support the general description now given of the vast field the society proposed, from its first formation, to cultivate.

The parish of South Uist consists of the islands of South Uist, Benbecula, and Eriska. It is 45 miles long, and near 8 miles in breadth; and it was found to contain about 2600 souls, of whom 2300 were Papists, and that there were two Popish priests and a mass house in it. The parish of Barra consists of the island of Barra, which is seven and a-half miles long, and three miles broad, and of six other small islands; and was found to contain about 4300 souls, of whom 1250 were papists. In the time of Charles I., all the inhabitants were Protestants, but after the Restoration this, and the parish next mentioned, being united, and the minister residing always at Harris, Popish priests occupied the former, and perverted almost the whole inhabitants. The parish of Harris consists of the island of Harris, and seven other small islands. It is thirty-six miles long, and nine miles broad, and contains about 2000 souls, all Protestants. The parish of Boleskine is thirty miles

¹ When Mr Romaine is mentioned, it puts the compiler in mind that both he and Mr Newton may be justly classed among the eminent instruments who have been employed in promoting the gospel by their writings.

² Milton, in one of his sonnets. It is the 19th, and on his own blindness; but may well be accommodated to all the servants of God who can do nothing but stand and wait.

long and six miles broad, and contains about 1600 persons capable of receiving instruction, of whom 400 are Papists, and these increasing in number. The parish of Urquhart is about twenty-seven miles long and eighteen miles broad; it contains about 2000 souls, of whom about 150 or 140, who inhabit Glen Moriston, are Papists; a Popish priest frequently resides in this valley. The parish of Kilmallie is fifty-two miles long and thirty-seven miles broad, and contains about 4000 souls, of whom 35 are Papists. The parish of Ardnamurchan comprehends the five following districts: Ardnamurchan, properly so called, which is twenty-one miles long and six miles broad, and contains 1200 souls, all Protestants; Sunart, which is twenty-one miles long and seven and a-half miles broad, and contains 828 souls, of whom 824 are Papists; South Morar, which is twenty-one miles long, and from three to four and a-half miles broad, and contains 281 souls, of whom there is only one Protestant. The whole number of souls in this parish is 3816, of whom 1956 are Papists. A Popish priest resides constantly in Arasaig, where a mass-house was built about ten years ago. Another priest resides constantly in Moydart, and a third in South Morar.¹ The parish of Lesmore, to which Appin is now united, is about sixty miles long and twenty-five miles broad, and contains about 300 souls. The parish of Glenmuick lies on the south side of the river Dee, and is fifteen miles long. To it are now united the parishes of Tullich and Glengarden, which lie on the north side of that river, and are twenty miles long, and, at an average, twelve miles broad. They contain about 2200 souls, of whom about 337 are Papists. The parish of Crathie, to which Braemar is now united, is twenty-five miles long and about ten miles broad, the river Don running through the middle of it, and contains 2263 souls, of whom 337 are Papists. The parish of Inveraven is fifteen miles long, and from three to four and a-half miles broad, and contains 1200 souls. At Scallan, in the Braes of Glenlivet, in this parish, is a Popish college or seminary, the only one in Scotland. The number of students who attend it is in general from 8 to 12. Most of them are the sons of gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and some of them become priests without going abroad to receive orders. At present there are twelve students at this college. About a century ago, the number of Papists was so inconsiderable, that they had no fixed priest, but were obliged to send to Gardenside, twelve or fifteen miles distant, for one to visit their sick and baptize their children. Since the erection of this college, which was about seventy or eighty years ago, Popery has made such a rapid progress, that, according to the most authentic accounts, there are at present no fewer than 1520 Papists in this and the neighbouring parish of Kirkmichael. The situation of this college is peculiarly calculated for promoting the interests of Popery, being in the centre of seven parishes, at the distance of ten miles from each church, except that of Kirkmichael, from which it is six miles distant, and surrounded with a ridge of hills, whereby it is separated from all the neighbouring countries. Beside a priest or bishop, who resides constantly at this college, there are generally three, and often six priests, who officiate in the several mass houses of both parishes. The parish of Glenelg comprehends the districts of Glenelg, Knoi-

dart, and North Morar. Glenelg is nine miles long from north to south, and the glens, which lie from east to west, are six miles long. Knoidart, which is separated from Glenelg by an arm of the sea called Loch Urn, is fifteen miles long from east to west, and seven and a-half miles broad from south to north. North Morar, which is separated from Knoidart by an arm of the sea called Loch Nevis, is fifteen miles long from east to west, and from three to four and a-half miles broad from north to south. This compensation includes only the inhabited parts of the parish, beyond which the mountains called the Utter Hills extend many miles towards Glengary and Lochaber. To those mountains the inhabitants migrate with their cattle in summer. In this parish are 2570 souls, of whom 1340 are Papists. A Popish priest resides constantly at Knoidart, and officiates in a mass-house at Invergesson, on the side of Loch Urn. About four or five years ago, a Popish lady did, by her last will, bequeath a considerable sum of money for the purpose of erecting a Popish school or academy at North Morar. Several other Papists having also contributed for this purpose, an academy was accordingly erected, and still subsists, at which a priest regularly officiates. Last year there were sixteen students, most of whom were the sons of gentlemen in that country.

Now, if such was the state of that country in 1774, when the above facts, and a multitude of a similar nature were ascertained, in what a deplorable condition must it have been at the commencement of the Society? Who can contemplate the present state of things without looking beyond the instruments to the hand which employed them, giving glory to God?

In the year 1709, the Queen was induced to give the society the sanction of a royal charter. Their first meeting after this was numerous and respectable. It was held at Edinburgh, November 3d 1709, and was attended by several of the nobility, by fourteen of the Lords of Session, by many gentlemen of superior rank, and by most of the clergy in the city and neighbourhood.

The very year ensuing, the lamp of knowledge was lighted up at St Kilda, one of the most remote and inaccessible of the Western Isles. That same year, a resolution was formed to erect eleven schools more, embracing, among other objects, the Isle of Skye, and those of Orkney and Zetland.

By this time the existence, the views, and success of the Society, were known over the whole island of Great Britain, and as universally approved as known. A most honourable testimony of this approbation was given in the year 1717. Dr Daniel Williams, a dissenting clergyman in London, did, by his last will, give to the Society all his lands and teneaments in and about Catworth, in Huntingdonshire, then let at about L.68 per annum. King George I. made a donation in the year 1725 of L.1000., to be employed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the reformation of the Highlands and Islands, and other places where Popery and ignorance abounded. This act of royal munificence has ever since been annually repeated by that prince and his successors, and is managed by a committee nominated by the General Assembly. In 1739, the first attempt was made to facilitate instruction, by the publication of a vocabulary, Gaelic and English, for the use of the Society's schools; which, a few years after, was followed by a translation into Gaelic, of that well-known tract, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted; the

¹ This account was taken about twenty years ago. Since then the case is greatly altered to the better.

expense of the translation, and of printing a thousand copies, being defrayed by the generosity of Joseph Demar, of the kingdom of Ireland, Esquire, accompanied with a donation of a hundred pounds for the general purposes of the Society.

In 1741, the Society established a Board of Correspondents at New York, with the same powers, and for the same purposes, with that established at Boston eleven years before. This Board appointed Mr Azariah Horton to be missionary in Long Island, a part of the province of New York, with a salary of L.40; and named, as his assistant, an interpreter, one Miranda, an Indian, formerly a trader, but who had for some time laboured to instruct the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians. Miranda died soon after his appointment; but Mr Horton remained for several years on Long Island, where he at first met with great success in converting the native Indians.

In 1743, the Society appointed Mr David Brainerd to be a missionary, with a salary of L.40 sterling, and gave him an interpreter. He officiated among the Indians in Albany, in the province of New York, and then among the Delaware Indians in the province of Pennsylvania; among whom, and the Indians in the borders of New Jersey, he remained till his death, in 1747, his labours having been remarkably blessed.

He was succeeded by his brother, Mr John Brainerd, who continued to labour with much success for many years. Meanwhile the Board of Correspondents at Boston having solicited the Society to apply in their behalf to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a collection was appointed to be made through all the parish churches in Scotland, for the purpose of Christianising the North American Indians; the money arising from which amounted to L.545. This collection was made in the year 1764.

The reverend Dr Eleazer Wheelock having, some years before, established a charity school at Lebanon in Connecticut, for the education, partly of Indian, and partly of English youths, to qualify them for being sent as missionaries, interpreters, or schoolmasters to the different Indian tribes; and this school being in a flourishing condition, he applied to the Society, to appoint a Board of correspondents with the usual powers in the colony of Connecticut. In 1767, Dr Wheelock sent over to Britain the Rev. Mr Nathaniel Whitaker, and the Rev. Mr Sampson Occum, which last had been educated by him, and had for some time been employed by the Society as a missionary among the Oneida Indians, to procure benefactions for the above-mentioned school. These two gentlemen presented a memorial to the Society, who transmitted copies of it to all the ministers of Scotland, with an earnest recommendation to them to take all proper methods for obtaining contributions in their respective parishes. The employing Mr Occum in this service evinced the sagacity of Dr Wheelock, and produced all the effect which could reasonably be expected from it. It was a highly interesting object to the good people of Scotland, to see and to hear a copper-coloured man, not only himself illuminated with the knowledge of Gospel truth, but exalted into a teacher of it to others; leading their devotions in the family—in the pulpit; preaching in polished Europe the unsearchable riches of Christ. Wherever he was received as a guest, men pressed into the company, to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation. Whenever he preach-

ed, the church was crowded; every ear was attentive; every heart and hand open to the purpose of his mission. Hence the collection, large beyond all example, of more than L 2500 in a country so poor as Scotland, toward promoting the knowledge of Divine truth among the untutored Indians of America. The Indian school remained at Lebanon till the year 1771, when it was removed to Hanover, near 200 miles from its former station, and was incorporated by a royal charter with Dartmouth College, founded about that time. The Society having received most agreeable accounts of the diligent and successful labours of the Rev. Mr Samuel Kirkland, who had been educated by Dr Wheelock as a missionary among the Oneida Indians, took him into their service, and granted to him and an Indian catechist, jointly, a yearly salary of L.90; the corporation of Harvard college in New-England having also agreed to give him the like sum. All the advices respecting him were most satisfying. He was master of the language of the Oneidas and Senecas; among whom, and the Tuscororas, he laboured with the utmost assiduity and fervency. Having lived long among them, he acquired their esteem, affection and confidence. The Indian school under his care at Oneida flourished, and consisted of forty or fifty scholars. The people in general behaved well, and a considerable number entertained a just sense of religion. They soon after built a church for themselves, a thing till then unheard of among savages.

Meanwhile, the Society's exertions at home, proceeded with unremitting vigour. Useful translations into the languages of the Highlands, first of a plain and popular manual of Christian knowledge, well known in Scotland by the name of The Mother's Catechism, and next of the Scriptures themselves. This arduous task was in part effected through the zeal, assiduity, and perseverance of the Rev. Mr James Stewart, minister at Killin, in the Presbytery of Dunkeld, who, in 1767, produced a complete translation of the New Testament, of which 10,000 were printed and dispersed.

A subscription having been opened in behalf of the poor Highlanders living in and about the city of Edinburgh, who, for want of a stated minister to preach to them in the Gaelic language, could not partake of the benefit of divine ordinances, a considerable sum of money was thereby raised, with which ground was purchased, and a chapel for public worship erected, and the property of it vested in the Society, by conveyance from Mr William Dickson, Edinburgh, dyer, who purchased the ground, and was the chief promoter of the subscription. At this period, the Society, desirous of obtaining the fullest information, with regard to the situation and circumstances of their schools, and the conduct of their schoolmasters in the Highlands and Islands, granted a commission to Mr Lewis Drummond, Lieutenant in the late 115th regiment of foot, in whom they placed very great confidence, to visit their schools in different parts, and to make an exact report of all the particulars. Mr Drummond, in two several visitations, each of which continued for many months, executed this trust with fidelity, diligence, and zeal, and gave the Society entire satisfaction. He made two distinct and complete reports of these visitations, which conveyed to the Society much interesting intelligence concerning the state, not only of their schools, but of religion in general, in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In 1761, upon an application from the

late Earl of Findlater, the Society established a school at Portsoy, in the parish of Fordyce, Banffshire, with a salary of £10. The Society did likewise, the same year, upon an application from a company of merchants in Perth, who set up a manufactory of linen cloth at Logierait in Athol, give an annual allowance to the schoolmaster of that parish for teaching the children employed in that manufactory.

At a general meeting of the Board in London, held 18th November 1773, it was resolved, that early in the spring following, a sermon should be preached in recommendation of the charity, and afterwards the friends of the institution should dine together, and endeavour to support and extend its object, by obtaining donations or annual contributions, to be immediately applied to the general purposes of the Society. The event fully justified the propriety of this measure. Care had been taken to avoid all appearance of party spirit in the arrangements made on this occasion. The pulpit of the liberal-minded Mr Spilisbury was fixed upon, and the amiable and unassuming Dr Langford was selected to be the preacher. The service at Salters Hall was well attended, and a liberal collection obtained. Gentlemen of various religious denominations, and of various ranks in civil life, assembled at dinner. Perfect harmony prevailed: the interests of the Society were warmly supported, and powerful encouragement was given to repeat the experiment once every year. Ministers of the Church of England coalesced with their dissenting and Scottish brethren in carrying on this great and good work. The preacher was annually selected, without any regard to the religious denomination to which he belonged. The Presbyterian followed the Independent; he, in his turn, was succeeded by the Anabaptist—all was harmony—all was zeal. The more that the cause was inquired into, the more it appeared to merit support; and, beside a regular annual subscription, valuable donations and bequests were, from time to time, increasing the sphere of the Society's influence and usefulness. Two instances of these deserve particularly to be commemorated. Towards the end of March, a trust-deed was transmitted to the secretary, conveying to the Society the sum of £10,000 stock in the national fund of the five per cent. annuities. The stock was transferred to a most respectable gentleman, Isaac Hopkins Browne, Esq., to receive the dividends on the Society's account, who has since transferred the stock to the Society, and has qualified himself as a member of the London Board, by a handsome annual subscription, and by serving the office of steward. Soon after the intelligence of this large and uncommon donation had been given, the Society had the satisfaction to receive accounts of a second accession to their funds still more considerable than the former, by a legacy of the late Peter Huguetan, Lord Vanvryhoven of Holland. For many years, this nobleman had been a regular and liberal benefactor to the institution, by the anniversary meetings of the Corresponding Board in London; and in 1789, the Society received from him a donation of £500 of the four per cent. bank annuities. After his death, which happened in the course of this year, it appeared, that by his will, he had, among a variety of other legacies to different charitable institutions, and to a very large amount, bequeathed to the Society in Scotland for Propagating

Christian Knowledge, the sum of £20,000, for the purposes of promoting religion, literature, and industry in the Highlands and Islands. At the same time, the Society has not been inattentive to the propagation of Christian knowledge in America. Two missionaries are still employed by them, viz. the Reverend Mr Kirkland among the Oneida, Onondago, and Seneca Indians, and the Reverend Mr Sergeant among the Stockbridge tribes. Of the ardent zeal and indefatigable exertions of the former, the Society have repeatedly had occasion to report in the warmest terms of approbation. His late journals afford sufficient evidence that his labours are continued with uniform earnestness and perseverance. They exhibit a picture of benevolence, of labours, and of sufferings in the cause of the gospel, which scarcely has been exceeded since the days of the apostles. He undertook a long and perilous tour among those of Canada, when he added the expense of relieving numbers when perishing with hunger. A famine, it seems, prevailed in their country; and his humane and generous mind, shocked with the scenes of misery which he beheld, willingly dictated efforts for the relief of the sufferers far beyond what his narrow income could afford. The savages, affected with a deep sense of gratitude, beheld him with the reverence due to a superior being; numbers willingly received his instructions; many, it is to be hoped, to their eternal joy.

The labours of Mr Sergeant, though in a narrower sphere, have been found faithful and assiduous. What success may ultimately attend the exertions of the Society in these remote and unenlightened regions, time only can unfold. That many individuals among the savages have, by the blessing of God, become savingly acquainted with the truths of the gospel, and that the morals and external conduct of great numbers have been improved, there is sufficient ground to believe. One thing is acknowledged by all who have opportunity to be acquainted with these tribes, that those of them among whom the light of the gospel has been in any measure diffused, have become less addicted to excess in the use of spirituous liquors, less cruel and ferocious in their manners, and more attentive to the arts of civilised life, particularly to agriculture.

Extract from a Letter of the Rev. JAMES CALDWELL, Secretary to the Society's Board of Correspondence in New England.

“Elizabeth-Town, May 1, 1771.

“The present sent by the Society to the Oneida Indians, till we could find out by what particular tribe the bill was sent, and the most acceptable and useful remittance. This being done, I received the following address, a copy of which I hereby transmit you: ‘Father, we have not much to say. But we return thanks to our fathers beyond the great waters. We thank them from our very hearts, and also bless God, who has put it into their heart to show us this kindness. The holy word of Jesus has got place among us, and advances. Many have lately forsaken their sins, and turned to God. There are some among us, who are very stubborn and strong; but Jesus is Almighty, has all strength, and his holy word is very strong too; therefore we hope it will conquer, and succeed more and more. We say no

more; only ask our fathers to pray for us, although they are at a great distance. Perhaps, by and bye, through the strength and mercy of Jesus, we shall meet in his kingdom above. Farewell.

‘JAGO VARRON, Chief of the Bare Tribe.
SUCHNAGEARAT, West Tribe.
OGEIKHELA, Tareb Tribe.’”

The remote Western Highlands and Islands were the least known to the Society, and had least experienced the benefit of their institution. It was therefore resolved, that their secretary, Dr John Kemp, should visit these distant regions, and inquire into the state of religion, literature, and industry among the inhabitants, and report such plans as should appear most likely to promote their improvement. The greatest part of two summers were accordingly employed by Dr Kemp in fulfilling this useful mission; which he did much to his own credit, to the satisfaction of his constituents, and to the advantage of the regions which he visited. His reception, wherever he went, was gracious and hospitable. The gentry, the clergy, entered into the views of his embassy, gave him all needful information, and engaged to co-operate with the Society in all their efforts of benevolence; and, what must be peculiarly grateful to every liberal mind, though one of the professed objects of the Society is to eradicate Popery, he met with much personal civility from some of the clergy of the Roman Catholic persuasion. They adopted and forwarded the general objects of his mission, particularly by exhorting and using their influence with their people to send their children to the schools of the Society, to be instructed in literature, and the great principles of religion, in which all sects among Christians are united. It was a sight assuredly not common—a Protestant minister, commissioned by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, attended in his progress by Roman Catholic priests, and they zealously joining with him in common efforts to promote the reading of the Scriptures among the youth of their own community.

Dr Kemp kept a regular journal of his proceedings, which, together with his report of means most likely to answer the design of the Society, were read and considered with much attention, and referred to a general meeting, by whom the spirit and objects of the plan contained in it were unanimously approved, and referred back to the directors, to be still more maturely digested, and carried into execution as cir-

cumstances may permit. The annual sermon, it was resolved, should next year be preached by a clergyman of the Church of England; and the Reverend and Honourable George Hay Drummond, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, readily undertook that service; and the Reverend John Newton, rector of St Mary Woolnoth, with equal frankness granted the use of his church, and consented himself to read the church service.

December 1, 1795.—The Compiler is happy to be informed (by No. 30, Vol. iii. of the Evangelical Magazine) concerning a missionary society lately instituted for the purpose of propagating Christianity among the heathen, under the direction of the following gentlemen—(For their names see the above volume of the Evangelical Magazine)—which contains also a memoir of the late Mr Romaine. On the anniversary of his election to the parish of Blackfriars, (wherein he resided thirty years,) he commonly gave a short account of the state and progress of the gospel in the kingdom. In one of these discourses, he mentioned that himself and three others agreed to spend one hour in the week, at a stated time, in prayer, for the revival of the power of godliness in the Established Church. To so small a number were spiritual clergymen reduced, that out of twenty thousand, there were hardly twenty who preached the truth as it is in Jesus.¹ But, before his death, he had in his possession a list of more than three hundred. We are happy to say, that the same spirit is now poured out upon a great number of evangelical societies, of all denominations, in England, Scotland, and America, and hope the period is hastening,

When Jesus' praises shall be sung
In every land, by every tongue.

The Compiler cannot close this Supplement, without naming a few, partly his own respected and intimate Christian friends, who by their writings against infidelity, or on doctrinal and practical subjects, have in this century done good service to religion:—Lord Hailes, Dr Finlay and Dr Reid of Glasgow, Dr Oswald of Methven, Dr Beattie of Aberdeen, and Dr Witherspoon, President of Princetown College, New Jersey.

¹ The publisher hopes this computation was as ill grounded as Elias's apprehensions, that he only remained of the worshippers of Jehovah.

CONCLUSION.

THUS ends the Work of GILLIES,—a work in which is contained a fuller and completer history of the wonderful doings of the Spirit of God than any other extant.

Beginning where GILLIES ended, we had intended to have carried out the history of revivals, and presented at length a narrative of the work of God in the nineteenth century. The materials for this, however, are so various and ample, that instead of forming the mere conclusion of a volume, they would require a volume as large, or perhaps larger, than the present. In these circumstances, it seemed better not to enter on so large a field in this volume. At another time, and in a separate volume, this may perhaps be done. Meanwhile, the following sketch will suffice.

The career of ROWLAND HILL and his cotemporary evangelists, would furnish a volume by itself. On this, however, it is impossible for us to enter. In like manner, it is impossible for us to narrate the proceedings and success of the different Missionary Societies which have risen up since GILLIES published his records. A condensed view of their proceedings would be a most valuable contribution to the history of the Church of Christ. Through them the ends of the earth have heard of the salvation of God, till now there is scarcely a nation to whom the Gospel has not been preached, and into whose language the Bible has not been translated.

In Scotland there have been some very remarkable awakenings during the last half century. At Moulin, in 1798 and 1800; in the island of Skye, in 1812 and 1814; in the island of Lewis, in 1824 and 1835—the Spirit of God seems to have been largely poured down. Not only in these, but in various other parts of Scotland, the showers seem to have more or less plentifully fallen. Instead, however, of entering particularly into the separate narratives of these different revivals, we shall content ourselves with merely referring to them, and giving in conclusion a few extracts from the accounts of the latest revivals which have taken place amongst us. Of Killyth, 1839, we have the following account from the pen of the venerable minister. After speaking of previous tokens for good, he thus proceeds—

“Sabbath evening lectures, of a very plain and familiar character, have been more or less resorted to, but regularly for three seasons; and have been mentioned by several individuals as the means of first impressing their hearts. A goodly number of poor

people came out to these evening sermons, who could not be brought to attend on the ordinary services. Prayer meetings have been referred to by many as the means of their first serious thought; and sermons delivered in the churchyard last summer, by Mr Somerville of Anderston and by myself, have been often mentioned as having been blessed to awakening and enlivening. Nine months ago, a new missionary meeting begun, which interested many of our people. Still, after all these and other symptoms of good, it was not till Tuesday, the 23d July, that a decided and unquestionable religious revival took place. We may well say of the amazing scene we have witnessed, “When the Lord turned our captivity, we were as men that dreamed.” We have, as it were, been awakened from a dream of a hundred years.

The communion had been, as usual, upon the third Sabbath and 21st day. Intimation had been made upon the Saturday, that the minister would wish to converse with such persons as were under religious concern, inasmuch as two or three had previously called upon that errand. The effect was, that several other individuals did come to converse. The Monday evening was the half yearly general meeting of our Missionary Society, when a sermon was delivered by Dr Burns of Paisley—text, Isaiah lii. 1: “Awake,” &c. It was intimated that Mr William C. Burns, who had preached several times with much power during the solemnity, would address the people of Killyth next day, if the weather proved favourable, in the open air, the object being to get those to hear the word who could not be brought out in the ordinary way. It was known, too, that he was very shortly to leave this place for Dundee, and probably soon to engage in missionary labours in a distant land. The day was cloudy and rainy. The crowd, however, in the Market Place was great; and, on being invited to repair to the church, it was soon crowded to an overflow—the stairs, passages, and porches being filled with a large assemblage of all descriptions of persons in their ordinary clothes. The prayer was solemn and affecting; the chapter read without any comment, was Acts ii. The sermon proceeded from Psalm cx. 3, “Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power.” Throughout the whole sermon, there was more than usual seriousness and tenderness pervading the hearers; but it was towards the close, when depicting the remarkable scene at Kirk of Shotts, on the Monday after the communion there, 1630, when, under the preaching of Mr John Livingstone, a native of Killyth, 500 were converted, that the emotions of the audience became too strong to be suppressed. The eyes of most of the audience were in tears; and those who could observe the countenances of the hearers, expected, half an hour before, the scene which followed. After reciting Mr Livingstone’s text, Ezekiel xxxvi. “A new heart will I give,” &c., and when pressing upon his hearers the all-important concern of salva-

tion, while, with very uncommon pathos and tenderness, he pressed immediate acceptance of Christ, each for himself—when referring to the affecting and awful state in which he dreaded the thought of leaving so many of them whom he now saw probably for the last time—when, again and again, as he saw his words telling on the audience, beseeching sinners, old and young, to embrace Christ and be saved—when he was at the height of his appeal, with the words “no cross no crown,”—then it was that the emotions of the audience were most overpoweringly expressed. A scene which scarcely can be described took place. I have no doubt, from the effects which have followed, and from the very numerous references to this day’s service, as the immediate cause of their remarkable change of heart and life, that the convincing and converting influence of the Holy Spirit was at that time most unusually and remarkably conveyed. For a time the preacher’s voice was quite inaudible; a psalm was sung tremulously by the precentor, and by a portion of the audience, most of whom were in tears. I was called by one of the elders to come to a woman who was praying in deep distress; several individuals were removed to the session-house, and a prayer-meeting was immediately commenced. Dr Burns, of Paisley, spoke to the people in church, in the way of caution and of direction, that the genuine, deep, inward working of the Spirit might go on, not encouraging animal excitement.

“The church was dismissed after I had intimated that we were ready to converse with all who were distressed and anxious, and that there would be a meeting again in the evening for worship, at six o’clock. We then adjourned to the vestry and session-house, which were completely filled with the spiritually afflicted, and a considerable time was occupied with them. Several of the distressed were relieved before we parted. These were persons believed to be Christians, but who were not before this rejoicing in hope. Others continued for days in great anxiety, and came again and again, but are now, generally speaking, in a peaceful and hopeful state, and have been conversing with a view to admission to the Lord’s table.

“In the evening the church was again crowded to excess. Mr Lyon of Banton lectured on the parable of the prodigal son, and Mr William C. Burns preached from Matth. xviii. 3, “Except ye be converted,” &c. The impression was deepened; but there was no great excitement, the aim of the preacher being to forward a genuine work of the Spirit.¹ A great many came to the manse to speak about their souls. Evening meetings in the church were continued without intermission, and even in the mornings occasionally. Our hands were full, but the work was precious, and often delightful. Our elders and praying men were, and still are, very useful in aiding us. He who was honoured as the chief instrument of the awakening was earnestly sought out, and our part in it became comparatively small till the work had made progress.

“On Thursday, the 25th, the day proving favourable, the meeting was called in the Market Square, where an immense crowd assembled at half-past six. From the top of a stair, Mr W. C. Burns addressed upwards of 3000 from Ps. lxxi. 16, “I will go in the

strength of the Lord God.” The emotions of the audience were powerful, but for the most part silent, though now and then there might be the utterance of feeling, and, in countenances beyond numbering, expressions of earnest and serious concern. Six young girls, from fourteen to sixteen years, two of them orphans, came next day bathed in tears, and seeking Christ. The scene was deeply affecting. This day (26th) many conversations were held by Mr W. C. Burns in the session-house; by myself and my other son (on trial for license) in the manse. Upon Sabbath, the 28th, the church was crowded, and with the unusual appearance of not a few females without bonnets, and men and children in week-day and working dresses. I preached from Heb. iv. 16. In the afternoon we met at three in the churchyard, where there assembled not fewer than 4000. The sermon by Mr W. C. Burns was solid and impressive from Rom. viii. 1. He finished about five o’clock; but after the blessing was pronounced, about a third part either remained or soon returned, of various ages, but especially young, which led to various questionings at first, and then remarks, and appeals frequently repeated, which led to great meltings of heart in many, and, in a few cases, to considerable agitation; so much so, that my son and I continued to address the hearers in various ways, and to sing and pray over and over again, the people still unwilling to depart. Four of our pious men, two of whom were elders, were called to pray at intervals, which they did in a most appropriate and affecting manner. Even at half-past eight it was with difficulty we got to a close, proposing to have a meeting next morning at seven, in the church. A great many still pressed around as we left the churchyard for the manse, and several remained till eleven or twelve o’clock. Next morning I went to the church at seven, after calling on an aged woman on the way, whose cries of distress arrested me. Even at that early hour, there were from two to three hundred met in solemn silence, joining with me in prayer and praise, and listening to a short exposition of Song ii. 10—14. Through the whole day, conversations were held in the manse, and in the vestry and session-house. In the evening the bell rung at half-past six. The church being before that filled, and as great a number pressing forward, it was found necessary to adjourn to the Market Square. Mr Somerville of Anderston addressed a very large assembly of most attentive hearers, from John xvi. 14. At the close I was called to see three or four very affecting cases of mental distress, and there was still a desire to get more of the word and prayer. There was an adjournment to the church, where, at first as I understand (for I was engaged as above stated), there was considerable excitement, but which subsided into solemn and deep emotion, while Mr W. C. Burns and Mr Somerville addressed the people, and joined in prayer and praise. Next day at eleven A.M. Mr Somerville again addressed a full congregation in the church.

“Ever since the date to which I have brought this imperfect narrative, with the exception of one evening, we have had meetings every evening for prayer, for the most part along with preaching of the word. On the evening referred to (the 6th August), there was held a meeting in the Relief church, which was crowded by various classes, the work expressly approved of by the ministers present, Mr W. Anderson of Glasgow, and Mr Banks of Paisley. From the

¹ Mr W. C. Burns found it impossible to leave a scene so interesting, and Mr Lyon went to Dundee to supply his place.

first the people of the Relief congregation seemed interested in the work equally with our own people, and there appears to this day to be much of the spirit or love diffused among us. The state of society is completely changed. Politics are quite over with us. Religion is the only topic of interest. They who passed each other before, are now seen shaking hands, and conversing about the all-engrossing subject. The influence is so generally diffused, that a stranger going at hazard into any house would find himself in the midst of it."

Since 1839, there have been showers in various places. With reference to these, we can only give a few brief statements. They are from the ministers of those places where revivals have in some measure been enjoyed.

From the Rev. ANDREW GRAY, West Church, Perth.

ANSWERS TO THE PRESBYTERY OF ABERDEEN'S
QUERIES ON THE SUBJECT OF REVIVALS.

"I. A considerable awakening took place about a year ago in this city, and the benefit was partially experienced in my own congregation.

"II. The chief instrument in the work was Mr W. Burns, and the means consisted of the preaching of the word and of devotional exercises. The labours of Mr Milne of St Leonard's, and Mr Bonar of Collace, were also much blessed.

"III. The special circumstances referred to were the solemnity and affectionate earnestness of the appeals, the eminently close, searching, and powerful character of the addresses to the conscience, the simplicity and singular clearness with which the distinctive and fundamental doctrines of the gospel were exhibited, and the unwearied perseverance and Christian ardour with which the means of grace were kept in operation."

From the Rev. JOHN MILNE, St Leonard's, Perth.

"I. There has been a revival to a considerable extent in my congregation, and in the town generally.

"II. Chiefly through the instrumentality of Mr W. Burns. I believe there are also several persons who consider themselves indebted to my own preaching, and that of Mr Bonar of Collace, and Mr Cumming of Dumbarny, who took part occasionally in preaching and conversing with the people.

"III. I had abundant opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with Mr Burns, as he lived and laboured with me constantly for between three and four months. I never knew any one who so fully and unfalteringly obeyed the apostolic precept—'Meditate upon these things, give thyself wholly to them.' I was struck with his close walk with God, his much and earnest prayer, his habitual seriousness, the solemnising effect which his presence seemed to have wherever he went, and his almost unwearied success in leading those with whom he conversed to anxious, practical, heart-searching concern about their state in God's sight. In public, his ministrations were chiefly of an awakening nature, addressed to the unconverted. With this view, his subjects were always wisely selected, being such as included fundamental points—man's lost state as

a sinner; its marks and consequences; man's helplessness as a sinner; the vanity of all his endeavours to justify or sanctify himself, and the certain and everlasting ruin of all who should persevere in such attempts; Christ Jesus, his righteousness, its alone sufficiency, its perfect freeness, its immediate gift to all who believe; the blessed effects of such faith; the Holy Spirit, his work in convincing and converting, and the danger of resisting Him. These subjects were treated more subjectively than objectively, which Mr Burns was the better enabled to do, from having much intercourse with people under concern, who had fully opened up their minds to him. The effect of his preaching was also aided by the unusual earnestness and solemnity of his delivery, as well as by the densely crowded state of the church, and the spirit of prayer and expectation in which very many came to the meetings. In compliance with the language of the query, I have spoken of the chief human instrument; but I am persuaded, both from what I saw and felt at the time, and from what I have since known of the permanent and blessed results, that a greater than man was among us; 'Not by power, nor by might, but by my Spirit.' I never witnessed before, nor have I since, such manifest tokens of God's gracious presence, as were vouchsafed us during several of the first months of last year. I can only say, in the words of Jonathan Edwards, 'The goings of God were then seen in his sanctuary, God's day was a delight, and His tabernacles were amiable. Our public assemblies were then beautiful; the congregation was alive in God's service, every one earnestly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth.' What he also mentions of the much weeping and deep concern manifested under the preaching of the word, is also true in regard to the meetings here."

From the Rev. ALEX. CUMMING, Dumbarny.

"I. Revivals have taken place in my parish; a very few instances have occurred of sinners being born again through the preaching of the word, and of those who had been previously children of God receiving a new impulse; but what has happened of this nature has been on a small scale; I have, however, seen much of revivals in Perth, Dundee, Collace, and other places, and have been privileged to witness the most interesting events and incidents which took place while the Spirit of God was poured out remarkably on these districts.

II. "These revivals have originated and been conducted under the agency of Mr William Burns; Mr Milne, Perth; Mr Andrew Bonar, Collace; Mr M'Cheyne, Dundee, &c. &c.

III. "The peculiarities in the preaching of those who have been blessed to produce such signal results, are a deep solemnity, which convinces the hearers that their immortal interest is dear to them, and especially a free and persuasive offer of the blessings of salvation. Many souls have been melted and subdued under the tender invitations of the gospel, and have been induced, like Brainerd's Indians last century, to yield themselves as willing captives to the Saviour when his love was displayed. One feature, distinguishing all those heralds of salvation who have been useful in alluring souls to Christ (at least all those whom I have known), is the strong grasp

they have taken of the doctrine of justification by faith, and the remarkable prominence into which they bring the enlivening truth, that the obedience of Christ will be imputed to the sinner that believes, as if it had been his own. The distinct elucidation of this tenet has exerted a wonderful effect in enabling convinced and heavy-laden souls to arrive rapidly at a well-grounded peace."

From the Rev. HOBATIAS BONAR, Kelso.

"I. They have, though not to a very large extent.

"II. By the preaching of the word on the Sabbath; by prayer meetings through the week; by the efforts of visitors, both male and female; by the circulation of tracts and books; by the zealous exertions of the elders of the parish. All these, though each in a different measure, have had their share in helping forward the work of God amongst us.

"Various circumstances—especially the pressing a near and immediate salvation upon the people; the infinite fulness and completeness of the work of Christ for the taking away of sin; the absolute necessity of conversion; the work of the Holy Spirit, his love and grace and power. These truths formed the prominent themes of the ministrations here, and they have been much blessed."

From the Rev. ANDREW A. BONAR, Collieston.

"I. We have had a shower of the Spirit, and I still see evidences that the work of the Spirit has not ceased. As to the extent I cannot say. I could detail the case of at least thirty persons, the majority of whom are not young people: some of whom came gradually to a full knowledge of the truth; others were more strikingly convicted. But, besides these, who are well known to me, there are many others of whom I have every reason to hope that there is a decided change.

"II. By the Sabbath-day preaching of the word, and by a weekly prayer meeting, which I have conducted myself, and at which about three hundred people attend; several of my brethren in the vicinity have aided me; and my own brother, Mr Bonar, at Kelso, was especially blessed on two of our weekly meetings.

"III. I know of no uncommon circumstances in the preaching or ministrations of any who were with me, except this—the prayerfulness of the persons, and their decided, distinct, simple preaching of free salvation for sinners.

"V. Most of them were outwardly decent; many of them extremely ignorant. Some very fond of social drinking parties, &c.; but, in this rural parish, there were few notoriously wicked characters to be found.

"VI. All those I referred to as really changed, really converted, evidence the change by their deportment, and their attention to personal and relative duties.

From the Rev. ROBERT MACDONALD, Blairgowrie.

"I. There has been a revival in the parish of Blairgowrie, and to a considerable extent.

"II. During the winter of 1839, there were spe-

cial evening meetings twice in the week, for prayer and exposition of the Scriptures, which, through the divine blessing, were effectual in awakening and edifying my people. On such occasions, I was usually assisted by my friend Mr Gillies, minister of the neighbouring parish of Rattray, and Messrs Gowans and Miller, preachers of the gospel.

"III. Ruin by the fall, redemption by Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, were the truths which we chiefly preached, and which God seemed especially to bless. Plain and earnest statements of the gospel, therefore, were, I conceive, the only means employed in promoting the revival.

"V. Many of those converted were previously utterly careless about their souls; despising and disliking all who seemed in any degree serious about eternal things; prayerless, living in the neglect of family worship; scoffers, swearers, Sabbath-breakers, drunkards, unfeeling and rude."

From the Rev. ROBERT MURRAY MCCHESNE, St Peter's, Dundee.

"I, II. It is my decided and solemn conviction, in the sight of God, that a very remarkable and glorious work of God, in the conversion of sinners and edifying of saints, has taken place in this parish and neighbourhood. This work I have observed going on from the very beginning of my ministry in this place, in November 1836, and it is continued to the present time; but it was much more remarkable in the autumn of 1839, when I was abroad on a mission of inquiry to the Jews, and when my place was occupied by the Rev. W. C. Burns. Previous to my going abroad, and for several months afterwards, the means used were of the ordinary kind. In addition to the services of the Sabbath, in the summer of 1837, a meeting was opened in the church, on Thursday evenings, for prayer, exposition of Scripture, reading accounts of missions, revivals of religion, &c. Sabbath schools were formed, private prayer meetings were encouraged, and two weekly classes for young men and young women were instituted with a very large attendance. These means were accompanied with an evident blessing from on high in many instances. But there was no visible or general movement among the people until August 1839, when, immediately after the beginning of the Lord's work at Kilsyth, the word of God came with such power to the hearts and consciences of the people here, and their thirst for hearing it became so intense, that the evening classes in the school-room were changed into densely-crowded congregations in the church, and for nearly four months it was found desirable to have public worship almost every night. At this time, also, many prayer meetings were formed, some of which were strictly private or fellowship meetings, and others, conducted by persons of some Christian experience, were open to persons under concern about their souls. At the time of my return from the mission to the Jews, I found thirty-nine such meetings held weekly in connection with the congregation, and five of these were conducted and attended entirely by little children. At present, although many changes have taken place, I believe the number of these meetings is not much diminished. Now, however, they are nearly all of the more private kind; the deep and general anxiety, which led to many of them being open, having in a great degree subsided.

Among the many ministers who have assisted here from time to time, and especially in the autumn of 1839, I may mention Mr Macdonald of Urquhart, Mr Cumming of Dumtarney, Mr Bonar of Larbert, Mr Bonar of Kelso, and Mr Somerville of Andersonston. Some of these were present here for a considerable time, and I have good reason for believing that they were eminently countenanced by God in their labours.

From the Rev. JOHN PURVES, Jedburgh.

"I. According to the definition of a revival given in the circular, I bless God I can truly say that such has taken place in this parish. I know not well what to say as to the extent. In so far as the inquiry relates to this parish, it may, to an extent, be answered under some subsequent queries; and, without the parish, I may answer that there have been similar revivals in Ancrum, Hawick, and Kelso, all in this neighbourhood, though of these I cannot particularly speak.

"II. There were many meetings among the people, for prayer throughout the place and parish during last winter, when the religious movement took place. These I account a leading means, both as predisposing the people's minds for holy impressions, and as tending directly to bring down a gracious influence among us. The only other peculiar means employed were meetings held by myself (in the Town Hall) two, three, and four times a week, which differed in almost no respect from the usual Sabbath services, except that they were conducted with far less formality, and the leading truths of the Gospel stated with a great deal more plainness and simplicity. I did not preach sermons, but spoke to the people about their souls, and the great truths of the Gospel, as I would have done to them, face to face, about a piece of important business, not in a formal but business way.

"III. I can attribute the results to no special circumstance but that mentioned in answer to No. 2. The persons seem to understand the Gospel as something new, and felt the instrument was in earnest; that they were not going through a form, but solicited to attend to a vast reality. I may also mention, as something peculiar, that it was not taken for granted that they all knew and believed the Gospel, and only needed, over and above, to put forth some act of their own called faith, repentance, &c., but the very reverse. It was attempted to be shown that the real knowledge and simple faith of the Gospel, as a true thing, was a great want with almost all professors; that, however familiar their ears might be with the sound of that Gospel, with its substance, the import, excellence, and truth of its facts, the minds of next to none were impressed; that that Gospel was of such a nature as, if really understood and seen to be a Truth, could not fail to heal the whole case of a sinner, and change every sinner into a child of God; that, in short, in place of all believing the Gospel, and needing only some little addendum, or some slight correction in what was wrong in their faith, the minds of men were really *infidel* as to the substance and import of that blessed truth; and that what was needed was not a *circumstantial* but the most *fundamental* of all things—a belief in the Gospel itself really understood. This general principle accordingly led me to insist first and most, not on *what man had to do*, but on *what God had done*; not

on the acts or kinds of faith, of which I said nothing, but on the facts, the outward facts of the Gospel, the *things* proposed for man's belief, with their evidence. In a word, I endeavoured to proclaim the good news of a free salvation through the blood of Christ alone to the chief of sinners, just as I would have done in a heathen land where the tidings had never been heard before; persuaded, as I am, that the want throughout the whole land is not in the structure they are attempting to build, but lies at the very foundation; that the most elementary facts of the Gospel are not believed. This gave a character to the whole ministrations, and was, I believed, instrumental above every thing else in awakening sinners, and, if I may be allowed the expression, re-converting Christians. I attribute any change produced, under God, to the simple proclamation of a free unconditional Gospel."

From the Rev. DUGALD CAMPBELL, Broadalbans.

"I. Revivals have taken place in this district to a very considerable extent.

"II. The Spirit of God made use, in a remarkable manner, of the Rev. W. C. Burns, in bringing about the revivals in this place by the preaching of the Gospel.

"III. In the preaching of Mr Burns, there was something which told his hearers that he was in earnest for the salvation of their souls; he dwelt continually upon the love of Emmanuel, in laying down his life for sinners; but it was chiefly during prayers that the results which fell under our observation took place.

"V. Those awakened were all respectable as to their moral character, with the exception of very few."

From the Rev. CHARLES C. MACKINTOSH, Minister of Tain.

"I. What I believe to be a genuine revival of religion—the work of the Spirit of God—has taken place during the past year, to a considerable extent, in this parish and district. By a revival of religion I mean that which, under Divine influence, is effected by the word of God, the main features of which are, a deep general anxiety to hear the Word, and to wait upon its dispensation—conviction of sin—earnest inquiry after the way of salvation—and apparent conversion, leading to holy life and conversation—connected with the refreshing and growing sanctification of the people of God. Such a work commenced in this district, in the parish of Tarbat, and on the communion Monday, being the 6th of July last, under the ministry of one whose praise is in the Churches, Rev. John M'Donald of Urquhart. It commenced in this parish, under the ministry of the same highly honoured individual, on the following Monday, being also the communion Monday here. In the course of a few weeks, it appeared, in a great measure, under similar circumstances, in many other parishes within the bounds of the Synod, particularly Alness and Urquhart; and it has been advancing since, to a greater or less extent, throughout the district."

Thus the Lord is still making known his power in the midst of us, and pouring out his Spirit upon the dry and thirsty ground. May the work be multiplied a thousandfold, till the great multitude be gathered in which no man can number, and a people prepared for the Lord at his coming.

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